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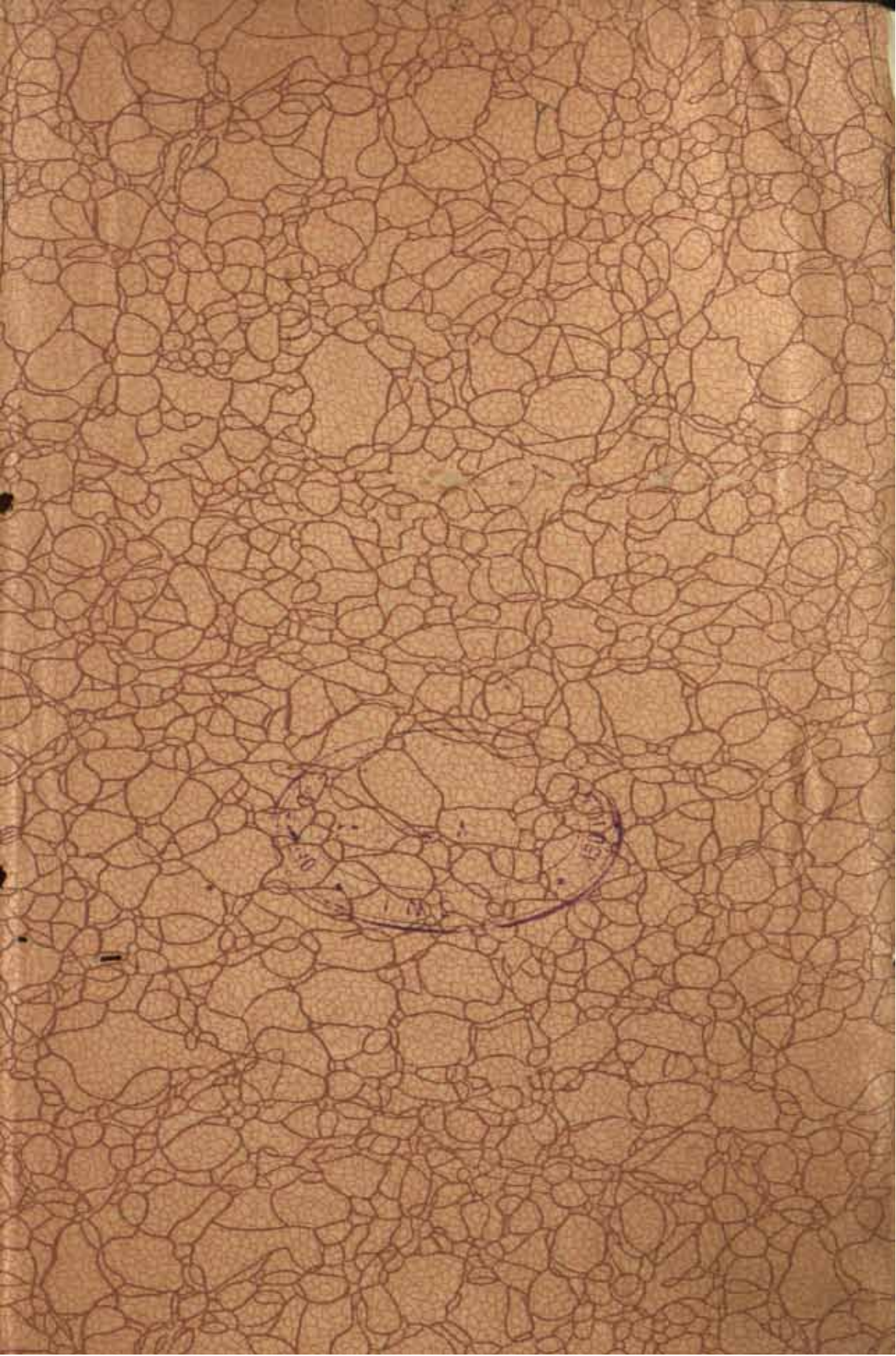
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ANCIENT PERSIA AND THE PARSIS.

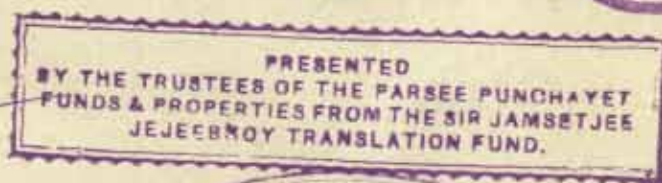
A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF
THE PARSIS AND THEIR RELIGION
FROM PRIMEVAL TIMES TO
PRESENT AGE.

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BY

Jehangir Barjorji Sanjana, B.A., J.P.,

Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.



BOMBAY

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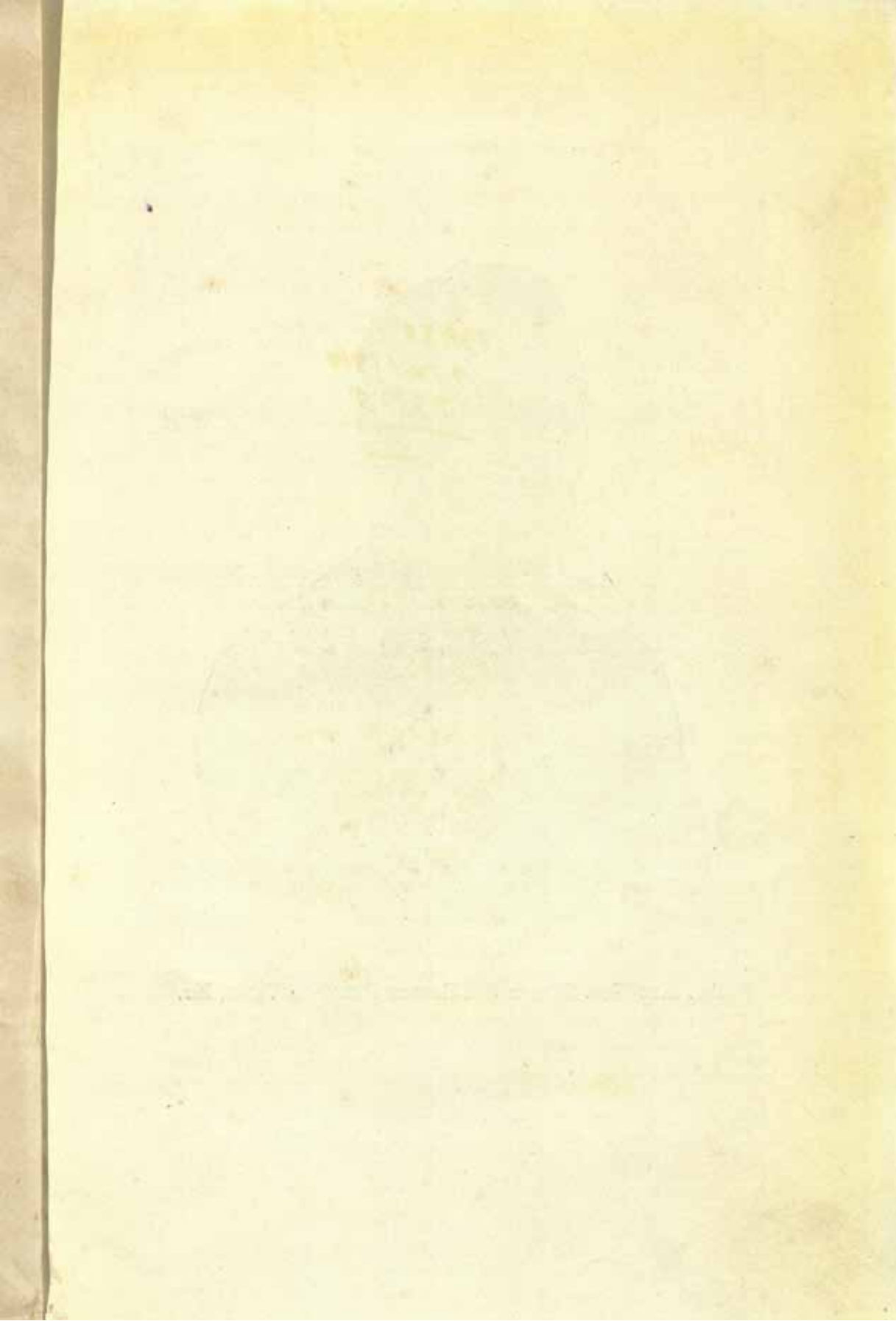
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THE LATE HON. SARDAR SIR RUSTOM JEHANGIR VAKIL, Kt.

PRESENTED
BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE PARSEE PUNCHAYET
FUNDS & PROPERTIES FROM THE SIR JAMSETJEE
JEJEEBHOY TRANSLATION FUND.

DEDICATED TO THE REVERED AND LOVING
MEMORY OF

**The Late Hon. Sardar
Sir Rustom Jehangir Vakil, Kt.**

*Born in Breach in one of the principal Parsi families of Gujarat
on 26th September 1880; died in Bombay on 1st November 1933.*

By his eminent civic services, his great commercial and industrial activities, and his large benevolences Sir Rustom soon achieved a great name for himself, and his suave disposition endeared him to all. The title of Khan Bahadur was bestowed on him in 1907, and four years afterwards he was awarded the distinction of a First Class Sardar of Gujarat and appointed Honorary Magistrate of the First Class in charge of a whole Division. In 1913 he was elected a Member of the Legislative Assembly. On 3rd June 1924 the distinction of Knighthood was conferred upon him. Six years later he was elected a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council, and became a Cabinet Minister in charge of the portfolio of Local Self Government.



H. I. M. REZA SHAH PAHLAVI, THE PATRIOTIC
KING OF IRAN.



H. R. H. SHAPUR, THE CROWN PRINCE OF IRAN.

PREFACE.

I have explained in the Introductory Chapter my aim in writing this History. Much water has passed under the bridge since the publication of Mr. D. F. Karaka's excellent History of the Parsis. It is time that there should be written by a Parsi a fresh history of his people and of their original fatherland and Religion in the light of the important archaeological, ethnological, philological and historical researches which have been made since Mr. Karaka wrote his book. Such a history is all the more called for at this period in view of the wonderful awakening of the Iranian nation under the magical inspiration of H. I. M. Reza Shah Pahlavi. This great patriot has in a remarkably short time succeeded in reviving the old Iranian spirit in his people. There is created in them a burning desire to learn all about their eminent ancestors of yore and the venerable Religion which modelled and influenced their lives. Simultaneously, there is awakened in the Parsis of India an absorbing interest in their ancient land and an earnest desire to know more and more about their forefathers and to understand the philosophy of the Religion taught by Zoroaster.

Before I could examine the typewritten copy and the printed proofs of a great portion of my manuscript and give the final touches I was overtaken with a severe illness from the effects of which I am still suffering. I am very thankful to a friend who has kindly done this examining work for me. I crave the reader's indulgence for any errors that he may notice.

I have to thank the Iran League for lending me the zinc blocks of the pictures appearing on pages 567, 579, 581 and 591. My thanks are also due to the proprietors of the Jame-Jamshed and the Kaiser-i-Hind for allowing me the use of some of their blocks.

JEHANGIR BARJORJI SANJANA.

779, PABSI COLONY, DADAR, BOMBAY.

28TH FEBRUARY 1935.

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نام ایر و نخبه اندیش کرمه‌ها

ANCIENT PERSIA AND THE PARSIS.

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF THE PARSIS
AND THEIR RELIGION, FROM PRIMEVAL
TIMES TO PRESENT AGE.



INTRODUCTORY.

Mr. C. A. Kincaid, a former distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, published in 1922 a small volume bearing the suggestive title "Our Parsi Friends," with the hope that it might in some slight degree enable his own people to understand better and appreciate the Parsis, who were the most friendly and the most loyal among the communities of the great city of Bombay.

The work which I took upon me to write at my advanced age, and by the mercy of God have been spared to complete, has a wider aim, it being designed to supply to our Indian compatriots as well as to Mr. Kincaid's people, the English, and to all English reading people everywhere, a correct and comprehensive knowledge of the traditions and history, of the

faith and beliefs, of the ideals and aspirations, of my people, the descendants of the glorious Iranian race, whose monarchs styled themselves, with substantial reason, Great Kings, Kings of Kings, Masters of the Four Quarters, ruling, as they did, over an empire, in three continents, which was in extent equal to half of modern Europe.

I lay claim to no originality. I have laboured to go through a vast number of histories, treatises, monographs, journals of learned societies, and other publications of Western and Eastern writers and laid them freely under contribution. My obligations to them are indeed very great. Not unfrequently I have employed the very words of these writers, not caring to paraphrase them and show off as original, as is not unseldom done, what is after all borrowed. Where I have found that the writers, ancient or modern, have exaggerated the exploits of the Greeks, the Romans, and other adversaries of Iran and tried to belittle those of the Iranians and otherwise to twist the true facts as suited their prejudices and predilections, I have endeavoured to show things in their true light so far as I could. I have, also, while dealing with the subject of my people's Prophet and religion, endeavoured to lay out the real purpose and signification of those tenets and practices about which there have been misunderstandings even on the part of some excellent authorities.

Bûzarzemeher, the sagacious minister of the Sâsânian King Naushirvân the Just, said, fourteen hundred years ago, that a knowledge of history aids man to form a proper opinion, because an acquaintance with ancient events is like an impartial witness giving a true account of all things. As Goethe says, the best thing that we get from history is the enthusiasm it raises; or, as Isabel F. Young, authoress of "A Normal Guide to English Composition," puts it nicely, history, like the highland pibroch, inspires the stirring memory of a thousand years. No nation can advance without taking inspiration and instruction from its past history. And what history can be more inspiring, more interesting, more instructive, than that of dear old Iran?

To the Eastern and Western students of theology, ethics, philosophy, ethnology and history, Persia and the Persians provide a study of absorbing interest and delight. In the history of the world Persia has played in the past a rôle of paramount importance; and F. F. Arbuthnot (A.P.P., 8) wrote in 1887 that owing to her geographical position she lay open to an historical future, and the time might come, sooner or later, when a good deal might be heard about her and her politics. We are witnessing with our own eyes the accomplishment of Arbuthnot's anticipation. Within a period of about a decade and a half, under the able control, wise guidance, and patriotic influence of His Imperial Majesty Rezâ Shah, who has founded a new dynasty giving it the ancient and suggestive name of Pahlavi, Persia has made herself a power to be reckoned with in world politics. As H. H. Zoka-ol-Molk Foroughi piously exclaimed on one occasion, blissful is the community whose past is a source of hopefulness for its future.

Besides her influence on the Asiatic world, ancient Persia for long centuries exercised marked influence on Greece and Rome, and, consequently, on Europe. Alexander the Great, King of Macedon, whose unparalleled career Europe in general and Greece in particular still sing with pæans of exultation, was, if Iranian legends are to be believed, an Iranian, the son of an Iranian king, Dârâb, and brother of another Iranian king, Dârâ, whom he overthrew and succeeded as Shah of Iran.

Several religious cults, such as the communist system of Manichæism, the worship of Anâitis (the goddess of water), and Mithraism,* which sprang up on Persian soil, flourished in Europe until finally superseded by Christianity; and, indeed, there was a period when the prevalence of Zoroastrianism in Europe seemed imminent.† At all events, Christianity itself owes an irrepayable debt to the Persian Kings of Kings, as its

* "The Christians were both puzzled and annoyed by the resemblance of the Mithraic religion to their own. * * The Church paid Mithras the great compliment of annexing his chief festival on December 25, the birthday of the 'Invincible Sun,' and turning it into the Feast of the Nativity of Jesus Christ. So we owe our Christmas, or at least its date, to the religion of Persia." (Very Rev. W. B. Inge, U. H. W., IV, 2091).

† "If it had not been for Marathon, Salamis and Plataea, the worship of Ahura Mazda might have spread into Europe." (J. Z. S., 9).

own sacrosanct book, the Bible, makes manifest, and as shall be more particularly described when the Achaemenian period is dealt with.

Mr. A. Upham Pope, a recognised authority on Persian Art, observes that it is not the purity of any race that has given it distinction and power, but rather the number and variety of its cultural contacts, and that it is this which explains the art and culture of Persia.* It is, however, the case as regards the Iranians, that in the causes of their distinction and power an investigator can easily trace both purity and pride of race as well as the number and variety of their cultural contacts, not to speak of the high ethical tenets of their ancient Faith.

For thousands of years Persia has been in contact with every important culture, Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Indian, Chinese, Greek and Roman. As M. Henri Berr says, she has been a factor of real importance in the history of the world, both because she has contributed towards the fusion of peoples, and because she has added something of value to the logical development of mankind. Her people, because they were in relations with so many peoples, and because they treated even the conquered well, greatly contributed to the syncretic movement which prepared the way for the coming of the universal religions.† In a paper submitted to the First Universal Races Congress held at the University of London in July 1911, Hadji Mirza Yahya of Tehrân claimed that the Persian race was one which had played a very important part in the formation of other races, and if it could not be regarded as the mother of them all, it could at least, and with a high degree of certainty, be looked upon as their sister.

Also in arts and architecture Persia's influence has been both great and abiding. We have the opinion of Sir Arnold T. Wilson (W.P., xi) that Iran's contributions to Western art and architecture, whether in design or execution, are both real and profound, and powerfully affected the æsthetic standard

* P. I. P. A., 218.

† Foreword, H. A. P. C., xii, xviii.

of neighbouring countries from the earliest times of which we have any record.

In India the Parsis are in enormous minority. Among the country's population of 353,000,000 they number only 1,06,973; that is, they are less than a three thousandth part of it. The majority of them are to be found in the Bombay Presidency, where they number 85,661. Out of these, 57,765, or nearly 67 p.c., reside in the city of Bombay, constituting in this area of their greatest concentration not more than 5 p.c. of the total population. Next to the Town and Island of Bombay, Parsis are to be found in considerable numbers in the Gujarat districts and in Thana and Poona. Some are residents of Karachi, while a few are scattered over all the principal trade centres and cantonments in India.

The Parsis, "this microscopic fragment of the mosaic of India," "the noble debris of one of the most heroic and grandest people of all antiquity," have made themselves markedly prominent, out of all proportion to their number, by virtue of their intellectuality, culture, energy, enterprise, organizing ability, and wealth, combined with their clean living, probity, peaceful disposition, and adaptability (that is, the capacity for receiving and assimilating ideas), in superaddition to that crowning quality of theirs, philanthropy, which has won for them the aphorism "Parsi, thy second name is Charity," all which qualities make them a most useful mediatory link between the various communities of this country of their adoption.

It is an admitted fact that the presence of Parsis in Bombay has done much to add to the morality, well-being, and beauty of this city—*Primus in Indis*. Indeed, we find it acknowledged that their ideal of *hūmata, hūkhta, hvarshta*, Good Thoughts, Good Words, Good Deeds, and the manner in which they realize it, together with their wealth, make this small community, despite their limited number, a *power for good in the world* and a lasting example of those characteristics which were inherent in the faith founded by Zoroaster long ages ago. (J. Z. S., 186).

In their original fatherland of Iran the Zoroastrians number no more than eleven thousand. They reside principally in the cities and villages of Yezd and Kermān. It is believed that in addition to these eleven thousand who live openly, there are some Zoroastrian groups residing in remote and inaccessible parts, where they are following their ancient religion in its primitive purity, in seclusion away from the rest of the world. They are the descendants of those bands who, warned by soothsayers of the impending fall of the Sāsānian empire and the ruin of Zoroastrianism that was to follow, made an exodus, some hundred years before the Arab conquest, and others about fifty years before that catastrophe, into the inaccessible mountains near the Chaichasta lake and the secret places of Mount Demāvend, as well as into the distant regions of Gilān and Māzanderān. The group that still lives in seclusion away from cities and villages right in the recesses of Demāvend calls itself by the name of Sāheb-Dilān and numbers about 1500 souls. The late Behrāmshāh Naoroji Shroff (born 3-8-1858, died 16-7-1927), a Parsi traveller from Surat, had the rare good fortune of being conducted into the secret recesses occupied by these Sāheb-Dilāns, amongst whom he sojourned for three years and a half, during which period he acquired from their head, Sroshā-Varêz (Worshipful Grand Master) Murzbān, a wonderful knowledge of Khshnoom or the esoteric side of Zoroastrianism, the benefit of which he gave, on his return to India, to a number of enthusiastic disciples. Very recently three Parsi cyclists, who are on a tour of the world, have reported (J. J. 28-4-34) that when they were travelling in Afghanistan they came to learn that there was a Zoroastrian band living in seclusion in a mountainous tract some thirty miles to the south of the city of Balkh, which did not allow any stranger to enter their territory.

It must be remembered that besides these Oriental Zoroastrians of the orthodox faith there are in the cities of Europe and America a not inconsiderable number of people who distinguish themselves by the name of Mazdaznans, whose spiritual leader bears the name of Rev. Dr. Otoman Zar-Adusht Ha'nish, and whose places of worship are called Mazdaznan

temples. One such temple ("Harbour Stronghold") is at 1159, S. Norton Avenue, Los Angeles, U.S.A. They have a magazine, called *Mazdaznan*, which is issued monthly by the *Mazdaznan Press* of that city.

A still more noteworthy fact is that there is in California, U.S.A., an American gentleman, a civil engineer by profession, with whom the religion of Zoroaster has become "flesh and blood" during the past 25 years after a long period of study and investigation of all religions. He says that it is the call of Aryan blood in him. A Parsi dealer in objects of oriental art at the San Diego Exposition in 1916 happy to find some one on those Western shores interested and zealous to spread the Zarathûshtrian teachings invested this American gentleman, who bears the name of Sraosha A. Kaul, with the Parsi sacred garments, *Sûdra* and *Kûsti*, in token of friendship and brotherly love. This American Zoroastrian is so enthusiastic about his adopted religion that he is engaged in spreading it in America. He has, upto the first quarter of 1933, succeeded in converting about thirty persons to Zoroastrianism and expects to increase the membership to thousands in that continent.*

There are 3700 families of the tribe known as the Yazidis who have their home in the mountainous territory to the north of Mosul in Mesopotamia. A Persian globe-trotter, Dr. Aqa Abu'l Qasim Mohaqqaqi, who has visited these strange people in their home, mentions that he was informed by one of their chiefs that they are of Persian Zoroastrian extraction. They are descended from the Zoroastrians who, after the Arab conquest, emigrated, taking the northern route, and settled in the vicinity of what are now the Russian frontiers. Here they were known as *Yazdân-parast*. After the lapse of some years they made a move towards the interior of Iraq. Their present religion has some resemblance to the *Mazdayasniân* faith. They observe a number of Zoroastrian customs and possess one book called *Zand-Avesta*, which they do not show to any one.†

* I. L. Q., April 1933, 159.

† Art. "The origin of the Yazidi Tribe and their present home in Iraq," I. L. Q., June 1933.

Ed. Meyer says of the ancient Persians that far removed as they were from disavowing their proud sense of nationality ('a Persian,' 'the son of a Persian,' 'an Aryan of Aryan stock,' says Darius of himself in the inscription on his tomb)—yet equally vivid was the feeling that they ruled the whole civilized world, that their task was to reduce it to unity, and that by the Will of Ahûrâ Mazdâ they were pledged to govern it aright.*

The gigantic empire† ruled over by the Persian Kings of Kings, the first of its size known in history, extended from Tibet and the Indus in the east to Tripoli in Africa, the Ægean Sea and Turkey in the west. It was at once the admiration, the marvel, and the terror of the particularist Greeks.‡

There is a Parsi thanksgiving prayer in Pâzend, known as Nemâz-i-Dâdâr Hormazd, in which the Zoroastrian supplicant expresses, among other grateful thanksgivings to Ahûrâ Mazdâ, his sense of obligation that He created him man by nature, and free (*âzâd*) and not slave, and an Aryan and a *Veh-din* (*i.e.*, a member of the Good Zoroastrian religion).

Conscious of his Imperial traditions, proud of being the inheritor of an ancient and pure religion, which has influenced and shaped other religions, proud of the civilizing influence which his forbears had exercised over other nations of the world during long periods of time, and internally convinced

* E. B., ed. XI, Vol. XXI, 207.

† The following table, which is extracted from Table II appended to Edward A. Foord's "The Byzantine Empire," published in 1911, gives the areas of the Persian and Parthian Empires as compared with those of other ancient Empires:—

Empires.	Period.	Area in sq. miles.
Roman	A.D. 395	1,665,000
Babylonian	B.C. 2250	250,000
Egyptian	" 1450	450,000
Assyrian	" 650	350,000
Lydian	" 560	150,000
Persian	" 480	2,250,000
Alexandrian	" 323	2,150,000
Indian	" 250	1,600,000
Chinese	" 210	800,000
Carthaginian	" 220	250,000
Parthian	A.D. 1	1,150,000
New Persian	" 550	1,450,000

‡ H. A. P. C., 73.

as he is, that when the human mind will advance to that stage which rejects all that is based on superstition, all that is not acceptable by reason, the philosophy of his great Prophet, Zoroaster, will take the first place in human thought,* the Parsi has naturally a dignified bearing. Even the poorest Parsi takes up no degrading work and engages in no mean pursuit. Look where one may in India, whether in cities or in villages, he will never find a Parsi barber, cobbler, peon, porter, water-carrier, stone-breaker, donkey-driver, or such other worker given to low toil.

Some years ago, Dr. Führer, writing in E. B., ed. IX, gave the following description of Parsi men and women:—"The men are well-formed, active, handsome and intelligent. They have light olive complexion, a fine aquiline nose, bright black eyes, a well-turned chin, heavy arched eyebrows, thick sensual lips, and usually wear a curling moustache. The women are delicate in frame, with small hands and feet, fair complexion, beautiful profusion of long black hair, which they dress to perfection, and ornament with pearls and gems."

The curling moustache which adorned the lip of the Parsi male and lent dignity to his face, and the profuse long black hair which the Parsi belle used to cherish to the augmentation of her charms, are, alas, fast disappearing. Following the fashion of the Europeans, the Parsi young man now displays a clean shaven face and the Parsi belle has her hair bobbed or shingled. The Parsis, verily, are quick to adopt foreign habits, good or bad, as Herodotus said of their ancestors, the ancient Persians.

The Parsi is tolerant, unaggressive, peace-loving, though impulsive. His heart pulsates with catholic love. He will rush to help the under-dog and succour whomsoever he sees in a pitiable plight, no matter what his caste, creed or colour.†

* In his daily invocations to Ahurâ Mazdâ and the Celestial Hierarchy, the Zoroastrian prays, with an expectant heart, "*Dâd din beh Mâzdayasnân âghâi ravai go âfrangâni bād hafta keshvar zamin*" (May the knowledge of the Good Religion of the Mâzdayasnâns prevail through the Seven Regions!). As a matter of fact we find such a critical writer as Samuel Laing making the admission that this simple religion is one to which, by whatever name we call it, the best modern thought is fast approaching.

† It is enjoined in the Avesta (Visparad XV), "Ye Zoroastrian Mâzdayasnâns! Hold your hands, feet, and understanding steady! Believe those who have fallen in distress."

But owing to their natural dignified bearing, their habit of calling a spade a spade, and their undaunted advocacy of whatever and whomsoever's cause they consider right, the Parsis have often been the victims of venomous criticism and unjust wrath.

J. H. Curle opines, in his book "To-day and To-morrow—The testing period of the White Race," that the world's future rests with the white races, amongst whom he includes the Parsis, because of their efficiency. His deliberate advice to the white races is that it is for them now to set their houses in order so that the influences which in the future are likely to overthrow their supremacy can now be definitely and finally brought under control. This wise counsel the Parsis must hasten to adopt for themselves. Nor should they disregard the advice urged by the Rev. Dr. J. H. Moulton (in an address delivered in Bombay in 1916) upon those who are proud of Zoroastrianism to redouble their efforts to make religion mean more to themselves and to their people. The sage ones amongst them should set themselves promptly and unflinchingly to probe to the source and weed out any and every such debasing habit, pernicious practice, and demoralizing and debilitating influence as might have crept in, like a wolf in the fold at night, to the detriment of the community's well-being.*

Dr. M. Rostovtzeff† says of Oriental culture that it was based on a definite view of religion, which survived all change of circumstances and saved men from falling into the inaction of despair. This is quite true so far at least as the Parsis are concerned, who even in times of the utmost distress and disaster have never sunk into the slough of despondency and

* There are numerous trust funds for the relief of distressed Parsis. Almost all of these are utilised for giving doles. This system encourages pauperism. The Trustees of the Sir Ratan Tata Charities specially brought down Mr. S. F. Markham from England to Bombay to study the needs and requirements of the community and to suggest means for the proper administration of Parsi Trusts and Charities. In the report submitted by him he makes the remark "How many years of so-called philanthropy has it taken to produce this class of professional beggars? Those charitable persons who by their lack of common sense have helped to sap the spirit of self-reliance in the community cannot be regarded in any sense of the word as benefactors." No action has yet been taken on his recommendations.

† R. H. A. W., II, 361.

despair, but under the solace and encouragement of their optimistic religion have striven to remain active and hopeful. Their creed, which inculcates both activity and optimism, teaches the unity of the human race and lays down that the soul is immortal and man will be judged by the deeds performed and benevolence practised during his earthly life, has moulded the Parsis into what they are.

Prof. Louis H. Gray* of the Columbia University recognises the real reason for the vitality of the Iranian religion upto the present day in its precious possession of an intense and tremendous conviction that Good is good and Evil is evil, that Good must war against Evil till wickedness is vanquished, and that each man must battle for God against the devil; and he pronounces that such a creed bred men of lofty purpose, of high morality, of that purity, nobility and resolution which found so fine an expression in the Iranian triad of 'good thought, good word, good deed', the union of religion with morality, of duty toward the divine world with duty toward mankind. As Arthur Upham Pope† neatly puts it, in the original native Persian conception co-operation with God was not a presumption, but a duty.



Persian king hunting the lion.

* "Foundations of the Iranian Religion", K. O. I. P., 5, pp. 2, 3.

† P. I. P. A., 228.

CHAPTER I

THE ARYAN HOME, LANGUAGE, AND RELIGION.

The ancestors of the Parsis and the Hindus were one and the same. The Iranians and the Indians formed a single family and called themselves Aryans (Av. *Airya*, i.e., of the noble race); and Airyana (the land of the Aryans) is the original of the name Iran (Persia), as it is of Ireland. Rev. Dr. L. H. Mills (M. Z. G., 200) urges that we are under an obligation to state that the Aryan Indians were themselves Aryan Iranians once: their blood was near akin to that of their old neighbours as was their language, and the very metres of the hymns which they once sang together help on the proof of this, as they are still the same in the now so widely separated scenes. We have the opinion of the distinguished philologist Max Müller that the Aryan languages together point to an earlier period of language, when the first ancestors of the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slavs, the Celts, and the Germans were living together within the same enclosures, nay, under the same roof.* In his short but illuminating article on the Origin of the Alphabet in I. L. Q., July 1932, Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara, M.A., argues that the Avestan civilization existed in the common home of the Iranians and the Hindus before these separated, that it was the ancestors of the Hindus who were the schismats, and that the ancestors of most of the European races were simply the repeated bifurcations of these schismats.

The problem as to where the original home of the Aryans was located has been warmly debated with intensity and learning for many years past without any definite conclusion being arrived at. A theory which Latham originated and Penka, Taylor, Rendall and Schrader have supported, places the original Aryan home in Europe. Lord Redesdale† says that far

* M. A. P., Pt. II, 264.

† Introduction, C. F. N. C., Vol. I, xii.

away in Asia behind the great fastnesses of India, in times so remote that even tradition and fable are silent about them, there dwelt a race of white men, who were herdsmen, shepherds, tillers of the soil, poets and thinkers and were called Aryans—noblemen or householders, and from them are descended the dominant caste of India, the Persians, and the great nations of Europe.* Max Müller points to Central Asia somewhere near the Pamirs as the cradle, a view which Dr. Nilkanta Chattopadaya, Ph.D., seems to favour. The theory of M. de Saporta is that the entire human race originated on the shores of the Polar Sea at a time when the northern hemisphere was too hot to be inhabited by man. In his work "Arctic Home in the Vedas," the eminent scholar Mr. Bâl Gangâdhar Tilak deduces on the basis of several passages in the Avesta and Vedic scriptures, that the Aryan home lay in the far north, in regions round about the North Pole, before the last glacial epoch, which region they were compelled to quit owing to the devastation caused by the ice and snow of the glacial period. He calculates the commencement of the post-glacial era and the compulsory migration of the Aryan races from the Arctic home at a period not much older than B.C. 8000. The theory of Mr. S. K. Hodivala, a student of both Avesta and Sanskrit literatures, is that the primitive home of the Aryan people was Central Asia, whence some of them migrated to the North Polar regions, and that these emigrants had to leave those regions owing to the deluge and to return to their mother country.† Mr. M. B. Pithawalla, F.G.S., M.R.A.S., points out that the discovery of fossils and human skulls in the Gobi region reveals this region as the centre of distribution from which a series of expeditions were sent out by the Aryan race to the various parts of the then known world.‡ Likewise, a writer in the *Times of India* of 9th March 1933 mentions that experts are now hinting that, if money were available for excavation in Afghanistan and Baluchistan, we should find the prehistoric line of communication across farthest Asia. All the researches of the veteran explorer Dr. Sven Hedin,

* *Introdu.*, C. F. N. C., Vol. I, xii.

† *H. Z. C. R.*, 41.

‡ *Art.*, "Geological References in Oriental Scriptures," *J. K. O. I.*, No. 23.

who has worked for over half a century in the Gobi region, point to this line being the one which holds the secret of humanity's cradle.

The Celtic, Teutonic, Italic, Hellenic, and Slavonic or Windic people are the five great branches sent out by the Aryan family into Europe. Modern scholars have invented the names Indo-European or Indo-German for the Aryan family. These names are very clumsy, and Prof. Giles has chosen a better sounding name. He calls them the Wiros, because *wiro* or something like it, seems to have been the word for "man" in their language (Lat. *vir*).^{*} The Hindu and Iranian branches, together with the five branches just named, constitute the seven principal branches of the great Aryan family. It does not surprise us to be told by the author of "Ancient History" (Chambers's Educl. Course) that the Germans especially exhibit in their features, habits and language strong resemblances to the ancient Persians, and may almost with certainty be regarded as a genuine nation of Iran, transplanted at some remote epoch to the part of Central Europe which they now occupy. The same writer mentions that the likeness between the Parsi (Persian) and German languages is so great that it is said Germans have been able to understand Persian verses when read to them. To the distinguished scholar Johann Christoph Adelung, who, in his work "Mithridates or the General Science of Language," calls Central Asia "that great and ancient nursery of the human race for Asia, Europe and America", it strikes as very surprising that the Teutonic elements in Persian look not like strangers, but as though they were closely interwoven with the original structure of the language and its forms (see S. P. A. A., 4).

The Iranian languages form a separate family of the great Aryan stock of languages which comprises, besides the Iranian idioms, Sanskrit (with its daughters), Greek, Latin, Teutonic (with English), Slavonian, Letto-Lithuanian, Celtic, and all allied dialects. Dr. Martin Haug, from whose valuable "Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the Parsis"

^{*} See B. W. G. B., 6.

several of the particulars here given have been taken, classifies the Iranian idioms under two heads,—(1) Iranian languages properly so called, and (2) Affiliated languages.

The first division comprised the ancient, mediæval and modern languages of Iran, which region includes Persia, Media, and Bactria,—the countries styled in the Zend-Avesta *airyâo danhâvo* ("Aryan countries"). These Haug classifies as (a) the Eastern or Bactrian branch, and (b) the West Iranian languages, or those of Media and Persia.

The East Iranian is extant only in the two dialects in which the scanty fragments of the Parsi scriptures are written, namely, the Gâthâ dialect, which is the more ancient of them and in which the Gâthâs are written, and the Ancient Bactrian or the classical Avesta language, which was for many centuries the spoken and written language of Bactria.

The West Iranian languages are known to us during the three periods of antiquity, middle ages, and modern times, but only in the one dialect which has, at every period, served as the written language throughout the Iranian provinces of the Persian empire.

To the second chief division of the Iranian tongues belong those languages which share in the chief peculiarities of this family, but differ from it in many essential particulars. To this division Haug refers the Ossetic, spoken by some small tribes in the Caucasus, but differing chiefly from the other Caucasian languages, the Armenian and the Afghânic (Pashtû).

The original language of the Parsi scriptures is known as Avesta. "Zend-Avesta" is used as a general term for these scriptures. Whenever the word "Zend" is used alone, it is applied to the Pahlavi translation, commentary or gloss. The term "Pâzend" denotes a further explanation of the Zend. The word "Zend" is derived from Av. *zan*, to know, and signifies "explanation"; and the word "Pâzend" is derived from Av. *paiti-zanti*, with the meaning "re-explanation".

Haug derives the word "Avesta" from *vid*, to know, with the prefix *â*: "*Ā-vistâ*" would thus mean "what is

known or proclaimed to be the law". The conjecture of Prof. Andreas, which Karl F. Geldner is disposed to concur in, is that "Avistāk" or "Avastāk" is to be traced back to the old form *upastā* and thus signifies "foundation" or "foundation-text".*

Dasturji Saheb Sardar Kaikobad Adarbad Noshervan, the late Head Priest of the Deccan and Malwa, traces the word from *Aiwyāsta* = *abhi* + *asta*, which he takes as meaning "learned" or "well-versed"; and he explains that *Aiwyāsta* is a past principle and like its Sanskrit equivalent *abhyasta* may be used both in the active and in the passive sense and that it would thus mean either "studied" or "what is studied or repeated", and would soon come to mean what is constantly and daily repeated, namely, the scriptures. Sir J. J. Modi† suggests that, in the consideration of the etymology of the word 'Avesta', the word 'hāvista' ("disciple") also requires to be considered. The two words seem to him to have a good deal in common.

West explains, in his Introduction to Vol. V, S. B. E., that the term Pahlavi, in its widest extent, is applied to all the varied forms of the mediæval Persian language, from the time when the grammatical inflexions of ancient Persian were dropped till the period when the modern alphabet was invented and the language became corrupted into modern Persian by the adoption of numerous Arabic words and phrases. Strictly speaking, the mediæval Persian language is only called Pahlavi when it is written in one of the characters used before the adoption of the modern Persian alphabet, and in the peculiarly enigmatical mode adopted in Pahlavi writings. Whenever it is transcribed, either in Avesta characters or in those of the modern Persian alphabet, and freed from this peculiarity, it is called Pāzend. In Sāsānian times the Avestan alphabet was known by the name of Din Dabireh.

The Avesta speech is closer to the Vedic than some of the various dialects of Greece are to each other. The languages of the sacred hymns of the Brahmans and those of the Parsis are only the two dialects of two separate tribes of one and the

* A. P. S., 2.

† K. R. C. M., LXX.

same nation. By applying phonetic principles, Avestan words may be changed into Vedic and Sanskrit and *vice versa*.

The first Fargard or chapter of the Avestaic scripture Vendidâd enumerates sixteen lands of Ahûrâ Mazdâ's creation, which one after another were made uninhabitable by the visitation of different evils and plagues, allegorically attributed to the agency of Angra-Mainyûs (the Evil Principle). These sixteen regions are shown in the subjoined list:—

1. Airyana-vaeja,
2. Sughdha (Soghdiana, modern Samarcand),
3. Mourn (Margiana, modern Merv),
4. Bâkhdi (Bactria, modern Balkh),
5. Nisâya (some place in the Murghâb valley, according to Justi and Harlez; the district of Nasa or Nisa, now known as Darraghaz, a little to the west of Merv, according to Sykes; Nishâpûr, according to Sir J. J. Modi),
6. Harôyû (Herât, or the country of the Heri-rûd river),
7. Vaekêrêta (Câbûl, according to Spiegel and Sykes; Segestân or Sistân, according to Haug and Modi),
8. Urva (Câbûl, according to Haug and Modi; land around Isphâhân, according to Darmesteter; Tûs, according to Sykes),
9. Khnenta (Kandâhâr, according to Haug; Mâzanderân according to Harlez; Gurjan or Gourgân, according to Spiegel, Sykes and Modi),
10. Harakhaiti (Arachosia; Sarasvati, according to Modi),
11. Haêtumant (Etymander, the Helmand),
12. Ragha (Rae),
13. Chakhra (south of Nisâya),
14. Varêna (Gilân),
15. Hapta-Hindû* (the Sapta-Sindhû of the Hindus; India),

* "The word shows that India was known to the Persians from old times when the Indus had seven branches and not five, which have given the country through which it flows its later Persian name of Ponjâb. . . . Latterly the name Hindu or India was not confined to the country watered by the Indus, but was extended to regions other than this." (M. As. P., Pt. II, pp. 206 ff.)

16. The country near Rangha (*Sansk.* Rasā; Caspian Sea, according to Haug; Oxus, according to Harlez; Arvastān-i-Rūm, or Mesopotamia, according to Darmesteter; Jaxartes, according to Spiegel).

Rhode, Lassen, Haug, Bunsen and some other scholars take these sixteen places as those to which, one after another, members or sections of the ancient Aryan race migrated. Heeren's theory is that these places represent a successive chain of abodes following the great highway of nations, as it was afterwards that of commerce, and extending from Soghdiana and Balkh, across the Oxus to the west, into Fars and Persia-*Proper*, and to the boundaries of Media and India. Harlez's theory is that the writer of the *Fargard* in question had the object in view of giving the list of the countries in which Zoroastrianism had spread at this time. In the judgment of Sir J. J. Modi,* the places enumerated are those which were occupied, one after another, by the ancient Iranians, and in which the ancient Mazdayasnān religion prevailed to a more or less extent. In support of his view he cites the commencement of the chapter, in which Ahūrā Mazdā is represented as saying to Zarathūshtra, "O Spitama Zarathūshtra! I have created (all) countries as pleasure-giving countries and not as pleasure-destroying. O Spitama Zarathūshtra! Had I not created countries which gave pleasure and which did not destroy pleasure, then the whole of the living world would have crowded in the country of Airyana Vaeja."

While Heeren† considers the traditions preserved in the first two chapters of the *Vendidad* to be so evidently historical as to require nothing but sufficient geographical knowledge for the identification of the places therein mentioned, Schrader‡ upholds the view of H. Kiepert that however important for history and geography the enumeration of the sixteen districts may be otherwise, it only represents the extent of the geographical knowledge of the author of the *Zend Avesta* and has absolutely no pretensions to be an account of the wanderings or gradual expansion of the Iranians or of the Hindu-Persians or of the Indo-Europeans.

* M. As. P., Pt. II, 205, 248.

† See V. P. A., 8.

‡ S. P. A. A., 85.

For our own part we are disposed to accept the judgment of the great Parsi scholar Dr. Sir J. J. Modi, which substantially agrees with the view of Rhode and several other European scholars.

The name of the first (*paöirim*) happy land, Airyana-vaeja, signifies that it was the seed (*vaéja*, Sansk. *bija*) or primary seat of the Aryans. The Zoroastrian Aryans still recall their ancient birth-land and offer homage to it when saying their prayers.* It was a delightful land with ten months of winter and two of summer. Prof. A. V. W. Jackson, who undertook a journey around Lake Ürümiäh from Tabriz to the city of Ürümiäh by wagon, remarks that a gloss changes the Vendidad text to 'five months of winter and seven months of summer', but judging from his own discomfort (for March seemed in the Avestan words to be the very 'heart of winter', *zimahe zare-dhaem*) he felt inclined to agree with the original reading.† W. S. W. Vaux also mentions that according to the first two chapters of the Vendidad Airyana-vaeja had a climate of five months of winter and seven of summer. What the Vendidad really says is that this land had a climate of ten months of cold and two of hot weather, but the region where the book or the gloss was composed had a climate of seven months of summer and five of winter.

When the said delightful land was rendered uninhabitable by the end of the Glacial epoch, the Indo-Iranians migrated southwards, and penetrated into Eastern Iran. The forefathers of the future Hindus and the future Parsis then followed the same religion and spoke the same language. At the bottom of that religion, says Darmesteter (*S. B. E.*, vol. IV, p. LVII), there were two general ideas, firstly, that there is law in nature, and, secondly, that there is a war in nature. There were, therefore, in the Indo-Iranian religion a latent monotheism and an unconscious dualism. From Eastern Iran‡ one part spread

* "*Nemo Airyēnā vaejahē*" = (We do) Homage to Airyana-vaeja (*Yasht I*, 21).

† *J. P. P.*, 71.

‡ Several recent discoveries made at Mohenjo-daro in Sind go to show that the Indus Valley people entered India from somewhere in Western Asia (*E. J. H. Mackay* in his *Sir G. Birdwood Meml. lecture* in the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts, London, see *T. L.*, 29-12-1933).

over the district of the Indus, then on again to the Ganges. In the lands where the Aryans migrated they soon became supreme by virtue of their great intellectual gifts and self-asserting character. The aborigines of India, who were subdued by these Aryan invaders more than three thousand years ago, were, according to Sayad Muhammad Latif, author of the "History of the Punjab", whose view is endorsed by Prof. Francis Zajtí,* of one common stock of Scythian origin.

From Eastern Iran another part moved westward to Zagros and the borders of the Semitic world.

Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz tells us that far back in the Age of Stone the forefathers of the Parsis and Hindus lived in Balkh and Babel. In the Oxus Valley they called themselves Aryans; in the Euphrates plain they were known as Kassites and Mitanni. The Kassites ruled in Mesopotamia about 1700-1100, B.C. Band after band crossed the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. The Kassite voyagers, traders as well as soldiers, sailed up the Indus and entered the Punjab. Dushratta, a Mitanni king, defeated the Assyrians (Asuras). But after his death anarchy broke out among the Mitanni, and they, in their turn, were vanquished by the Assyrians. Many escaped in boats and followed the trail of their Aryan sires to the Punjab. (See Horowitz's article on Aryan Origins, M. M. V., 16).

In the ruins of the ancient Egyptian Foreign Office at Tel-el-Amarna a number of letters were found preserved, one of which is a long letter written in the Mitanni language by King Dushratta to the Pharaoh of Egypt, the importance of which is that we learn from it that along with the chief native and Babylonian divinities, three other divinities were worshipped in Mitanni (Northern Mesopotamia) who bore the distinctly Sanskritic names of Varûna, Indra and Nāsātya (or Asvin). From this Dr. A. H. Sayce (art. "The Early Home of Sanskrit," M.M.V., 69) draws the one conclusion that there

* The Indo-Aryans came from Bactria, over the passes of the Hindu Kush into South Afghanistan and thence by the valleys of the Kabul river, the Kurram and the Gumal,...into the North-West frontier and the Punjab. (Prof. Rapson, Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 48).

* See Zajtí's monograph "Ethnological Problems of the History of India," M. M. V., 515.

must have been an element in the population of Mitanni which spoke Vedic Sanskrit. In the course of the excavations carried out in Asia Minor during the summer of 1907 there have been discovered cuneiform tablets at Boghazkui* (the ancient Pteria), the northern Hittite capital, some 90 miles east of Angora, which contain the terms of treaties in the Mitanni language between the kings of the Hittites and the Mitanni, of the time of *Circa* 1400 B.C. In these treaties the deities of both these nations are invoked. Among the Mitanni deities Hugo Winckler has found the names of Mitra, Varûna, Indra, and the Násatyas, one and all of which are Vedic gods. From this Bâl Gangâdhar Tilak† draws the inevitable conclusion that in the fourteenth century B.C. and earlier the rulers of Mesopotamia worshipped Vedic gods. The names of these rulers (Artatama, Tushratta, Mittivasa) appear to be Iranian and not Vedic. But Tilak does not consider this as affecting the conclusion which he has drawn. Dr. Edward Joseph Thomas‡, whilst he admits that we do not yet know whether the Iranian features in Mitanni are Iranian proper or whether they belong to the period before the separation of the Iranian branch, thinks that this branch may have been separated long before the peculiar features that distinguish the language from Sanskrit developed. The view which Dr. Walter Porzig§ puts forth is that in the region of the kingdom of Mitanni, about 1400 B.C., the Aryans not yet separated into Iranians and Indians were living in close contiguity, and that during this period, prior to their exclusion from the western Asiatic culture by the catastrophe of Mitanni, about 1350 B.C., they were subjected to the influence of that culture. His thesis insists on the fact that the Aryans in Mitanni are not to be regarded as an outlying colony, far distant from the great body of Aryans. Dr. A. Berriedale Keith,¶

* "This is a very interesting name. *Bog* means, both in the Avesta and the Hungarian, a nod, a plenty of something. *Haz* is, in both, a house. *Keui* is, in both, stony. Boghaz-Keui is therefore: Plenty of houses (in a) stony region". (M. M. V., 516.)

† Art. "Chaldean and Indian Vedas", B. C. V., 31-2.

‡ Art. "The Indo-Iranians and Their Neighbours," I. I. S., 181-184.

§ See A. Berriedale Keith's art. "Mitanni, Iran, and India," M. M. V., 81.

¶ *Ib.* 83.

however, asserts, with convincing reasoning, that Porzig's theory can hardly be accepted and we must rather admit that, while the Aryans were not yet sharply severed into Indian and Iranian, processes of differentiation were at work, and there is no proof of close proximity. Henri Berr* quotes, with evident approval, the view of J. de Morgan (*Les Premières Civilisations*, p. 134) that to the movements which took the Aryans on to the Iranian plateau and into the great Hindu peninsula it is impossible to give a date and we can barely follow their course; but they probably came to an end between the XVth and XIIth centuries before the Christian era, while their origin is lost in the night of time. According to Tilak's calculations, the Parsis must have separated from the Indian Aryans in the latter part of the Orion period, that is to say, between 3000 to 2500 B.C.†

While the Iranians developed and carried to the extreme the two principal notions of the Indo-Iranian religion, namely, (1) the latent monotheism and (2) the unconscious dualism, the other branch lost sight of them or at least obscured them. This was the origin of the schism and eventual separation between the two sections of the Indo-Iranians, the one known as the Indian branch because it migrated later on to India, and the other known as the Iranian branch because it migrated to Iran.‡

As the breach between the Iranians and other Aryan and non-Aryan nations widened, the gods of the non-Iranic countries came to be regarded as presiding over the different species of physical and moral evil and were objects of hatred to the Iranians as the emissaries of hell.§ The Vedic gods Indra, Sarva, Násatya, and others were openly denounced in the Avesta. *Deva*, the name given in the Vedas to the divine beings, the objects of worship on the part of the Hindus, came in the Iranian literature to mean an evil spirit, a fiend, demon,

* Foreword, H. A. P. C., xi.

† T. O., 218.

‡ M. D. P., 96 ff.

§ A Zoroastrian in his Declaration of Faith makes the emphatic avowal that he is a devotee of Mazdâ and abjures the *daevas*, the wicked, bad, wrongful originators of mischief, the most baneful, destructive, and basest of beings.

or devil, who is inimical to all that comes from God and is good. Among the Indians, Asura (a form of Ahura) assumed a bad meaning and came to be applied to the bitterest enemies of their Devas (gods), although in the older parts of the Rigveda Sanhitā the word Asura is used in as good and elevated a sense as in the Zend-Avesta.* To Dr. Irach J. S. Tarporeval† the credit is due of pointing out that the Avesta word Ahura itself has been used in Vedic literature. It is a unique occurrence in the Mantra Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda, 1.6.21. The passage is :—

अहुर इदं ते परिदाम्यमुम् ॥ ("O Ahura! here to Thee I deliver so and so.")

The Iranian Aryans were divided into many tribes and clans, the principal of whom, according to Herodotus, were the following twelve :—

1. The Medes (O.P. Madā),
2. The Persians (O.P. Pārsā),
3. The Hyrcanians (O.P. Verkāna),
4. The Parthians (O.P. Pārthava),
5. The Arians (O.P. Haraiva),
6. The Drangians (O.P. Zaranka),
7. The Arachotians (O.P. Harauvati),
8. The Bactrians (O.P. Bakhtri),
9. The Soghdians (O.P. Sugudu),
10. The Chorasmians (O.P. Uvarazmiya),
11. The Margians (O.P. Mergu),
12. The Sagartians (O.P. Asagarta).

Sir Denison Ross ("The Persians", pp. 32-33) puts the beginning of the seventh century B.C. as the time when a group of Iranians, coming from the region of Turkestan, had settled in the country south of Media which was known as Parsua, from which place-name they derived the ethnic name

* H. E., 268.

† Monograph "The word अहुर (ahura) in Sanskrit and Gōbhillas," I. I. S., 146.

Parsa, and in turn gave this name to the province now known as Fârs,* which, according to him, was formerly called Anshan. Ed. Meyer† considers the attempt to identify the Persians or the Parthians with the Parsua so prominent in the Assyrian annals as untenable, and suggests that the Parsua are perhaps the non-Aryan tribe *παρσοι* in Northern Media.

The ancient Greeks spoke of the ancient country of the Parsis as Persis and of the people as Persoi. This country was bounded on the north by Media, on the south by the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, on the east by Carmania (Kêrmân), and on the north-east by Susiâna (Khûjistân). In length it was 450 miles and in breadth 250,—about equal in area to Italy and about 10,000 sq. m. larger than Great Britain. It is this country which produced such eminent Persian rulers as Cyrus and Darius the Great of undying fame, and which the latter, with justifiable patriotic pride, describes, in an inscription at Persepolis, as "the land Persis, which Ahûrâ Mazdâ has given to me, which is beautiful, which possesses good horses, and possesses good men, and which according to the will of Ahûrâ Mazdâ and myself trembles before no enemy."‡

"When all deductions are made," says Prof. Robert Williams Rogers in his *History of Ancient Persia* (pp. 6, 7), "Persia must still be allowed to possess a healthful and invigorating climate, in which was bred and reared a race of might, of brawn, and vigorous also in mind. Herein lies the elemental

* "To call the province of Fârs 'Fârsistân,' as is sometimes done by European writers, is quite incorrect, for the termination 'istân' (place of, land of) is added to the name of a people to denote the country which they inhabit (e.g. Afghânistân, Baluchistân), but not to the name of a country or province." (Prof. E. G. Browne.)

† E. B., ed. XI, Vol. 21, p. 303.

‡ Dr. J. Oppert (R. P., Vol. IX, 71-72) translates this passage of the inscription as follows:—"Darius the King says: this Persian land, which Ormazd granted to me is noble, rich in horses and men. By the grace of Ormazd and of me, King Darius, it does not fear from the Other (Ahriman)," and explains that *Anîpa* of the Persian text never means "enemy" but means "the Other," that is to say, Ahriyamaniyus (Anghra mainiyus), the Evil Principle. This inscription Oppert considers as of the highest importance for the history of the Mazdean religion as it is the only one where Ahriman, the Evil Spirit, is alluded to.

secret of the vitality and initiative which they displayed when the Western world first came to know them."

Of all the people of modern Persia, the inhabitants of Fars have kept themselves freest from foreign elements and preserved more nearly the type of the Persian of Darius's time; and of these the purest and the handsomest are the Zoroastrians who have maintained through all the long ages, in spite of the bitterest persecutions, the ancient religion of Zoroaster and have not intermarried with alien races. (J. P. P., 25, 322).



King Darius and his Persians.

CHAPTER II

THE LEGENDS AND CHRONICLES OF IRAN, AND THE SHĀH-NĀMEH OF FIRDAUSI

No writer of history can discard the myths and legends of a nation or treat them with indifference, for they have generally a foundation of historical truth under them. Myths, says a writer in the *Times of India* of 1st November 1932, are sometimes thickly encrusted with fact, and that fact may have been handed down equally without scathe from generation to generation.

The legends, traditions and history of the Parsis present a marvellous vista, starting as they do from the obscure and misty past. S. G. W. Benjamin, author of "Persia", states but the fact when he says that no country has more attractive legends than Persia, and no nation now existing has such continuous vitality as the old land of Cyrus and Darius.

Xenophon mentions that the history of each day used to be recorded in the Chronicles (styled by Ctesias *Διπορεας βασιλικαι*) of the Persian Court, and reference is more than once made in the Book of Esther to the books of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia. Ctesias, the Greek physician of Artaxerxes Mnemon, also makes mention of the parchment archives of the Persian kingdom which he had seen and from which he professed to derive his information.

During the regime of the Sāsānides a Parsi historical work, called *Sākisirān*, was very popular. It contained a narration of the wars between King Zû and the Turanian Afrāsyāb, and accounts of prince Shiāvush, the paladin Rūstam and prince Asfendiyār, and of the wars of King Bahman with Rūstam. The Parsis of the Sāsānian period possessed also a book, called *Loharāsp-nāme*h, which related how Arjāsp, the king of Turan, laid siege to the capital city of Balkh, how Loharāsp defended it, how the latter was killed, and how his death was avenged. Masoudi speaks of a book of his own,

named Akbârazzamân wa al vasan, wherein he had given graphic accounts of the pomp and state with which the imposing ceremonies of the coronation of the Iranian kings were performed and of the works of architecture carried out by each king.

The Iranian sovereigns, especially the Sâsânides, took pains to make collections of historical records. Khûsrau I (Naushirvân the Just) and Khûsrau II (Khûsrau Parviz) especially distinguished themselves in this direction. Yezdegard Shehriyâr entrusted the work of systematically arranging these collections and adding to them to Dâneshtar, a learned *dehkân* (squire) of Madâyan, who, with the help of certain *mobeds* (priests), composed the Pahlavi work known as Bâstân-nâme ("History of the Past") or Khodâi-nâme ("History of the Kings"). It commenced with the time of the first Peshdâdian King Kaiomars and ended with the reign of the Sâsânide Khûsrau Parviz). An Arabic translation of it, known as Sair-ul-Mûlûk, was prepared, in the middle of the eighth century, A.D., by Abdallâh Ebn Al Mokaffâ, a Persian who had embraced Islam late in life.

After the Arab conquest Dâneshtar's Bâstân-nâme fell into the hands of a common soldier, who took it to Abyssinia, from whence it went over to India. There it came into the possession of Yâkûb bin Leith, who took it back to Persia, where he founded the Saffârid dynasty. This prince, who had the royal Sâsânian blood in his veins, evinced considerable interest in preserving the records of the past. He got Dâneshtar's book translated into Persian, through the Arabic version, and brought down to the time of Yezdegard Shehriyâr, by Saûd ibn Mansûr al Ma'mari, with the help of four others, Tâj bin Khorâsâni, Yazdândâd bin Shâhpûr, Mahui bin Khûrshid, and Shâdân bin Barzin, who were descendants of the old Persian families and most probably Zoroastrians.

The Saffârids were succeeded by the Samânids, the princes of which line traced their origin to Behrâm Chobin, who belonged to the great house of Mihrân and was the General of the Sâsânian king Hormazd IV. In 365 A.H., Shah Nûh II of

this line engaged his court poet Dakiki to compose a *Shâh-nâmeh* in verse based on the *Bâstân-nâmeh*. After this poet had written about a thousand couplets, dealing with the reign of Gûshtâsp and the advent of the prophet Zoroaster, he fell a prey to a slave's dagger. The following couplets of his show him to be of the faith of Zoroaster :—

دقیقی چهار خصلت دوست دارد
 بگیتی از همه خونی و زشتی
 لب باقوت رنگ و ماله چنگ
 شراب لعل و کیش زردوشتی

("Of all the good and ill of the world Dakiki has chosen four things to himself: ruby lips, the lyre's sound, red wine, and the religion of Zoroaster.")

The Ghaznavids conquered the Sâmanids, and the *Bâstân-nâmeh* fell into the hands of the famous Sultan Mahmûd of Ghazni, who was a great patron of Persian literature and learning and had become, in Warner's words, more Persian than the Persians. He was fired with the ambition of continuing and completing the collection of the historical traditions of Iran. With the aid of the neighbouring princes and the *dehkâns* he secured a vast amount of materials, and entrusted various episodes for versification to the poets Ansari, Farrokhi, Zini, Asjadi, Manjanak, Changzan, Khûrrami, and Tarmadi. Eventually he definitely entrusted the entire revision and versification of the materials collected to Abûl-Câsim, well-known by his nom-de-plume of Firdausi, who had given proof as much of his close acquaintance with the ancient history and traditions of Iran as of his great poetical talents and mastery of elegant diction. This poet, according to Nidhâmi-i-'Arûdi-i-Samarcandi, the author of the *Chahâr Maqâla* ("Four Discourses"), was a *dehkân* (squire) of Bâz in the district of Tûs. Mirkhond, in the preface to his "*Rauzat-us-Safâ*," gives his name as Abûl-Câsim Hosan bin Mûhammad bin Ali Al-Firdausi At-Tûsi, and calls him the king of eloquence. According to Daulatshâh Samarcandi,

author of *Tazâkarat-ush-Sho'ara* ("Lives of the Poets"), the surname *Firdausi* is derived from *Firdûs* (Paradise), the name of a garden which was in the charge of his father. Another explanation is that Sultan Mahmûd, on hearing some extemporised verses which the poet recited in praise of his favourite slave *Ayâz*, rapturously exclaimed "Thou hast to-day transformed my court into a *Firdûs* (Paradise)," and so the rising poet came to acquire the sobriquet of *Firdausi*.

Notwithstanding the scepticism of T. Nöldeke and some other writers, there are enough grounds to hold with James Darmesteter and E. H. Palmer that *Firdausi* was well versed in Pahlavi and Arabic. In his "Epitome of the Ancient History of Persia", published in 1799, the eminent Persian scholar and traveller Sir William Ouseley mentions that *Firdausi* composed his epic from some original annals in the Pahlavi language which escaped the general destruction of Persian books at the hands of the Mûsulmâns, and his opinion is borne out by the scholarly Dastûrs Drs. P. B. Sanjana and D. P. Sanjana.

Among the sources used by *Firdausi* for his epic are the Pahlavi memoirs *Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân*, *Kârnâmak-i-Artakhshir-i-Pâpakân*, and *Aiyâdgâr-i-Vazorg-Mitr*, which are still extant. Dr. Sir J. J. Modi, in his translation of the first-named memoir, points out that *Firdausi* has not only borrowed materials and thoughts but even words from that book. Another Parsi scholar, Mr. Behramgor T. Anklesaria (I. L. Q., April 1931, p. 269) mentions it as curious that the above and other texts are found in manuscripts prepared by *Din-panâh*, *Rûstam Mitr-âwân* and *Mitr-âwân Kaé-Khûsrûb* in India and have not been procured from Persia. He considers it a fortunate circumstance that these texts had come over to India before the barbarous Tartars commenced to rule over Persia, and observes that copies there certainly must have been in the various cities and districts of Persia where the Zoroastrians dwelt during the time of *Firdausi*, but their owners had to submit to the cruelty and oppression of fanatic rulers and of their more tyrannical officers and to leave off their religion and go over to the reli-

gion of the conquering Tartars in order to make life possible for themselves and their families.

In a short time after the Mahomedan conquest the Zoroastrian religion was all but rooted out of Persia. Still there lingered for many years amongst the *dehkâns*, who constituted the landed gentry of Persia, a fond, though secret, attachment to the religion of their ancestors, particularly in the eastern provinces, remote from the capital and less influenced by foreign dominion. It is to this reverence on the part of the Persian nobles for the ancient faith and traditions that, as Prof. Spiegel mentions in the Introduction to his translation of the Avesta, we owe the preservation of those materials which served Firdausi as the groundwork of his epic.

In 60,000 immortal verses this master-poet has revived the



Firdausi

glory and grandeur, the might, marvels, and magnificence of Iran that was. Kings and queens, heroes and heroines, learned priests and skilful ministers of state, envoys and ambassadors, soothsayers and revealers of dreams and portents, the ardent lover and the bashful maiden, keep the stage engaged and challenge our interest and admiration. We hear the warriors' boastful challenges, the clangour of swords, the thump of heavy maces, the twang of the bow, the buzz of arrows, the furious neigh of spirited chargers, as

warrior meets warrior in deadly combat. Princes and paladins we see devoutly praying to the Almighty for help in their undertakings and humbly offering their thanksgivings for divine favours vouchsafed and successes achieved. We follow the chase. We admire and envy the stalwart paladins revelling and quaffing enormous quantities of rich red wine. We weep with Rûstam on the death by his hand of his youthful valiant son, the guileless Sohrâb, in ignorance of his identity. Off and

on we hear the poet's own musings on such themes as the instability of Fortune, the immutability of Fate, the uncertainty of life and mundane career, and so forth. The entire book is composed in a diction pure* and sweet and at the same time vigorous and vivacious. In the matter of linguistic purity and avoidance of foreign words in a national epic, Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson cites the *Shâh-nâmeh* (A.D. 1000) as an excellent parallel to the poetical chronicle, the *Brut* of Layamon (A.D. 1200), who was the first Englishman to unfold before his countrymen their legendary past. Sir William Jones, the Columbus of the New World of Oriental Studies, who was the first to introduce Firdausi's great epic to Europe by publishing translations of some of its passages in his Latin work on Asiatic poetry, describes it as "a glorious monument of Eastern genius and learning, which, if ever it should be generally understood in its original language, will contest the merit of invention with Homer itself."

Was Firdausi, like Dakiki, a follower of the Faith of Zoroaster? M. Mohl (*Livre des Rois*, Vol. I, Pref., p. liii), tells us that the ancient Persians took Firdausi to be one of their co-religionists, and Sir J. J. Modi (S. M. V., Intr., p. xliii) mentions that in some old manuscripts of the Zoroastrian rituals we find his name recited in the *Dhâp-Nirang* or the *Nirang-i-Bâi-Dâdan* as one of the known saintly persons. When questioned on this subject by a disciple, the late Mr. Behramshah N. Shroff, to whose knowledge of the esoteric side of Zoroastrianism, acquired from the Sâheb-Dilâns of Demâvand, allusion has been made before, gave the reply, "Know that Firdausi was by lineage a purer Iranian and in the practice of its tenets a truer Zoroastrian than you and I."

It will not be out of place to mention here that another celebrated Mahomedan poet, Hâfiz of Shirâz, sings in numerous places, in his famous *Diwân*, of the spiritual illumination that had come to him by contact with the Magavs or Zoroastrian divines and from the extant remnants of the Zoroastrian spiritual lore. In one *gazal* (ode) he speaks of

* The proportion of Arabic words in the *Shâh-nâmeh* is about 7 p.c. (see footnote 1 at p. 64 of Rodwell's "Omar Khayyâm").

the spiritual lessons that he had heard delivered in Pahlavi :—

بلبل ز شاخ سرو بکلبانگ یهلوی

میخواند دوش درس مقامات معنوی

("The nightingale [that is, the Magian divine] was delivering last night, from the branch of the cypress, a lesson on matters of high significance in the Pahlavi tongue.")*

In the following lines he unequivocally declares that he is a disciple of a Magian :—

مرید پیر مغانم ز من مرغ ای شیخ

چرا که وعده تو کرد و او بجا آورد

("I am a disciple of the chief priest of the Magians. O Sheikh [that is, teacher of Islam]! do not get vexed with me. The reason is that thou madest promise, and he accomplished it.")

Again sings he :—

آن روز بر دلم در معنی کشاده شد

کز ساکنان درگاه پیر مغان شدم

("On the day that I became one of the abiders in the court of the chief of the Magi the portals of spiritual knowledge were opened in my heart.")

Even for the ruins such as exist of the Zoroastrian lore he has nothing but words of praise and appreciation :—

چرا ز کوی خرابات روی بر تابم

که بهم در جهان ازین هیچ رسم و راهی نیست

("Why should I turn my face from the street of ruins [meaning the ruins of the Zoroastrian literature]? Nowhere else in the whole world are to be found the law and road [that is to say, the spiritual guidance] that are found there.")

* Cf. Omar Khayyām's lines :—

بلبل بزبان یهلوی با گل زدد

فریاد همی زند که می باید خورد

(i.e., The nightingale complains to the yellow rose in the Pahlavi tongue "We must drink wine".)

In one ode he looks expectantly for a revival of the principles of the Zoroastrian religion :—

بیاض نازنه کن آئین دین زرتشتی
کنون که لاله بر افروخت آتش نمرود

("Revive the principles of the religion of Zarthûst in the garden, now that the tulip has kindled the fire of Nimrod.")

Omar Khayyâm, too, under some despair, wants to turn to Zoroastrianism. He writes :—

ز تار مغانه بر میان خواهم بست
از تنگ چه از تنگ مسلحانی خویش

("I will tie on my waist the sacred thread [*i.e.*, the *kusti*] of the Magis. For the shame of what? For the shame of my Mûsalmâni.")

S. G. W. Benjamin, the author of "Persia and Persians", holds up a warning finger against accepting Firdausi's epic as more than partially historical, on the ground that the poet has in the details indulged in the usual license allowed to his craft. But the consensus of opinion of scholars now is that Firdausi was extremely scrupulous as regards the material which reached him, and has taken no liberties with the records which were accessible to him,—none as regards the fields of action, none as regards the actors. The poet himself solemnly asseverates that if he has said a single false word (that is, anything which is not based on his original authorities), his soul shall go to the abode of (perpetual) sorrow.

No ancient or modern epic poet of the East or West has sung the continuous history of any country or people from antediluvian times to a late date as Firdausi has done. In this respect his Shâh-nâmeh is unique. It is the glory of the Persian race, say Warner brothers, that they alone among all nations possess such a record, based as it is on their own traditions and set forth in the words of their greatest poet. When this poet says—

بسی رنج بردم در این سال سی
عجم زنده کردم بدین پارسی

“I have laboured much these past thirty years, and by means of these Persian verses of mine I have resuscitated Iran”)

we know he is making no false claim.

Firdausi has divided his annals into four periods: (1) Peshdadian, the period commencing from the time of Gaiomard; (2) the Kaiyânian; (3) the Ashkânian or Parthian; and (4) the Sâsânian. His epic ends with the conquest of the Empire by the Arabs.

Prof. Edward G. Browne, in his “Literary History of Persia from the earliest times until Firdausi” (p. 37), gives the periods of Iranian history as under:—

- I. The Indo-Iranian period.
- II. The early Iranian period.
- III. The period of Assyrian influence (B.C. 1000, or even earlier).
- IV. The Medic period (B.C. 700).
- V. The old Persian (Achaemenian) period (B.C. 550).
- VI. Interregnum, from the invasion of Alexander to the Sâsânian Restoration (B.C. 330-A.D. 226).
- VII. The Sâsânian period (A.D. 226-652).
- VIII. The Mûhammadan period, extending from the fall of the Sâsânian Dynasty to the present day.

Mr. Arthur Upham Pope, in an appendix to his “Introduction to Persian Art,” gives the following historical table:—

Prehistoric period	to 2750 B.C.
Archaic period (including Elamite and Median)	2750-550 B.C.
Achaemenian period	550-330 B.C.
Alexander's successors	330-200 B.C.
Parthian period	200 B.C.-A.D. 222
Sâsânian period	222-650
Islâmic period	637
Arab conquest of Persia (over- throw of Sâsânian Dynasty)	638-642

CHAPTER III.

THE IRANIAN VIEW OF THE CREATION OF MAN, AND THE PRE-PESHDĀDIAN AND PESHDĀDIAN DYNASTIES.

To Sir William Jones, who was a master of several Oriental languages and founded the "Asiatick Society" in the very next year after his landing at Calcutta as a Judge of the Supreme Court at Fort St. George in Bengal in September 1783, it had long seemed unaccountably strange that although Egypt, Yemen, the Chinese and India had their monarchs in very early times, yet Persia, the most delightful, the most compact, the most desirable country of them all, should have remained for so many ages (previous to the accession of Gaiomard) unsettled and disunited. But the cloud was dissipated and a gleam of light on the primeval history of Iran, and of the human race, was cast, by, what this eminent Orientalist calls, the fortunate discovery of the rare and interesting tract on twelve different religions, entitled the Dabistān, the author of which had perused a number of books, now extremely scarce, from which he had learnt that a powerful monarchy (called the Mahābādian dynasty) had been established for ages in Iran before the accession of Gaiomard and that many of these princes had raised their empire to the zenith of human glory. Sir William opined that if we could rely on this authority, which to him appeared unexceptionable, the Iranian monarchy must have been the oldest in the world.*

The Persian treatise Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, or the "School of Religious Creeds," is admittedly based on the Dasātir and other old books of the Persians. Sir W. Jones mistakenly attributes its authorship to the Mahommedan traveller Shekh Mūhamad Mohsin, surnamed Fāni (*i.e.*, Perishable), of Kashmir. It is the work of Farzāneh Behrām bin Farhād Aspandiyār Pāsri, who wrote also the Shāristān-i-Chehār Chaman. William Erskine, who was the Chief Police Officer of Bombay during

* See Sir W. Jones' Discourse on the Persians ("Asiatic Res.", Vol. II, 48-49).

the governorship of Sir John Malcolm, was far from regarding the doctrines of the Dasâtir and the historical narrative of the Dabistân as resting on unexceptionable authority. Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha, of Bombay, after careful consideration came to the conclusion that it was erroneous to reckon the Dasâtir as one of the genuine Zoroastrian writings, for it is neither coeval with the Avesta nor with the writings of the earlier Sāsānian times. At the same time, another Parsi writer, Mr. D. J. Medhora, a student of the ancient systems of philosophy, gives his deliberate opinion, in his introduction to Mulla Firoz's translation of the Dasâtir, that those who have read and understood the literature of the ancient philosophies, and more especially the works of Plato and of the Neo-Platonists, are the only persons who will be able to value the Dasâtir, the Dabistân, and their kindred literature at their true worth, and remarks that there are in these works certain principles and ideas liable to be misunderstood and misconstrued, while there are others made expressly allegorical to suit the understanding of the ordinary people.

Brig.-Genl. Sir P. M. Sykes, who after 21 years of residence and travel in Persia has written a very readable history of that country, observes that Persia can claim through Media, inhabited by a kindred Aryan people, and through Elam, the home of the founder of the Empire and still a province of Persia, an existence of close on six thousand years. This historian describes the rise of the Persians, who have given their name to the great empire, which, albeit with vicissitudes, has existed for more than 2400 years and has been a leading power for more than half its existence, as *an event of the greatest importance to mankind*.

Even if we put aside the legendary and come to the historic period, we notice that the great empire which Cyrus founded and Darius and Xerxes extended was the first of its size to be seen on earth in historic times. These Parsi "Great Kings," "Kings of Kings" (kshâiatîia uazarka kshâiatîia kshiatîianâm) were the precursors of the modern European ideas of Nationality and National Solidarity.

The Peshdâdian dynasty, which is the first line of Iranian kings described by Firdausi was, according to the Dabistân, preceded by four other dynasties. Of these the first was that founded by Mahâbâd and consisted of thirteen other rulers of that house, who all bore the founder's name. These fourteen Mahâbâds are identified with the fourteen Manûs of the Hindus. According to the Brahmanic legend, the first Manû* was the son or grandson of Brhama. He became the progenitor of mankind and ruled the world.

The Jayânian dynasty followed the Mahâbâdian. Jy-Affrâm was its founder and Jyâbâd the last of the line.

The third dynasty was established by Shah Kuleev. Its last representative was Shah Mahbool, supposed to be the Mahâbali of the Hindus and the Belus of the Assyrians.

The fourth dynasty was the Yâssânian, so named after Yâssân, who founded it. The last of this line was Yâssân Ajem.

It is mentioned in the Dasâtir that when ninety-nine 'salam' of years had passed under the sway of the fourth dynasty, the Yâssânians became evil doers and Yâssân Ajem withdrew from among them. They overturned the beneficial regulations of the ancient kings, and abandoned the ways of men to such a degree that they wandered over the hills and wilds like beasts, while the towns, houses and streets were converted into a waste, until Ferzinsâr, son of Yâssân Ajem, was sent by God as his prophet.

It is this Ferzinsâr who is known by the names of Gilshâh and Giomart (Gayomard or Kaiomars).

We learn from Mirkhond† or Mirkhawand's valuable history *Rauzat-us-Safâ* ("The Garden of Purity"), as from the *Dabistân*, that before Kaiomars undertook to discharge the function and duties of royalty all kinds of violence and oppression were practised among mankind and the greatest disorder prevailed

* This name is derived from Sansk. मनु (*man*), 'to understand', and signifies 'intelligent'.

† The true name of this historian (born A.D. 1432, died A.D. 1498) is Mûhammad ben Khvendish Mahmûd.

throughout the habitable world. At length a number of wise men and nobles, after considerable deliberation, came to the conclusion that to end these iniquities a ruler was required who possessed authority, vigour and exalted dignity. Such a man was found in Kaiomars, who accepted the kingship and established his capital at Balkh. The dynasty which he founded came to be known from the time of his successor Hoshang as the Peshdadian, and lasted, according to the Persian historical work *Jehân-Ârâ*, for the long period of 2450 years.

In his Foreword to Vol. X of the Kutar brothers' Gujarâti transliteration and translation of the *Shâh-nâmeh*, Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara points it out as a wonderful fact that the grand theme of this epic opens with the Age of Cave Dwellers and of the Monsters, because Gayomart is represented as ruling in that Age, and proceeds to observe, "As a matter of fact he (Gayomart) is associated with the earliest stage of human life on earth and represents in the description of an individual life the immensely epitomised history of the human species through the earliest stage of its existence. The name 'Gaya Martan' is attributed to the first man according to the Avesta and the Pahlavi writings. We however think it never belonged to an individual but simply represented, as it ought really to signify 'Human Life' in its general aspect. And the *Shâh-nâmeh* simply records the fact that the earliest of human life was associated with the monsters which had almost been extinct much before historic times, and that it was passed in caves during the period."

THE IRANIAN VIEW OF THE CREATION OF MAN.

Here a digression may be made to give some description* of the old Iranian view of the growth or creation of man. As Sir J. J. Modi pointed out in his Note on the Antiquity of Man, which was read before the Bombay Anthropological Society on 29th March 1916, the old Iranian view, though not on all fours with the present scientific view, at least shows that Man was not

* This description is mainly taken from C. P. M. R. and M. A. P., Pts. II and III.

a spontaneous creation, but came down from some hoary antiquity from a primitive form of being or existence, wherefrom there originated at first the vegetable and animal kingdoms.

According to the Pahlavi treatise *Bāndešesh*, which corresponds to some extent to the *Genesis* and the *Pentateuch*, *Ahūrā Mazdā* existed from the first, unequalled from infinite or endless time. In the creation of the world, He first created heaven (*āsmān*, i.e., air or the ethereal universe), secondly water (i.e., liquid, *māyā*), thirdly the earth (*zamīk*), fourthly vegetation (*ārvar*), fifthly animals (*kirā*) and sixthly man (*anshutā*).

Man was thus the work of the sixth and last epoch. *Ahūrā Mazdā* formed *Gayomard*, a solitary sexless human being, from the earth. He was white, brilliant-looking as the sun, and had three characteristics, life, speech and mortality. During the first 3000 years he and the primeval ox were the only living beings on earth. In the form of *rivas* (a kind of tree) which grows like a column during fifteen years with fifteen leaves, there grew up from earth, after forty years, on the day *Khordād* of the month *Farvardin*, the first human pair, *Mashi* and *Mashyāni*, who had sexes combined in one body. Both came into the human form from the vegetable form. The breath which spiritually entered into mankind is soul.

From *Mashi* and *Mashyāni* there came forth seven couples, whose average age was 100 years. Out of these seven, fifteen more were born. Each of these became the progenitor of men.

From *Fravāk*, a descendant of the primitive human being *Gayomard*, there descended two persons, *Tāz* and *Hoshang*. *Tāz* was the progenitor of the *Tāziks* or *Arabs*, and *Hoshang* that of the *Iranians* or ancient *Persians*.

On this legend *Windischmann* furnishes the following comments:—"The plant with a single stem is the type of the unique origin of the two sexes, or of their original inseparableness. The stem is aged fifteen years, for this is the perfect age assigned to *Gayomart* himself. It has fifteen leaves, for

an equal number of human races inhabited the *kêshvars*. The plant appeared after forty years, for that is the normal age of generation in the Var. * * * Mashya and Mashoyi were twins like Yama and Yami in the Vedas, like Yima and his sister in the Bûndehesh (XXIII, I; XXXI, 4), which derives its information from more ancient sources."

Another plant was formed resembling the first one (the rivas). It produced ten races of monstrous and fabulous men, as the cynocephalus, winged men, men having tails, and others. But all of them were the issues of the semen of Gayomart.

As soon as Mashi and Mashyâni obtained their soul or sense Ahûrâ Mazdâ spoke to them and commanded them to obey the Law with good thoughts, good words and good deeds. It is related in the Dasâtir that the Almighty selected Man from the other animals by giving him a glorious soul, which is an independent substance, free from matter and form, indivisible, not having position, without a body, and of which it cannot be predicated that it has a body, without beginning and without end, unbounded and immense, and in which is contained the excellence of the Angels.

Dr. Sir J. J. Modi sums up the substance of the old Iranian belief with this explanation:—"At the bottom of all that appears to be mythological on the surface, the old Iranian belief seems to be this: Gayomard (lit. mortal life) was the first primitive being, or, what may be called 'life principle'. The primitive or the first man or humanity grew or came into existence at the hand of the Creator from a lower form of creation—the vegetable creation. From this Gayomard, the primitive being or form of existence, there descended various species of what Dr. West calls 'human monsters' and the progenitors of modern man. The description shows that all life-creation, whether vegetable, animal, or human, had in remote antiquity one life-principle or life-stock." Looking to the broad features of the tradition, observes the same writer, what we learn is that Evolution is involved in Creation and Creation involved in Evolution.

I. KING GAYOMARD.

Gayomard or Gaya Martan, the first man, must of course



Kaiomars.

be distinguished from the individual of the like name who was chosen by the Iranian people to rule their country with vigour and intelligence and put down the anarchy and wild life which had set in during and after the time of the Yassanian rule. Gayomard or Kaiomars, the ruler so selected, was, according to Masoudi, Mirkhond, and Firdausi, the first monarch to assume the royal throne and crown as symbols of power. He taught his people the nature of humanity and earned the title of "The Father of Mankind". In the

Farvardin Yasht (v. 87) and the Dinkard (Vol. I, p. 35) he is spoken of as the first to know God's thoughts and listen to His advice, and to initiate the most righteous, truthful and pure religion for His worship. According to the opinion of Sir William Jones, he was most probably of a different race from the Mahābādians and began perhaps the new national faith which Hoshang, whose name it bears, completed.

The Iranian glory, called in the Avesta *Hvareno* or *Kharrenangh*, began or came into existence with King Kaiomars. It is the source which gives to him who is invested with it power, virtue, genius and good luck.

During his reign, which extended over a period of thirty years, Kaiomars made it his endeavour to civilize the wild tribes. The wicked and evil-looking people who did not come into the right road and the true religion were known by the name of Divs (Demons, Δαίμονες). As the Aryans advanced their

dominions further and further, the barbarians retreated to barren parts. Kaiomars engaged them in battle and destroyed many of them; and the rest were scattered. It was one of them who killed Siāmak, one of the sons of Kaiomars, by rolling a huge rock on him when he was engaged in prayer.

The custom of the Iranians of holding silence at meals was established by Kaiomars for this reason that, as the object of taking food is to nourish the body, if a man talks and thinks during a meal digestion is impeded and all the parts of the body are not well-nourished. He taught men to wear clothing made of hides. Prior to this they used either to go naked or cover their bodies with leaves.

This king is also called Gilshāh, which means "The Lord or King of Clay" or "The King formed of Clay". Mirkhond says that the Magi style Kaiomars Gilshāh because in his time scarcely anything had been called into existence over which his authority could extend, except water and clay (*gil*).

He is reported as the founder of the cities of Istakhr, Demāvand and Balkh. Some Oriental writers attribute the foundation of the last city to King Tehmūrasp.

The empire of the Peshdādians, of which line Kaiomars was the founder, comprised in its vast extent different nations, among whom were the "Persians" properly and distinctively so called. Those who inhabited originally Pārs, Fārs or Fārsistān (Gr. Persis), and gave their name to the whole empire, spoke their own idiom, the Pārsi or Fārsi. (See Troyer's "Discussion on the Dasātir" in M. M. D., 181-2.)

Kaiomars reigned for thirty years and was succeeded by his grandson Hoshang.

II. HOSHANG.

King Hoshang was of a dignified bearing and considerable wisdom. He regulated all matters, foreign or domestic, with marked ability.

He discovered by a fortuitous circumstance the fire that is latent in stone, and from that time forth the practice became general of producing fire by striking iron on flint. This

momentous discovery was celebrated by him by building that night a mighty fire, before which he, with his people, offered praise to the Almighty for so highly beneficial a gift. In this connection, Prof. A. J. Carnoy, of the University of Louvain, reminds us in his monograph on Iran's Primeval Heroes (I.I.S.) that old Indo-European legends connect with the first man the story of the discovery or stealth of fire, a Divine element which in that way became man's property and the source of his power and civilization.

Hoshang taught the Iranians to hold Fire in adoration as an Emblem of God's Own Effulgence,* and established an annual festival, the Jashné Sadeh, in commemoration of the happy discovery.

Fire being the emblem of light and enlightenment a Zoroastrian devotee, in his daily recitation of the ode to Ādar, the Spirit of Fire, invokes that Spirit to lead him towards the Master, in these words, "O Fire, son of Ahūrā Mazdā, procure me that (guide) who shall direct me, now and ever hereafter, to the existence of the righteous one, that is illumined, wholly blissful and best, in return for goodness, true prayers, and long righteousness of (my) soul."

Andrew Reid Cowan says (C. M. C. H., 12) that the lithic periods are calculated to have lasted for hundreds of thousands of years and in the end of the day some genius discovered the malleability of the metals and the world advanced with almost cumulative rapidity through bronze to iron and all the innumerable refinements of to-day. He further observes that metal working implies the use of fire, which was a cardinal discovery.

Iranian legends tell us that Hoshang not only made the discovery of fire, but had also the genius to discover the art of extracting iron from ore, which art he taught to his people, along with the art of making tools, implements and arms.

The improvement and extension of agriculture Iranian

* W. S. W. Vaux mentions that there is a pretty constant tradition extant that Nimrod taught the adoration of Fire as one of the simple elements, or as the symbol of the Divine Majesty. (V. N. P., 8.)

rulers have ever reckoned as a religious duty and put in the forefront of their work. Hoshang achieved much in this direction by constructing a number of irrigation canals.

This king is credited with the authorship of a Treatise on Moral Philosophy entitled *Jâvidân-i-Kherad* (or "Eternal Wisdom"). This book must have remained long in existence, for we find that a part of it was translated from Syriac into Arabic by Hasan, brother of Fazel, son of Sahal, who was vazir to Sultan Ma'amûn-ar-Rashid.

Hoshang was distinguished for his justice and equity, and during his reign his subjects enjoyed undisturbed security and were happy and content. This procured him the appellation of *Peshdâd* (Av. *Pardhât*), i.e., "The First Distributor of Justice", and the dynasty to which he belonged came to be known as *Peshdâdian*. His reign lasted forty years.

Rulers, Dictators, and Presidents of States might well take to heart the following statesmanlike counsel which this Iranian king in the hoary past imparted to his heir-apparent, *Tehmûrasp*, in a discourse which is preserved in the *Rauzat-us-Safâ* of Mirkhond:—

"The decrees and ordinances of kings are like the descending arrows of Omnipotence, which issue from the expanse of heaven to the centre of the earth, and, from the grasp of divine will, reach this mortal abode with such resistless force that no shield of piety or strength can possibly retard or avert their might: therefore, the god-like sovereigns of kingdoms, who rule over the military and the cultivators of the soil, are bound by every compact and motive, to stamp with their royal authority no ordinance respecting public affairs without evident necessity and manifest proofs: neither should a king ever issue forth an order without ample deliberation, clear evidence, and deep reflection."

The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions Hoshang as the first Persian king to visit India.

III. TEHMÛRASP.

After Hoshang, the throne was occupied by *Tehmûrasp* (Av. *Takhma-ûrûpa*, Pahl. *Tâkhma-ûripa*), surnamed *Resâvend* or *Niyâvend*, meaning "Armed at all points". In the *Râm Yasht* he is distinguished by the appellation of *Azinavâo*, or

"Armed". One of the blessings invoked on King Vishtâspa, the patron of Zoroaster, in the *Āfriné Zarthûshtra*, is "*Zenanghûtem bavâhi yathâ Takhmourûp*" ("Mayst thou be armed like Tehmûrasp!", in other words, "Be thou fortified to fight with evil and suppress it as Tehmûrasp did!")

Tehmûrasp had to wage war with the Divs and Magicians, who were led by a chieftain bearing the name of Siâh Div, or the Black Demon. Many of them were slaughtered and a number fell into his hands as captives. From these captives he is said to have learnt to write many languages, such as Rûmi, Arabic, Hindi, Chinese, Pahlavi, etc., which fact shows that his foes must have come together from various countries.

He is reputed as the founder of Kahândiz, Merv, Âmal, Tabaristân, Sârâiyeh and Isphâhân, in Persia, seven cities in Irâk Arabi, and several others besides. Though a staunch adherent of his own Faith, the Faith of Hoshang, he was perfectly tolerant towards the people of other religions. His principle was "To you belongs your faith: I adhere to mine". He established three Fire-temples, namely, Âtar-Spenishta, Âtar-Vâjishta and Âtar-Berejo-Svangha.

In the Avesta *Āfrin*, entitled the *Ogemadechâ*, which is a treatise inculcating serene resignation to death, he is mentioned as having captured the Ganâmîno (the Evil One) and kept him as his mount for thirty years, during which period he obtained from him the books describing the art of writing in thirty different languages. The *Zamyûd Yasht* and the *Dinkard* also speak of the subjugation by him of the Evil One, whom he kept under saddle and bestrode from one end of the globe to the other for thirty years. Following his authorities, Firdausi says in the *Shah-nâmeh* that this prince had bound Ahriman (the Evil One) by means of incantations, and used to ride on his back all round the globe.

Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson considers this allegory not an unnatural one and mentions that from Pahlavi texts also we learn that Ahriman could assume other shapes at will, though his natural form seems to have been that of a frog or toad—Milton's toad, the Biblical serpent; and in this connec-

tion he puts us in mind of the well-known representation of the evil principle in the form of a monster or an Ahrimanic animal in the Achaemenian monuments, itself borrowed from Babylonian concepts. (J. Z. S., 77.)

The allegory, however, is easy of explanation. It signifies nothing more than the fact that Tehmûrâsp lived a life of exceeding piety, having in the course of thirty years suppressed all evil propensities and violent passions, and constantly engaged himself in the study of languages. He is well-known by the title of Divbend (Av. *Daevotbîsh*) or the Demon-binder, in other words, the subduer of evil propensities and passions.

He was greatly helped by his minister Shedasp, a pious person who introduced the custom of morning and evening prayers. (H. A. P. C., 206.)

The practice of observing fast was introduced in this king's reign for a benevolent purpose. One year there occurred a great famine, and the masses of people were greatly distressed owing to the dearth of food and water. So, in order to give relief to the distressed persons, he promulgated his royal ordinance that the well-to-do should eat but once and give away the morning meal to the hungry poor.

To this king is attributed the introduction of the art of spinning wool and weaving clothes.

We learn from Ferishta that good relations existed between Tehmûrâsp and an Indian king of the name of Krishnâ, but in the time of King Feridûn, a nephew of this Krishnâ having sought shelter at the Persian court, Feridûn sent his general Kereshâsp to India to compel the Indian monarch to give a portion of his territories to his nephew. Afterwards the Punjab was invaded by the Persian general Sâm Narimân and it formed a part of the territory over which the family of Kereshâsp ruled.

Albirûni mentions, in his Chronology, that Tehmûrâsp received the warning of the Deluge 231 years before that cataclysm occurred, and thereupon ordered his people to select a place of good soil in his realm. Isphâhân answered to this

description, and there he ordered all scientific books to be preserved for prosperity, buried in a part that was least exposed to obnoxious influences. Hamzâ Isfahâni, under the events of A.H. 350 (A.D. 961), adverts to the discovery at Jai (Isphâhân) of the rituals of the Magi, all of which were written in the most ancient Persian language on birch-bark. (T. N. O., Pt. I., 56.)

The story of the World Deluge is told in the records of several ancient nations. The recent labours of the joint British Museum and Pennsylvania expedition at Ur of the Chaldees has furnished proof of this story. Right towards the end of the excavations at Ur, where he has worked for twelve seasons already, Dr. Leonard Woolley, the famous Assyriologist who is directing the work, found water-laid clay at a depth of 50 feet. At this stratum all signs of civilisation ceased. For a further depth of eight feet nothing but water-laid clay was found—not a sign of human occupation. Then the clay ended and signs of human habitation again appeared, in the soil beneath it. In this lower soil Dr. Woolley found that there had been two races living side by side, the Sumerians, to whose civilisation the city of Ur pertained, and another of whose culture no trace existed in the Sumerian layer above the clay. Thus there was definite proof that a flood had swept away a whole race. (See T. I. of 17-5-1934.)

The duration of the reign of Tehmûrâsp was thirty years.

IV. JAMSHID.

Jamshid (Av. *Yima-khshacta*, i.e., the brilliant Yima), who came to the throne after his brother Tehmûrâsp, is described as a prince unrivalled and unequalled amongst mortals in perfection of understanding, beauty of person, soundness of experience, and purity of morals. A halo of glory (*khoreh*) illumined his face. Some Persian writers identify him with Solomon; but Mirkhond is, of course, right in rejecting this view as absurd, as between the ages of these two monarchs long centuries intervene. In the Vedas he appears under the name of Yima, son of Vivasvat, as the first mortal and as the founder of the institution of worship.

Owing to the great increase in population and in the number of cattle, there was considerable sickness and distress in the land. So Jamshid formed a new settlement adopting the best principles of sanitation and hygiene. Residences, with free access of light and air, were constructed, where he took up abode with some couples and families selected specially for their good and righteous living. Here were also brought select pairs of cattle. Every means was adopted for the spiritual, mental and physical good of the settlers. Jealousy, scandal, arrogance, unrighteousness, enmity, deceit, meanness, dishonesty and such other evils existed not in this settlement, nor was there distress of any sort. Even death ceased to take its toll.

The Dasâtir says that Ahûrâ Mazdâ had chosen Jamshid as a prophet, and addressed him thus:—"O Jermshâr! Thee have I chosen; establish thou the religion of the great Âbâd. Thou art an exceeding great prophet, and I have taught thee all manner of Arts, and adorned the world by them. My light is on thy countenance, and do thou speak precisely according to My words: My word is on thy tongue."

Jamshid built a fire-temple and established in it the holy Fire, known as Âtar-Frobâg.

To him is attributed the practice, which Zoroastrians follow to this day, of tying the Kûsti* (sacred thread or girdle), made from lamb's wool, round the waist in token of submission to God. By his command the people excavated metals and minerals from mountains and mines, and manufactured sabres, poniards, armour and helmets from iron. He introduced the use of gems and precious metals for the decoration of princes and as ornaments for the fair sex. The making of gold thread and dyeing silk of different colours and weaving it into nice garments were also introduced by

* It is stated in Yasna IX that the Soshyant Haoma, who lived before the age of Jamshid, was the first person who received inspiration from Ahûrâ Mazdâ to wear the Kûsti. The Kûsti ritual is required to be observed by Parsis on the following occasions, namely, the first thing in the morning on rising from the bed, before sitting down to meals, at the time of bathing, before reciting prayers, and after answering the calls of nature. It begins with an ablution of the face, hands and feet and the rinsing of the mouth.

him. To him is also attributed the art of sewing, the founding of the science of medicine, and the use of aloe wood, amber and perfume. He was the first to construct passages and public roads through mountains, deserts and plains. To him is attributed the invention of grape wine, which beverage he administered with such beneficial results that it came to be called *Shah-Dároo* or the Royal Medicine.

He regulated the calendar, and fixed the day *Hormazd* of the month *Farvardin*, when the sun enters the vernal equinox, as *Naoroz* or New Year's Day and ordered the celebration of an annual festival on this day. *Mirkhond*, in his ornate style, speaks of this event thus:—"At the period when the sovereign of the stars removed his royal pavilion from the tail of *Pisces* to the neck of *Aries*," *Jamshid* issued a decree, ordaining the Nobles and Ministers to assemble at the foot of the royal throne; when he himself, with every demonstration of joy and gladness, seated on the musnud of universal empire, expanded the carpet of delight, and laid out the couches of festivity and pleasure: to this day he gave the name of *Naoroz* and held out to the people the promise of abundant grace and liberality, with the diffusion of justice."

The festival, known as *Jamshedi Naoroz*, is observed to this day as an important festival by the *Parsis*, and celebrated with great pomp all over Persia and some other Moslem countries, at the Vernal Equinox.

Jamshid divided his people into four professional classes: *Āthraavan* (the Priesthood), *Rathaestār* (the Warriors and Royal Retinue), *Vāstrya* (the Agriculturists) and *Hutaoksha* (the Artificers), and enjoined that no individual should engage in the pursuits of any class excepting his own. It is mentioned in the treatise *Āīyn-e Din-e Beh Māzdiyasnān* ("Tenets of the Good Māzdiyasnān Religion"), and *Geiger* also points out, that the *Iranians* upto the time of *Zoroaster* were divided into the first three classes only.

* As a matter of fact the sun's entry into the sign of *Aries* on the vernal equinox day does not date earlier than about two thousand years ago. In *Jamshid's* time the vernal equinox must have been either in *Taurus* or *Gemini*.

The peasantry (*Vāstryān*) of Iran was such forsooth as to be its country's pride. Firdausi describes it thus:—"They render homage to no one, they labour, they sow, they harvest and are nourished in the fields of the earth without injury to any one. They are subject to the orders of none, although their clothes are humble, and their ear is never struck by the clamour of slander. They are free; and the tillage of the earth is their right; they have no enemies; they have no quarrels." (B. P., 2.)

It is emphasized in *Yasna XIX*, 47, that whatever a man's profession may be—priest, warrior, husbandman or artizan—renown unites itself with the pure man, whose thoughts, words and deeds are pure. This ancient Zoroastrian idea is well reflected in the following couplet of Alexander Pope:—

"Honour and shame from no condition rise,
Act well your part, there all the honour lies."

Jamshid got Divs to make bricks and erect walls, palaces, and baths, and was the first to order the warm bath. He employed boats and vessels, for the first time, for crossing the waters so as to effect rapid travelling from one country to another.

From the following lines of the *Shāh-nāmeh* we can conjecture that this gifted king knew the use of and employed what are supposed to be modern inventions, the telescope and the aeroplane:—

The King of the world made them construct for him a precious throne on which he took his seat.

He sat on it, holding in his hand a *jām* for observing the starry hosts.

Divs lifted the throne and bore it from the plains to the sky:

The birds of the air ranged themselves beside it.

Whenever he was pleased to give the order, the Divs lifted the throne and bore it from the forests to the sky.

It shone in the firmament like the sun, with the command-giving monarch seated on it.

The *jām* mentioned in these lines was known as *Jām-e-Jamshid* ("The Cup of Jamshid") and *Jām-e-Jehān-nûmā*

("The world-displaying Cup"). Fitzgerald, the famous translator of Omar Khayyām, says, in one of his notes, that Jamshid's seven-ringed cup was typical of the seven heavens, seven planets, seven seas, etc., and was a divining cup. Perhaps it was a powerful kind of gazing crystal, which revealed to the gazer events happening in any part of the world. Whatever it was, a telescope, a divining cup, a gazing crystal or any other instrument or invention it remained in the possession of the Persian kings who came after Zohāk, the vanquisher and successor of Jamshid, for we find Firdausi speaking of its use by kings Kai Kobād and Kai Khūsrau on momentous occasions.

Jamshid possessed four rings, with a device engraved on the seal of each.* The one which he wore on the day of battle had the motto "Deliberation and Humility". The second ring was inscribed "Justice and Improvement". The third related to envoys and spies and had the inscription "Truth and Expedition", implying that the agents employed by the king to investigate and examine should submit true reports and with the utmost despatch. The fourth ring, relative to oppressors and the oppressed, bore the motto "Punishment and Justice".

Indolence had disappeared from the land of Jamshid. All men diligently pursued their respective occupations and rendered him implicit obedience. Distress, disease, death had disappeared. His courtiers were many, his armies large, his treasuries full. Then it came about that his heart was uplifted with pride; and as pride goes before destruction, his fall was approaching.

One day Jamshid called all the chiefs and ordered them to render him that adoration which is the Almighty Creator's due and hail him as the Maker of the World. He vaunted that the world was his, he was the source of every one's food, ease and sleep, disease and death he had stopped, and to him all owed their sense and life.

* The magnificent Sāsānian king Khūsrau Parvis had nine seals of office with distinct devices.

Hearing these boastful and impious words, the priests and wise men hung down their heads with shame and sorrow, and abandoned his court. The royal *Khoreh* (Glory) departed from him.* His army deserted him and joined the standard of the Arab prince Zohāk, who, according to the authority of the lost Avesta nask Chitradād, as cited in Dinkard, Book VIII, was a lineal descendant of Tāz, the brother of Hoshang and father of the Arabs, who are even now called Taziān in Persian.

With his combined army of Arabs and Persians, Zohāk invaded Iran and seized the throne. Jamshid escaped and wandered a homeless man from country to country. During his wanderings he settled for some time in Sejistan (Sistan) and married the daughter of Kureng, King of Zabul, by whom he had many children, from whose lineage the warriors Kereshāsp and Rūstam descended.

At last Zohāk's spies traced him in China and he was brought in chains before that usurper, who covered him with ridicule and reproach for his boast of Omnipotent Godhood and ordered him to be sawn in twain.

Firdausi soliloquises on this great Iranian king's sorrowful fate in this wise:—

“Long did Jamshid keep himself hidden from the breath of the snake (that is, from falling into Zohāk's clutches), but in the end he could not escape. Gone were his throne, his kingship, his power! Fate drew him in as amber draws straw. Who sat on the throne longer than he? Yet what profit accrued to him from all his toils? His seven centuries of kingship brought him great blessings and woes. What need hast thou for long life, since the earth keeps her secret (thy future fate) concealed from thee?”

* The Zamyād Yasht, 34, alludes to this circumstance in the following words:—
 “When the king (Jamshid) carried (showed) a liking for lying words, then his visible glory left him (as it were) in the form of a bird. When Jamshid, the great, the protector of the subjects, saw his Glory disappear, he trembled with sorrow, and being afraid of his enemy fell down upon the ground.” (M. M. E., 18.)

Truly, as Mirkhond sagely reflects in the preface to his famous history, the *Rauzat-us-Safā*, the vicissitudes of royal dynasties are a convincing proof of the perpetuity of God's sovereignty and the changes of fortune to which kings are subject are evident signs of His sovereignty.

The singular intellectual attainments of the Peshdādiān Jamshid and his later impious claim to Godship forcibly remind one of that character in Marie Corelli's novel "The Secret Power", Roger Seaton, respecting whom she says:—"He had arrived at that questionable point of intellectual attainment when man forgets that there is any existing force capable of opposing him, and imagines that he has but to go on in his own way to grasp all worlds and the secrets of their being. At this juncture, as often arrived at by many, a kind of super-sureness sets in, persuading the finite nature that it has reached the infinite. The whole mental organization of the man thrilled with an awful consciousness of power. He said within himself, 'I hold the lives of millions at my mercy!'"

There are Parsi thinkers* who maintain that Jamshid was not moved by shallow vanity or profound pride in making himself out as God, but that he was such an advanced soul that he had found himself in tune with the Infinite, that is, at one with God, and identified himself with Him.

Recently a learned Parsi divine, Dastur Khurshedji Erachji Pavri, has brought forward evidence from the Avesta to distinguish the Shah Jamshid, who was overtaken by impious pride and destroyed by Zohāk, from an older king of the same name to whom, according to the Vendidad, Ahūrā Mazdā had revealed the Māzdayasni religion long before Zoroaster, and foretold the coming of a most destructive and all-blasting winter. The Dasturji points out that in the Avesta the earlier king is said to be the son of Vivanghan, while the later king's father was Vivangahūsh. (S. V. A., 1931, 97-102.)

* See, for instance, Mr. Sorabji M. Desai's Gujarati treatise "Jamshedni Itihasi ninda" ("The historical slander of Jamshid"), Bombay, 1905.

V. ZOHÂK.



Zohâk.

Russia.

Zohâk was called *Bivarasp*, which meant "ten thousand horses," because he kept that number of horses in his stud. His rule proved a most oppressive one. He is represented as a monster from whose shoulders, on their being kissed by Satan, two hissing snakes grew up. By his order two Persians were killed every day and their brains served to those snakes as food. Later on two Persian cooks, Armâil and Karmâil, who entered his service, began to save one man's life each day and substitute for his brain that of a goat. The men thus saved were secretly sent to the mountains and deserts, and from these fugitives the Kûrds are said to be descended.*

* The Kûrds, the highlanders of the Zagros mountains, belong to the Aryan race. Their dialects are derived from Pahlavi. Rûstam, the national hero of Iran, appears as a great hero in popular Kûrdish folklore and some of the Kûrdish tribes claim descent from him. They have preserved such old Persian names as Khûsrau, Kobâd, Parvis and Behrâm (Dr. Jâl C. Pavri's lecture on the Early History of Kûrdistân).

This despotic king took cruel delight in violating whatever was sacred and in shedding the blood of the innocent. To him is attributed the introduction of scourging, torture and gibet-ting.

In 1905 Sir J. J. Modi in a lecture at the Bombay Masonic Hall mentioned a number of facts which would tend to show that Zohâk and Nimrod were identical; but he was cautious enough to explain that when he said that they were identical he did not say so with regard to their times, which it was difficult to determine with certainty, but they were identical from many points of resemblance in their character and their acts.

In the Avesta Zohâk is mentioned as *Ajis-Dehâko Bavroish Paidanghaova*, i.e., Azi-Dehâk, King of Bavro or Bavroish territory. According to Mr. Jamshedji P. Kapadia, author of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Parsee Empire, this Bavro is not Babylon, as asserted by some writers, but some territory which in a distant age existed somewhere in the valleys of Jayhûn and Sayhûn (the Oxus and the Jaxartes). Mr. Fergusson considers that Zohâk was neither Aryan nor Semitic, but essentially Turanian. In the Shâh-nâmeh, however, he is, as Warner points out, essentially Semitic, and is looked upon as exemplifying in his own person all the chief characteristics of the non-Aryan peoples with whom the Iranians came in contact—idolatry, black arts, serpent-worship and human sacrifice, and his reign of a thousand years may be taken as typifying the Semitic race in their relations to the Iranians from the earliest traditions of Assyrian oppression to the political overlordship of the Khalifâs of Baghdâd in the poet's own days. The theory of Clément Huart (H. A. P. C., 175) is that in this mythical type there is probably a memory of some oppression of the Persian nation by Babylonia in the days when that kingdom ruled Susiana and the mountains of Fars which earned the king the diabolical character which distinguishes him. On a comparison of comparative history Mr. Benjamin, in his book "Persia", comes to the conclusion that Zohâk is a record in poetic form of an invasion of Persia by the Assyrians at a time when the reigning dynasty of Persia had fallen into degeneracy.

Mirkhond mentions that Zohâk was notorious for ten vices, and for this reason was called Deh-Âk, which means ten vices. These were depravity of manner and hideousness of person, diminutive stature, pride, shamelessness, voracity, excessive cruelty, foul language, precipitancy in affairs of State, depravity and folly.

The oppressed Iranians at last rose in revolt, led by Kâveh of Isphâhân, an intrepid blacksmith, whose leather apron they fixed on a pole and used that as their war-standard. They sought out Feridûn, son of Âbtin (Av. Âthwya), a scion of the royal Iranian race, and with him as leader they marched against Zohâk. The tyrant was seized and chained up inside the crater of Mount Demâvand.*

There is a familiar legend that Zohâk daily licked the chain with his tongue with a view to break it and escape, but when it was just on the point of breaking a cock, placed there by Feridûn, crowed and the chain at once returned to its original condition. Sir J. J. Modi sees in this an allegorical allusion to the phenomenon of Day and Night and to the idea of Resurrection. (K. R. C. M., LXIV). In another place he makes a surmise that perhaps it is an allusion to the volcanic activity of Mount Arezûra, a peak of the Demâvand, on which Zohâk was confined, inasmuch as, according to modern volcanologists, the activity increases or diminishes according to the different seasons and according to the different parts of the day. (S. M. V., 196.)

The blacksmith's humble apron became the royal standard of Iran and was embellished by Feridûn and every succeeding king with rich silks and precious gems. As Kâveh came from Isphâhân, the proud privilege of bearing this standard was assigned by the kings to the soldiers of Isphâhân.

* Yâkût narrates that Armâil, one of the cooks of Zohâk, having been ordered by Feridûn, when he was at Demâvand to incarcerate Zohâk, to prepare a dish without meat and vegetables, made up a delectable viand from a goat's tail and served it. The prince exclaimed *Domb âvandi* (دومب آوندی) that is, "Thou hast discovered a tail." From this the place acquired the name of Dombâvand or Demâvand. (M. S. A., 83.)

VI. FERIDŪN.

By popular vote Feridūn was elected to ascend the throne. He ordered the



Feridūn.

He ordered the day Meher of the month of Meher, on which Zohāk was incarcerated, to be observed as a national annual festival and called it Mehergān. It continued to be celebrated in Persia with great pomp upto the time of the Arab conquest. On this festival day the kings used to wear a tiara bearing the images of the sun and the celestial wheel on which it turns, and it was a custom for a herald to stand up in the courtyard of the royal palace and in a loud voice

address the heavenly hosts thus:—"Angels! come to this world, strike the demons and evil perpetrators, and drive them away from the world!"

The Parsis in India have continued to observe this festival, which they know by the name of Meherangān-nā-Jashan. The Zoroastrians of Persia prolong it for five days, till the day of Behrām.

Feridūn proved himself worthy in every way of the people's choice. He was one of the wisest, justest and most virtuous of the sovereigns who graced the Iranian throne. Sings Firdausi:—

Feridūn, the Auspicious, was not an angel,
Neither was he compounded of musk and ambergris,
He gained such excellence by justice and benevolence:
Do thou justice and benevolence, and a Feridūn
thou shalt be.

He was the first monarch of Iran to mount an elephant and equip it with military panoply. He was a student of astronomy and was a patron of physicians, with whom he held frequent discussions regarding the human constitution. The breeding of mules is ascribed to him. Whatever Zohāk had extorted from the nobles and the people he restored.

After subduing the tribe of Ād, he made war on other nations and extended his sway over the greater part of the then known civilized world. His warrior-chiefs Gurshāsp (Kereshāsp) and Narimān* subjugated Tūrkestan and Kāveh conquered Rūm. The Persian arms triumphed also in Māzenderān and such distant parts as Tinjāh-i-Mughrab (Tangiers) and Chin. Sām, the son of Narimān, took an expedition to the Punjab and obliged Mahārāj Mūlchand, who opposed him, to sue for peace. In the Zamyād Yasht Feridūn is described as "Among successful men the most successful next after Zarathūshtra".

The Dinkard mentions a fight between Feridūn and the demons of Māzenderān, in which he vanquishes them by the instrumentality of the hot and cold wind issuing from his nostrils. In an article on the Cults and Legends of Persia and China in M. M. V., Sir Jehangirshah C. Coyajee cites the corresponding Chinese legend of Tcheng-luen, a great Chinese warrior, who possessed the wonderful capacity of breathing out and ejecting through his nostrils two white columns of light which could scorch whole battalions out of existence, and further informs us that the Taoist sages of China attached

* Three Parsi globe cyclists, Messrs. Kharas, Gandhi and Shroff, mention in the twelfth account of their travels published in J. J., 28-4-1934, that they had the opportunity of meeting at the village of Karokh, some thirty miles from Herat, in Afghanistan, the village headman, who belongs to a tribe which calls itself 'Jamshid-e-Kaiyāni' and traces its origin from the Peshdādian king Jamshid. The men of this tribe bear the names of such ancient Iranian warriors as Rūstam, Bahman, Bargo, Ferāmraz, etc. The cyclists further learnt the interesting information that on Mount Zermast, which is at some distance from Karokh, there is a fortress, known as Kille Narimān (the Fort of Narimān), which dates from the time of the ancient warrior Narimān, whose name it bears. Round about this fort and elsewhere there are about sixty thousand houses inhabited by a population of nearly 200,000 souls of the Jamshid-e-Kaiyāni tribe. They are Mahommedans, but still they take pride in claiming their descent from Zoroastrian forefathers.

great importance to respiratory exercises which prepared them for sublime tasks, and it was believed that through prolonged retention of breath they could produce results at a distance from their earthly body.

A splendid throne, studded with gems, was constructed for Feridûn by Jahn, son of Barzin, who dwelt on Mount Demâvand. The king rewarded him for this unique work by bestowing on him a patent royal for the cities of Sâri and Āmul, a golden crown, a pair of earrings, and thirty-thousand drachms.

Feridûn had three sons, Selm, Tûr and Irach (Av. Aiyarva). According to the historian Ibn ul Mukna, the mother of the first two was a daughter of Zohâk whom the king had taken into marriage, while the third, Irach, was born of Irândokht (lit., "Daughter of Iran"), one of the noblest maidens of Fârs. The three princes were married to three beautiful daughters of the Tâzik (Arab) King of Yemen (Arabia Felix) of the name of Serv (Pât-Srub of the Pahlavi Vendidad). One or two tribes of the Tâziks, following the lead of their king, embraced the Mazdayasnân religion.

During his life-time, and after a reign of 500 years, Feridûn portioned out his vast dominions among his sons. To Selm he assigned the West (the countries of Rûm and Khâvar), to Tûr he gave the East (Tûrkestân and Chin), and to Irach he allotted Irânsheher ("the land of Iran") which comprised the country between the Euphrates and the Jihân, "forming the centre of the civilized world, the most delightful and most fertile of realms, the precious pearl of the necklace of the universe". Irach was the youngest, but Feridûn esteemed him as the bravest and wisest of the three and considered him as the worthiest for the imperial diadem. He gave him the renowned throne, which was the masterpiece of Jahn Barzin, with his ox-headed mace, and a jewel known as Haft-chashm (*i.e.*, "seven-eyed" or "seven-sided"). This throne was used and adorned by every succeeding Iranian king until the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great, by whom it was ordered to be broken up, an act of

vandalism, which Firdausi only too mildly describes as senseless. When the Sāsānian Ardeshir Pāpékān (Artaxerxes I) overthrew the Parthian rule and re-established the national Parsi government, he got the broken parts traced and collected and from them reconstructed another throne.

The partition of the dominions was carried out on the sixth day, Khordād, of the first month, Farvardin. The day Khordād of the month Farvardin is known as Khordād-sāl, and is celebrated by the Parsis as a great holiday on account of several important events having taken place on that day.

A poet, whom Masoudi cites in his work *Kitābu'ttanbih wa'l-ishrāf* and who, though he wrote in Arabic, claimed descent from the Royal House of Persia, sings of this partition in the following strain :—

And we portioned out our empire in our time
As you portion out the meat upon a plate.
Greece and Syria we gave to knightly Salm,
To the lands wherein the sunset lingers late.
And to Tūj the Turkish marches were assigned,
Where our cousin still doth rule in regal state.
And to Iran (Irach) we subdued the land of Pārs,
Whence we still inherit blessings rare and great.*

Selm and Tūr were dissatisfied with this partition and envied Irach's good fortune. As they threatened to invade Persia, the peaceful Irach visited them to persuade them to desist from civil war. But they were not to be appeased and compassed the death of that mild and graceful prince.

VII. MANŪCHEHER.

Shortly after this sad event, Irach's wife Mahāāfrid gave birth to a son, whom they named Manūcheher† (*i.e.*, "of the

* B. L. H. P., 128.

† Firdausi makes Manūcheher, the son of a daughter of Irach, named Mahāāfrid, while Mirkhond says that he was Irach's son, as mentioned in the *Wajih-al-Akhhār* and *Muruj-uz-Zahāb*. The *Farvardin Yasht* shows him to be the son or a descendant of Irach. The words are *Manūshchithrah Airyavahé ashaono fravarshim yezmaide*, *i.e.*, "We praise the spirit of the holy Manūshchithra (Manūcheher) of Irach."

Warner gives a fanciful meaning of the name Manūshchithra, namely, "The offspring of Manu". According to the *Būndeheshn*, the prince was born on Mount Manūsh and was named after that Mount.

Heavenly face"). When Manûcheher grew to man's state, he took a strong army and made war upon his uncles to avenge his father's murder and felled them both in single combat.

These unfortunate happenings, the bitterness whereof was intensified later by the murder in cold blood, by the order of Afrasiab, King of Turan, of the handsome and innocent prince Siawush, the heir-apparent of Kai Kâûs, the second king of the Kaiyânian dynasty, which succeeded the Peshdâdian, kindled that inveterate feud between Iran and Turan which led to disastrous wars of vengeance waged with the bitterest persistency throughout long centuries. If the *Shâh-nâmeh* is to be relied upon in this respect, the bitter feud between the Iranian and Turanian peoples which originated in the murder of Irach by his brothers was known as a historical fact till the days of the later Roman Empire, for Firdausi tells us that Emperor Maurice, when he offered his daughter in marriage to the Persian Emperor Khûsrau Parviz, said that by this affinity a binding pact of peace would be made between Iran and Rome, there would be no more talk of vengeance for Irach, and Iran and Rome would be a united realm.

Sâm, son of Nariman and grandson of Kereshâsp, was Manûcheher's chief adviser. Mirkhond describes him as the bulwark of the kingdom, the prop of the State, and support of the king and the army. He was styled *Jahân-Pehelwân* (The Champion of the World), and in magnanimity, bravery, sagacity and merit was peerless.

Manûcheher dug canals and carried out other irrigation works in Irâk. From woods and mountains he collected all kinds of trees and odoriferous plants and laid out extensive gardens with them. He was the first to direct the excavation of trenches around forts and to institute the ceremony of beating the kettledrum every morning and evening.

Tabari mentions that the Arabs and the people of the Maghreb (The West, *i.e.*, Africa) had never entirely submitted to the King of Persia till the time of Manûcheher.

Afrâsiâb, son of Pashang, the King of Turan,* and a descendant of Târ, invaded Persia with a numerous army of Turanians.

Manûcheher, unable to resist Afrâsiâb in the open field, retreated into the fort of Âmûl, the impregnable capital of Tabaristân, to which the latter laid siege. The siege lasted for ten years, but in spite of all his exertions and strategy the Turanian prince found himself baffled, and so many of his troops died from sickness that at last he was obliged to agree to peace. It was stipulated that the Iranian bowman Ârish (Av. Erekhsha) should shoot an arrow from a peak of Demâvand towards the east and a line drawn from the place in which the arrow fell should form the boundary between Iran and Turan. The flight of the arrow discharged by this master-archer continued from dawn till midday and crossing the province of Tabaristân, Nishâpûr, Sarakhs, and Merv, dropped on the bank of the Jihûn or Oxus. This remarkable feat brought about an addition of a large tract of territory to the Persian kingdom.

This marvellous feat is mentioned in the Avesta (Tir Yasht, v. 6). It is stated there that Erekhsha, swift Iranian, the swiftest archer among all the Iranians, threw an arrow from Mount Khshaotha to Mount Khanvant.

Naturally, doubts have been expressed as to the possibility of such a feat. But it is related by Mohammed Tabari that the

* "Turan, which is the ancient name of the country of Turkestan, appears from Des Guignes, to be the source and fountain of all the celebrated Scythian nations, which, under the name of Goths and Vandals, subsequently overran the Roman empire. Iran and Turan, according to the Oriental historians, comprehended all that is comprised in upper Asia, with the exception of India and China. Every country beyond the pale of the Persian Empire was considered barbarous. The great river called by the Arabs and Persians Jihûn or Âmû, and by the Greeks and Romans Oxus, divided the two great countries from each other." (W. G. C. P. L., Vol. I.)

"The distinctions into Turanian, Aryan and the like are of linguistic significance only, and extremely precarious at that." (C. M. C. H., 53.)

"It is practically certain that both groups (Iranian and Turanian) were Iranians, the sole difference being that the Iranians proper were sedentary and the Turanians nomadic." (L. H. Gray's art. "Foundations of the Iranian Religions," K. O. L. P., No. 5, p. 12.)

"The Turanians represent a tribe of the Iranians who were in a lower stage of civilisation. The Parthians probably belonged to this tribe. The Turanians could not have belonged to the Mongol race, as they bear Aryan names." (P. D. I. G., 64.)

arrow discharged by this bowman struck in its flight a flying bird, which continued to fly until noon, with the shaft sticking among its feathers, until at last exhausted from its wound it dropped down on the bank of the Jihûn and died. Probably this was how the arrow kept on flying for hours. But does it go beyond the realm of possibility that Erekhsha knew some secret contrivance by which the arrow could be kept speeding on its course for a considerable time by self-renewed momentum? As a matter of fact Dowlat Shah, whom Sir W. Ouseley quotes (*O. T. P.*, Vol. III, 333-4), mentions that the arrow was so contrived as to contain a chemical mixture of quicksilver and other substances, which when heated by the sun augmented the original force of projection in such a manner that it reached to Merv. This is a view which cannot be lightly discarded, seeing that the interplanetary rocket enthusiasts are engaged at this very day in inventing a rocket in which a man can reach the moon or a near planet. What is still more pertinent to the fact is that in the last Great War Paris was bombarded by German gunners, on or about 23rd March 1918, from a distance of about 60 miles. From such a long distance 20 shells were discharged in the bombardment of the French capital. As to how this extraordinarily long range shooting was effected was a mystery and the alternative theories were advanced that either the projectiles were mechanically so constructed that they gathered fresh force subsequent to discharge from the gun, or an infinitely more powerful explosive was employed than had been known till then.

Ouseley mentions that some ingenious commentators divest the story of Âresh of its most marvellous circumstances and suppose the arrow to express figuratively that the Persians invaded, and by their skill in archery, obtained possession of the enemy's country, that Âresh was the successful general, and that he determined the boundaries.

Manûcheher sent Sâm to the succour of the Indian king Kesûrâi, who had asked for help in subduing some refractory princes. Munererâi, the son and successor of Kesûrâi, was ungrateful and rebelled against the suzerainty of

Persia at the time when that country was invaded by Afrâsiâb and took away the country held by the Persians from the hands of the officers of Zâl. Later on King Kai Kobâd sent the warrior Rûstam to reconquer it. Rûstam did so and placed a Hindu chief, Sooruj, on the throne.

Manûcheher constructed canals and brought the waters of the Euphrates to Persia for irrigational and drinking purposes, and furthered more the prosperity of the people by making fields and orchards and planting fruit trees brought from forests and mountains.

VIII. NAUZER.

Manûcheher's reign lasted 120 years. After him his son Nauzer assumed the throne. His rule was so oppressive that there was general dissatisfaction amongst his subjects, and a number of cultivators emigrated to other countries.

When the news of the death of Manûcheher reached Pashang, he ordered Afrâsiâb to take a large army and invade Persia once more.

The Turanian prince defeated and captured Nauzer and had him put to death, after which he himself sat on the throne of Iran. The duration of Nauzer's reign was seven years.

When Zâl received the tidings of the revolution which had occurred in Persia he levied an army and proceeded to Pârs to expel the usurper.

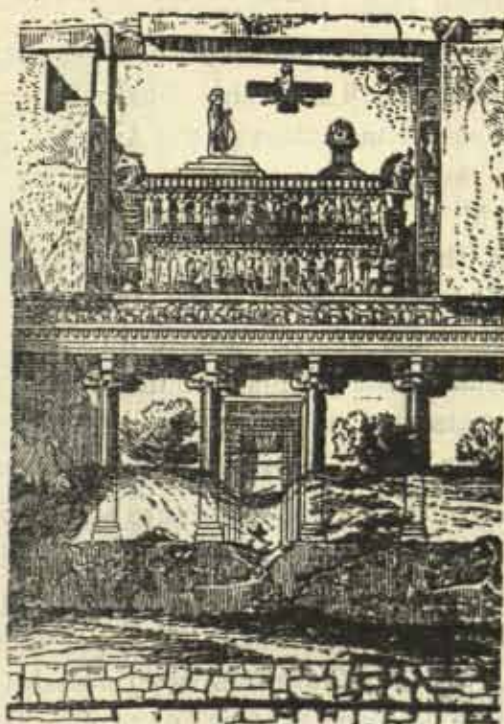
IX. ZÂB.

Zâl's forces engaged the Turanians in fight for a full fortnight. In the meanwhile he convened a conclave of Iranian chiefs and wise men, and urged them to select for the throne some worthy scion of Feridûn's royal line who could rule with dignity, firmness and wisdom. By unanimous consent Zo or Zâb was elected king. He was of a pious and prudent disposition and was eighty years of age when he assumed the crown. The armies of Zâb and Zâl were victorious and the Turanian hordes were driven out.

During his short duration of five years' rule Zāb took effective measures to repair the devastation caused by the inroads of the enemy. Firdausi says that this venerable king made the world fresh by his justice and goodness, restrained his soldiers from evil deeds, since he was in tune with the Holy God (که با پاک بردان یکی راز داشت), and suffered no one to be seized and massacred.

X. KERESHĀSP (GURSHĀSP).

Kereshāsp, who succeeded Zāb, reigned for nine years. With his death the Peshdādiān dynasty terminated and the Kaiyāniān commenced.



Rock Tomb of Darius.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KAIYÂNIAN DYNASTY AND THE PRE-ZOROASTRIAN AND ZOROASTRIAN RELIGIONS.

I. KAI KOBÂD.

Kai Kobâd (Kavi Kavâta of the Avesta), a descendant of Feridûn, was persuaded to leave his abode in the Albûrz mountains and take the vacant Persian throne. From him commences the Kaiyânian dynasty, rendered so famous by the illustrious rule of several distinguished monarchs and by the valour, enterprise and heroism of Rûstam of immortal fame and other renowned paladins, who distinguished themselves in the long wars with Iran's inveterate enemy, Turan.

As to the origin of the family name, designation or title Kai or Kavi, Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha suggests that this word is a dialectic contraction of the Avestan word *Kaofi*, which means one residing in mountains. But we learn from Sir J. J. Modi (S. M. V., XXXIV) that the Pahlavi Bûndeheshn, while describing the romantic childhood of Kaikobâd, represents him as falling unconscious on the *kavâdeh* or threshold of his door, and that it is this word *kavâdeh* connected with an unusual event in his childhood that has given him his name Kavâta and also the family name Kavi. In the Avesta, it may be noted, *Kavi* means "intelligent".

A goodly part of the folk of Sistân are still known by the name of Kaiyânis, which proves, as Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson points out, the continuity of their descent from the ancient rulers of the land. The eminent traveller and explorer Sir Aurel Stein, who is known as *uebermensch* (superman), also mentions the existence to this day of a tribe called Kaiyânian in Sistân, on the banks of the Helmand.

King Pashang of Turan sent an embassy to the Persian court to negotiate peace on the terms that the original

partition of the domains by Feridûn between his three sons should be maintained and the Jihûn taken as the border line of Iran and Turan. These terms were accepted and a treaty was ratified between the two powers.

Firdausi and other Eastern chroniclers give Kai Kobâd a reign of 100 years; but according to the Pahlavi Bûndeheshn his rule lasted for fifteen years. He was a just, clement and benevolent prince and showed much solicitude for the welfare of his subjects. He built a number of towns and made Istakhr his capital. Tabari makes him a contemporary and intimate friend of King Solomon.

On his death his eldest son Kai Kâûs came to the throne.

II. KAI KÂÛS.

Before proceeding with an account of this king's reign,



Kai Kâûs.

we will give some account of the birth and early days of the redoubtable paladin Rûstam, who now plays the foremost part in Kaiyânian history and to the narration of whose marvellous career Firdausi has devoted a considerable and the best portion of his *Shâh-nâmeh*. The poet declares in his other work *Yusif va Zalikha* that he will spend half of his life in filling the world with the name and fame of Rûstam.

که یک نیمه از عمر خود کم کنم
جهانی پر از نام رستم کنم

This hero belongs to that period which is partly historic and partly legendary, and here the great poet's genius and art are seen at their best. As a matter of fact after the death of Rûstam the charm of the *Shâh-nâmeh* visibly diminishes.

Tabari and Masoudi, who flourished before Firdausi's time, as well as the Armenian Moses of Chorene who flourished in the fifth century, have supplied in their histories several particulars regarding Rûstam. There is not a word about him in the extant Avesta, but he is mentioned in Pahlavi and Pâzend literature. So, although the story of this formidable champion of Iran and his family is wrapt in fable, as regards his historical existence we must admit with Sir Percy Sykes (S. T. T. M. P., 352) that such a champion or a family of champions did exist, and as their history is given so circumstantially almost down to historical times, there is every probability that their exploits have a substratum of truth.

The father of Rûstam was Zâl (also known as Dastân), son of Sâh, the World-Champion, and Rodâba, the beautiful daughter of Meherâb, king of Cabûl. Zâl had from birth white hair, white eyebrows, and white eyelashes, on which account Sâh took aversion to him and ordered him to be cast out on Mount Albûrz. This abandonment of his child by Sâh reminds us of a practice observed in ancient Sparta. In that state, as soon as a child was born its parent was required to bring it for examination to officials appointed for that purpose. If these officials considered the child as unlikely to grow up healthy and robust, it was abandoned on the hills to perish.

On the mountain where Zâl was abandoned Simûrgh (lit., Thirty birds), a fabulous eagle, had its abode, and by it the child was fed, bred and brought up. In all probability this was no bird, but a hermit who had his solitary cell there.

When Zâl was seven years old, his father felt remorse and brought him home.

Astrologers had predicted that Rodâba's child would be a hero of unequalled prowess and wisdom, such as the world had never seen. At the time of her delivery a surgical operation was performed on her so that the child might be born

alive. At the instance of the Simūrgh, she was drugged with wine in order to produce insensibility to pain and the surgical operation was performed by means of which the child was born alive. This operation, which is now known as Cæsarian operation from the fact of Julius Cæsar having been brought out alive by this means, reveals a knowledge of obstetrics in Iran which one would not have expected in those early days.

Soon after the delivery Rodāba felt such relief that she exclaimed *بر غم آمد* *Ba-rastam; gham āmad basar* ("I am relieved; grief is over.") From this the child was given the name Rastam or Rûstam. In the Pahlavi books Bûndeheshn, Aiyâdgâr-i Zarirân, and Shatroihâ-i Airân his name is given as Rûstastâm, which literally means "strong growth."

When some years later Sām came from his domains to see his grand-child, he was astonished at the beauty of his person, the lustre of his face, and his leonine courage and tiger-like strength, and to Zāl and Rûstam he addressed some words of grave advice. "Behold!" said he, "Never do anything except what is just and right. Loyal observe the sovereign's commands. Attach greater value to wisdom than to wealth. All through life abstain from evil deeds, and seek the path of godliness. Remember that the world is fickle in her favours. Let the covert thoughts and overt acts always harmonize. Never turn a single step away from righteousness." All through his long and eventful life, Rûstam remained a man of piety and never departed from his grandfather's admonition.

One of the earliest feats of strength and bravery displayed by Rûstam during his boyhood was felling, in the darkness of night, with a single blow of his grandfather's ponderous iron mace, a powerful white elephant belonging to the king and kept at Sistân that had become violent and escaping from its chains was trampling people to death.

The famous heroes of ancient days usually wore the skins of wild beasts. Hercules wore for his chief armour the skin of the Nemaean lion whom he had slain and the Greek and Trojan chiefs put on the skins of lions and panthers. Rûstam's coat of mail, called *Babrê-byân*, was made from the hide of

the Babra, a powerful beast of the leonine species. It was proof against fire, would not sink in water and could resist the severest thrusts of sword and spear.

Several notable kings and warriors of the past had renowned favourite horses. King Kai Khûsrau had his Behazâd ("the well-born") horse, whose story is told by Frdausi. Alexander the Great had his Bucephalus, and Khûsrau Parviz his Shabdiz. Rûstam had his charger Rakhsh, a handsome, powerful and almost humanly sagacious steed, whom Firdausi's epic has made proverbially famous. It was the only steed that would not bend down like a bow under his ponderous body. It was as fleet of foot as the deer, and its shiny coat was dappled over, like blossoms of the rose upon a saffron lawn.

The first military adventure of Rûstam in his early days was the capture of the fort of Mount Sapênd. By a clever ruse he gained an entry into this impenetrable fortress with a band of warriors and surprised the garrison. An enormous quantity of gold, jewellery and valuable gems was taken as booty. The place was entirely demolished and the death of his valiant ancestor Narimân, who had been done to death by the soldiers of the fort rolling down on him a piece of rock, was thus singularly avenged.

Sir John Malcolm identifies the fort of Mount Sapênd, which Rûstam took, with a famous stronghold, known on account of its appearance as "The White Castle", situated in the province of Pârs, about seventy-six miles north-west of Shirâz, on a high hill which is almost perpendicular on every side. The ascent is nearly three miles; for the last five or six hundred yards the summit is so difficult of approach that the slightest opposition, if well directed, must render it impregnable. In 1810 it was in possession of the tribe of Mumasenni, one of the aboriginal tribes of Persia. Their means of defence were probably the same as in the days of Rûstam: a line of large stones ranged in regular order around the edges of a precipice. Each stone is wedged in by a smaller; when that is removed, the larger stone, or rather rock, is hurled down and sweeps everything before it.

In his very first encounter with Iran's ceaseless adversary Afrâsiâb, Rûstam dexterously took grip of his girdle and wanted to take him as a captive to Kai Kobâd. But the girdle broke and Afrâsiâb fell down and at this critical moment several Tartar cavaliers rushed up and bore Afrâsiâb away, and this early opportunity of Rûstam to relieve Persia for ever of her bitterest and most persistent foe was lost.

We have said above that Kaikobâd was succeeded by his son Kai Kâûs. It is mentioned in the *Târikh Jehânârâ* that the surname of this king was Nimurd, which in the Arabic language is *lam yemat*, or immortal, corruptly altered into Nimrod; and Firdausi alludes to an ancient tradition that Kâûs and Nimrod were one and the same person :—

شنیدم که نمرود کاوس بود

("I have heard that Nimrod was Kâûs.")

Kai Kâûs, who was of an impetuous nature, soon after coming to the throne, made the determination to undertake an invasion of Mâzenderân (Hyrcania), which was the country of the divs. Tûs, Giv, Gûdarz and other wise counsellors of his tried to dissuade him from this most hazardous undertaking, but to no purpose. The expedition, as was expected, ended in disaster. While Kai Kâûs was encamped in the night in the plain near the city of Mâzenderân confident of seizing it on the following day, Div-i-Sapid ("The White Demon"), whom the king of Mâzenderân had summoned to his aid, enveloped the Iranians in a cloud of smoke of pitchy darkness, and rained down on them showers of bricks and stones from the sky. Kai Kâûs and two-thirds of his men were struck with blindness.

The divs of Mâzenderân were savages in the matter of their religion and crude in many of their ways. But in arts, crafts, and science they must have been better versed than the more polished Persians. We have seen that the Peshdâdian Tehmûrâsp, the Demon-Binder, learnt several languages and the art of writing from the divs, and his successor Jamshid employed them to make bricks, erect walls, palaces, and baths,

and to build for him a flying throne (what we may now call an aeroplane) and pilot it through the air. If we took a knowledge of this sort on the part of these divs as a fact, it would do no great violence to our common sense further to extend our belief and take as fact, not fiction, the story of the Div-i-Sapid raising the darkening cloud of smoke which blinded the Iranian king and most of his troops, and his raining on them showers of stone from the sky. It might be surmised that these Mâzenderânis possessed the secret of manufacturing tear and poison gases, and raising dark curtains of smoke, as well as throwing down destructive missiles from aeroplanes, millennia before modern scientists could imagine these things.

Arzang, one of the leaders of the divs, secured Kai Kâûs and the other captives with chains and marched them off to the city of Mâzenderân and delivered them into the hands of the king of that country.

When Zal learnt of this catastrophe, he directed Rûstam to proceed forthwith to Mâzenderân and effect the release of Kai Kâûs and his men. The ordinary route to that country was a long one and it had taken Kai Kâûs six months to reach it. There was another much shorter route which could be traversed in a couple of weeks, but it was full of sorcery and dangers of all sorts. Putting on his Babré-byân, and fully armed, Rûstam bestrode Rakhsh and took his route.

O'er him who seeks the battle-field
Nobly his prisoned king to free,
Heaven will extend its saving shield,
And crown his arms with victory.

(ATKINSON.)

So, by the grace of God, Rûstam's arms were crowned with victory. He passed unscathed through the *Hafta Khân* or the seven frightful stages of the journey, overcoming every peril and destroying every ferocious beast and demon that infested the region or disputed his advance. At the sixth stage he encountered Arzang, whose head he tore off from the body. At the seventh stage the White Demon himself confronted him, but after a fierce struggle Rûstam lifted him up

bodily and dashed him on the ground with such force that his gigantic frame was shattered and life left him. Rûstam performed ablutions with clean water from a spring, bowed his head to the ground and offered prayers to his Maker Who had granted him the victory.

We learn from Mr. Benjamin (B. P. P., 301) that there is actually a tribe existing to this day among the Albûrz mountains or the fastnesses of ancient Hyrcania, which still bears the name of Div Sefeed and whom intelligent Persians consider to be the remnants of a redoubtable race of barbarians who were overcome by Rûstam. He rightly says that it is not often that a national legend that dates thirty or forty centuries back can be so satisfactorily traced to actual occurrences. Rûstam engaged in deadly combat with the Div-i-Sapid is a favourite design, which frequently reappears with variations in the emblazoned tiles of Persian artists.

The victorious paladin effected the release of the king of Iran and all his men from their bonds, and cured their blindness by applying blood extracted from the White Demon's heart to their eyes.

Mâzenderân being conquered, Kai Kâûs now led an expedition against the King of Berber, who had proved refractory, and brought him under subjugation. He then turned his arms against the kings of Hâmâvarân* (Yemen), Misr (Egypt), and Shâm (Syria), who had formed a league against him, and reduced them to submission. These expeditions and victories, which relate to the legendary period, but still cannot be rejected as fable, show that those writers who, slavishly following one after another, have generalized that the Persian dreaded and abhorred the sea have ignored the true facts.† From early

* According to Darmesteter, Hâmâvarân is a form of the word Himyâr, a synonym for Yemen, and Berber is the modern Berbera on the Somali coast opposite Aden. Tabari, Masoudi and Thalibi agree in crediting Kâûs with the temporary conquest of Yemen.

† Noëldeke mentions that Firdausi has no experience whatever of the sea and even of travelling by sea. Hadi Hasan writes in his *History of Persian Navigation* that the *Shâh-nâmeh* may be searched in vain for an account of ships or nautical technique. This defect, which the *Shâh-nâmeh* shares with Persian literature in general, has strengthened the theory of Persian aversion to the sea. But, as Hadi Hasan sententiously observes (p. 13), though Persian literature has feared and avoided the sea, Persia has not,

times Persia appears to have commanded the sea. Firdausi mentions that Kai Kâûs had embarked with his troops in innumerable ships and barges (کشتی و زورق) and sailed a thousand farsangs or leagues; and Mirkhond tells us that this king had marched to India, after the conquest of which he returned by way of Mekrân and remained some time in Sistân.

Kai Kâûs having learnt that the Shah of Hâmâvarân had a very beautiful daughter, by name Sodâba, asked for her hand in marriage. The Shah had no wish to be separated from his daughter, to whom he was greatly attached. But he had no option but to comply with the demand of his conqueror, and Sodâba became the consort of the Iranian monarch.

One week after the wedding the spiteful Shah of Hâmâvarân invited Kai Kâûs to be his guest. In spite of Sodâba's dissuasion, Kai Kâûs accepted the invitation and proceeded to the city of Shâhe, where preparations on a most lavish scale were made for the reception of the royal son-in-law. After a period of rejoicings and revelry, Kai Kâûs prepared to go. By a preconcerted plan troops from Berber had approached Hâmâvarân and waylaid Kai Kâûs and his retinue, who had no suspicion of treachery and were taken unawares. The king, with his chiefs, Giv, Gûdarz, Tûs and Gûrgin, and the rest of his escort, were seized and imprisoned in a remote impregnable fortress which stood on the top of a lofty mountain. The Shah sent some of his court damsels to bring back Sodâba to his palace, but the princess declared that she preferred death to separation from her husband. So he sent her to the dungeon where Kai Kâûs was.

When the news travelled to Afrâsiâb that the throne of Persia was without a king, this ever watchful adversary of Iran collected his vast Tartar hordes and overran the country. He routed the Persian troops, took many prisoners, and made himself master of Persia.

As soon as Rûstam came to hear of the disaster that had overtaken Kai Kâûs by the treachery of the Shah of Hâmâvarân, he collected his troops and hurried across to Hâmâvarân by sea in a fleet of galleys as the land route was

long and tedious. He utterly vanquished the triple forces of Hāmāvarān, Berber and Misr and captured the ruler of Syria and sixty other chieftains. The warrior Gorāzeh seized the Shah of Berber and forty of his chiefs, and Zawāreh, a brother of Rūstam, cleft the king of Misr from the head to the waist by a single stroke of his sharp steel. The Shah of Hāmāvarān, seeing the carnage that was going on, humbly solicited peace and offered to pay tribute and restore Kai Kāūs and all his chiefs and men, together with all the rich booty which had been seized. The soldiers of the three kingdoms also begged Rūstam for mercy and took a vow that henceforth they would not entertain enmity with Persia. The victorious paladin pardoned them all and also released all his captives. Kai Kāūs, too, forgave the Shah of Hāmāvarān for his treachery and received from him valuable gifts.

Kai Kāūs now made preparations for regaining his kingdom of Persia from the usurper Afrāsiāb. His own forces were reinforced by a hundred thousand horsemen from Hāmāvarān, Berber and Misr.

Afrāsiāb took his measures to confront the attacking army and harangued his soldiers inciting them to show their mettle on the battle-day. He promised to bestow a kingdom and the hand of his daughter, together with the title of Sapehbud (Commandant of the Forces), upon the warrior who should pull down "The Sagzi* of evil descent" (*i.e.*, Rūstam) from his saddle and make him bite the dust. Such a tempting offer fired many a Turanian warrior with the ambition to try conclusions with that champion. But they only courted death. Rūstam and other heroes of Iran laid about them with such good will and vigour that two-thirds of the army of Turan lay dead on the field. Afrāsiāb, distressed and broken-hearted, fled to Turan. "He had come to seek sweet honey in the world, but found bitter poison."

Kai Kāūs returned to Pārs and re-established the splendour of his throne. He wrote a royal firman to his champion

* Sakastān or Sistan means the land of the Sakas. So Rūstam, ruling in Sistan, was a Saki. His enemies taunted him as a *Sagī*, *i.e.*, a dog. (M. As. P., Part II, 286.)

and liberator Rûstam advancing him from the rank of vassalage to the dignity of sovereignty and bestowing on him afresh and hereditarily the dominion of Nimrûz, together with the titles of *Jahân-Pehelwân* ("World Champion") and *Tahamtan* ("Strong-bodied" or "Powerful"). He also presented to him a kingly crown set with gems, a royal throne, a gold embroidered royal robe, a splendid necklace, and a costly armlet, together with many other gifts of considerable value. The royal letters patent for the sovereignty of Nimrûz were indited on cloth of gold with scented ink of aloewood, musk, ambergris and wine.

Kai Kâûs continued to rule with justice and liberality, so that the whole land was prosperous. But there was to be another curious incident in the chequered career of this king.

One day as he was starting on a hunt, a div, disguised as a domestic servant, approached him, and, bending down low to the ground, presented to him a bouquet and regaled him with a song as under:—

Thou art great as king can be,
Boundless in thy majesty;
What is all this earth to thee
All beneath the sky?
Peris, mortals, demons, hear
Thy commanding voice with fear :
Thou art lord of all things here,
But thou canst not fly.

There remains for thee to know
Things above, as things below,

How the planets roll ;

How the sun his light displays,
How the moon darts forth her rays ;
How the nights succeed the days ;

What the secret cause betrays,

And who directs the whole ?

(ATKINSON.)

Kai Kâûs, always impetuous, deceived by the div's artful song, had no thought but to ascend the heavens and explore their secrets and count the stars. A throne of aloe wood was prepared, in which he took his seat. Four powerful *Okâbs** or

* The *Jehânârâ* mentions *Kergasân* (کرگان = vultures).

eagles, one bound at each corner of it, bore it aloft on their wings.* They flew on, until, their strength exhausted, they came tumbling down from the sky with the throne, which, carried away by a wind, fell in a desert of China. By a miracle the king escaped unhurt. Rûstam, Gûdarz, and Tûs, who were out in search of him, found him and brought him back to his palace. Sir W. Ouseley is of opinion that this fable originated probably in the fondness of this king for astronomical studies, as he declared that he would explore the secrets of the Spheres and count one by one the stars of heaven.

We now come to the story of Rûstam and his son Sohrâb, one of the most stirring and tragic episodes in the *Shâh-nâmeh*, made familiar to English readers by Matthew Arnold's poem.

Now further mark the searchless ways of Heaven,

Father and son to mortal combat driven!

Alas! the tale of sorrow must be told,

The tale of tears, derived from minstrel old.

(ATKINSON.)

Sir Henry Layard in the account of his travels in Khozestân and other mountainous regions mentions that even the bold warriors of these mountains weep like little children as they listen to the recital of this tragic episode.

One day while out hunting, Rûstam approached the marches of Turan, and seeing a multitude of onagers in a wood, shot one and roasting it made a repast of it. Then he drunk water from a spring and laid himself down for sleep, leaving his Rakhsh to graze. Some Tartar horsemen saw the famous charger and captured him with a lasso, but not until three of them were killed and others severely injured by that powerful steed.

When Rûstam awoke from his slumber, he noticed the disappearance of his favourite mount. Following the traces of his footsteps, he came to Samangân.† On his approach, the king of that place went to him on foot, with his courtiers, to

* This adventure of Kai Kâûs is similar to that of the Babylonian hero Etana, who was carried up to the heavens on the back of an eagle.

† Sir Percy Sykes identifies Samangân with the town of Semalgân on the Āstrâbâd-Boojnourd road, now occupied by the Kûrds.

receive him with due respect. Rûstam requested him to have his missing horse looked for and restored to him, and warned him that otherwise he would cut off the head of every one of his chieftains with his trusty sword. The king promised that he would give immediate directions for the search of the horse, and offered his hospitality, which the champion accepted. Rûstam was right royally served, and when after much revelry he left the festive board, he was conducted to a sumptuously decorated bedroom. When a part of the night had passed and the morning star began to cross the sky, some low whispers reached his ears. He saw a slave girl, with a scented lamp, approaching his bed and behind her was a most beautiful maiden.

Shyly the maiden admitted that she was the king's daughter Tahmineh and had fallen in love with him on account of the many marvellous tales that she had heard of his prowess and courage and his wonderful achievements, and had taken a vow that she would marry only him and no other husband. Rûstam was delighted to hear the beautiful maiden's sweet confession. He obtained the consent, most willingly given, of the maiden's royal father to their marriage.

The hero could not remain long with her, and when they parted he removed an armlet (*mohreh*) from his arm and handed it to her, saying that should a daughter be born to her it should be plaited in her hair, but if she gave birth to a son it should be bound on his arm as his father's token. He held his beautiful wife in a close embrace and covering her eyes and brow with kisses, vaulted upon his Rakhsh, which had been restored to him, and galloped away to Sistân.

At the close of nine months, Tahmineh gave birth to a son, who shone like the moon and was the very image of Rûstam, Sâm and Narimân. He laughed at his birth and his face became rosy. So he was named Sohrâb or Sûrkhâb, which means "of the rosy face." When he was ten years of age there was none in the land who could wrestle with him. Lion hunting was child's sport to him. He could seize the fastest horse by its tail and bring it to a stop.

One day he demanded from his mother to tell him who his father was. "Why am I," asked he, "loftier than my milk-fellows, and why does my head reach, as it were, to the skies? When asked about my father, what am I to say?" Tahmineh replied, "Rejoice at what I am about to disclose to thee, but do not be rash. The renowned champion Rûstam is thy parent and thou art of the heroic line of Narimân, Sâm and Zal. Hence thy head is loftier than the sky." She then gave to Sohrâb for perusal the letter which Rûstam had sent to her on his receiving news of Sohrâb's birth, and delivering to him the three purses of gold and three valuable gems which Rûstam had sent along with the letter, she advised Sohrâb to guard them carefully as they might one day serve to establish his identity, and said, "Let not Rûstam hear of thee, for should he come to know of thy valour and other great merits he is sure to summon thee and I will be disconsolate at our separation. Also let never Afrâsiâb know, for he is thy father's most inveterate foe and out of spite might work thee harm." Of course it was impossible for a boy of Sohrâb's spirit to accept this advice. He said he would collect an army of warlike Tartars, and invade Persia, and entrust the crown, throne and treasures of that country to his illustrious sire, and would then attack Turan and expel Afrâsiâb from his throne. "Since Rûstam is my sire and I his son," he added, "there ought not to be, and shall not remain, any other monarch in the world. When the sun and moon are shining, why should stars raise their heads?"

The crafty Afrâsiâb, who was not unacquainted with Sohrâb's birth, set about contriving to further his own ambitious designs by using this raw youthful enthusiast to destroy the might of Persia. He sent two wise warriors, Homân and Bârmân, to Sohrâb with many rich gifts and an army, and with a royal missive telling him that if wanted he would lend him still more troops to enable him to dethrone the despot Kai Kâûs, and ascend the throne of Iran himself and give the world rest from strife. To his generals he gave strict injunctions to take every possible action that Sohrâb and Rûstam might never know of each other's identity. He entertained

the hope that when the father and son, ignorant of their relationship, entered the lists, the youthful Sohrâb was certain to overpower the aged warrior and the world being rid of Rûstam, it would not take long to destroy Sohrâb by some stratagem, and when both were destroyed, the defeat of Kai Kâûs and the seizure of Iran would be an easy task for him.

The artless Sohrâb accepted the cunning Turanian king's offer, and led the Tartar army against Persia.

Kai Kâûs summoned Rûstam to his aid. For three succeeding days Rûstam and Sohrâb were engaged in single combat. On the first two days the old champion had the worse of it. But on the third day, in the course of their wrestle, Rûstam taking a firm grip of Sohrâb's girdle employed his utmost strength and dashed him to the ground, and swiftly drew his sharp scimitar and plunged it into the young hero's heart.

Writhing with pain Sohrâb in murmurs sighed—

And thus to Rûstam—"Vaunt not in thy pride ;

"Upon myself this sorrow have I brought,

"Thou but the instrument of fate—which wrought

"My downfall ; thou art guiltless—guiltless quite ;

"O had I seen my father in the fight,

"My glorious father ! Life will soon be o'er,

"And his great deeds enchant my soul no more!

"Of him my mother gave the mark and sign,

"For him I sought, and what an end is mine !

"My only wish on earth, my constant sigh,

"Him to behold and with that wish I die.

"But hope not to elude his piercing sight,

"In vain for thee the deepest glooms of night ;

"Couldst thou through ocean's depths for refuge fly,

"Or midst the star-beams track the upper sky,

"Rûstam with vengeance armed, will reach thee there,

"His soul, the prey of anguish and despair."

An icy horror chills the Champion's heart,

His brain whirls round with agonising smart ;

O'er his wan cheek no gushing sorrows flow,

Senseless he sinks beneath the weight of woe ;

Relieved at length, with frenzied look he cries ;

"Prove thou art mine, confirm my doubting eyes !

"For I am Rûstam !" Piercing was the groan,
 Which from his torn heart burst—as wild and lone,
 He gazed upon him. Dire amazement shook
 The dying youth, and mournful thus he spoke :
 "If thou art Rûstam, cruel is thy part,
 "No warmth paternal seems to fill thy heart ;
 "Else hadst thou known me, when, with strong desire,
 "I fondly claimed thee for my valiant sire ;
 "Now from my body strip the shining mail,
 "Untie these bands, ere life and feeling fail ;
 "And on my arm the direful proof behold !
 "Thy sacred bracelet of refulgent gold !
 "When the loud brazen drums were heard afar,
 "And echoing round, proclaimed the pending war,
 "Whilst parting tears my mother's eyes overflowed,
 "This mystic gift her bursting heart bestowed !
 "'Take this', she said, 'thy father's token wear,
 "'And promised glory will reward thy care'.
 "The hour is come, but fraught with bitter woe,
 "We meet in blood to wail the fatal blow."

(ATKINSON.)

Loosening Sohrâb's mail, Rûstam with bewildered eyes saw his unhappy gift, the bracelet, and fell prostrate on the ground. With deep groans he bewailed that by his own unnatural hand his valiant son had been slain, and he rent his hair and clothes in anguish and despair.

In Erivan, the capital of Russian Armenia, there is a palace of the Persian period, adjoining a mosque, the audience-hall of which has its walls adorned by historic paintings, among which Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, during his visit to Persia in 1903, was most interested to find those of Sohrâb and Rûstam and of Ferâmurz, Rûstam's second son.

We will now take up the story of prince Siâwush, the son and heir of King Kai Kâûs. His mother was not queen Sodâba ; but another wife of the king, whose father was the ruler of Bâlgâhr. His grace and virtues were equal to his glorious beauty. One of the blessings with which the prophet Zoroaster addressed King Vishtâspa when for the first time he approached him was "*Srirêm kéhêrpêm anâsrvaném bavâhi yathâ kwa*

Syâvarshâno " ("Be thou beauteous in person and guileless like Siâwush! "); and among the blessings which the officiating priests invoke, in the Pâzend language, upon a marrying Zoroastrian couple there is this one, "*Hûdid béd chûn Syâvaksh*" ("In looks be ye as beauteous as Siâwush").

Siâwush was brought up at the court of Rûstam, where he acquired every accomplishment and was instructed in the art of government and military arts and in all the virtues required in a royal prince. One day he expressed his desire to visit his father. So Rûstam took him to the royal court where Kai Kâûs received him with joy, and bestowed on him the province of Kohistân.

Queen Sodâba, on beholding the beauteous person of Siâwush, was seized with desperate love for him. But as he resisted all her overtures, she determined to wreak signal revenge upon him. She tore her dress, screamed aloud and rushed out of her chamber, and going to the king, with tears in her eyes and many lamentations, complained to him that Siâwush had attempted to outrage her virtue. Kai Kâûs was conscious of his son's guiltlessness, but as Sodâba persisted in her accusations, he resolved to put the prince to the ordeal of fire to prove his innocence. Siâwush put up a silent prayer to the Almighty Protector, and rode boldly on his horse through the raging flames of the immense fire which had been built and came out at the other end with radiant face and absolutely unharmed. He emerged with his raiment and his horse "as unstained as if he was bearing jessamines". The king and the people rejoiced. Kai Kâûs folded him in a warm embrace and ordered the public executioner to hang the hypocritical queen on a gibbet in a public square. But the good-natured Siâwush interceded and persuaded the king to pardon her.

The restless Afrâsiâb once more crossed the Jihûn and invaded Persia. Siâwush obtained from his father the command of an army and proceeded to confront the Turanians with the assistance of Rûstam. Five *mobeds* bore the standard of Kâveh. When the two armies were two marches apart Afrâsiâb, who had had a terrible dream, which was inter-

puted by soothsayers as prophesying disaster at the hands of Siāwush, was seized with nervousness and giving up the idea of hostility opened negotiations for peace. Siāwush took Rūstam's advice and agreed to suspend hostility if Afrāsiāb restored all the territories of Iran then held by him and gave a hundred of his kinsmen as hostages. The King of Turan complied with these terms and delivered Bokhārā, Samarkand, Sughd, Chāj and Sepunjāb to the Iranian prince.

Rūstam conveyed in person to Kai Kāūs Siāwush's missive communicating to him the terms of the peace. The king was mightily displeased that Siāwush should have accepted peace at a time when there was a certainty of thoroughly crushing Afrāsiāb, who had been thrown into extreme consternation and nervousness by his terrible dream. He forwarded to Siāwush, by the hand of Tūs, a strongly worded despatch, wherein he wrote that by the wiles of Afrāsiāb he had been deceived into receiving a hundred obscure individuals, who collectively were not worth a barber surgeon's fee, but such was always the result whenever the aged entrusted matters of importance to boys. He commanded the prince to send to him in chains the hundred Turanian hostages, to return his presents to Afrāsiāb, and to lead the Iranian army into Turan and not to leave that country without his orders. The despatch directed that if Siāwush was unable to acquit himself of this important charge, he should deliver the battle standard, the war chest and the army to Tūs and return to the king's court.

Siāwush and Rūstam were mortally offended at these peremptory and unjust orders. The paladin returned to his own domain, and the prince said that he deemed it unlawful to violate his pledged word and held God's commands supreme over those of earthly monarchs. He sent back the Turanian hostages to their sovereign, delivered the charge of the army to Tūs, and went himself into Turan along with one of Afrāsiāb's distinguished nobles, Pirān Wisah.

The prince's adherence, in spite of his father's orders, to the pledge given by him to the enemy recalls to our mind the

moral principle which is enunciated in v. 2 of Meher Yasht in these words:—"O Spitama! never break thy pledge, be it with a co-religionist or with one of another faith." It is said in v. 5, fargard IV, of the Vendidad that the punishment and evil consequences of a breach of promised word affect not only the breaker of the word but also his near relatives.

Siâwush received a most hearty reception from Afrâsiâb and his subjects. From the city-gates to the palace, gold and incense were scattered over his head; and the king said that he would be a father to him and cherish him.

As days passed the prince rose in the king's affection and esteem, and was married to his lovely and accomplished daughter Ferangiz, and given a royal *firman*, inscribed on silk, bestowing on him the sovereignty of a province one hundred farsangs in length, extending eastwards from Turan as far as the sea of China.

Gurshivaz and other kinsmen of Afrâsiâb became intensely jealous of the Iranian prince and began to plot to bring about his ruin. They filled the king's ears with deceitful tales of the prince's treacherous communications with the Court of Iran and of his design of making Turan a part of the Persian Empire. At first Afrâsiâb gave no heed to these accusations and believed in the innocence and true faith of his son-in-law. But at last the conspirators succeeded in rousing his suspicions, and he told Gurshivaz that if things were as reported, Siâwush might be slain.

The saintly Siâwush had forebodings of his coming end. He foretold to Ferangiz that Afrâsiâb would have his head cut off without any fault on his part. He communicated his last wishes to her and prophesied that she, who had been five months pregnant, would give birth to a son who would become illustrious and would be called Kai Khûsrau. He let loose his favourite mount Behzâd, put his crown, throne, helmet and all other valuables into fire and prepared to flee to Persia together with his retinue of a thousand Persians. They proceeded about half a *farsang* when they espied Afrâsiâb coming up with his army. The Persian guards expressed

readiness to fight the Turanians notwithstanding their great inferiority in number, but Siāwush forbade all opposition and said that if he fought Afrāsiāb he would be degrading his lineage. To Afrāsiāb he said:—"King! why hast thou come with thy army to attack me? Why dost thou want to kill me, who am innocent of guilt, and thus give cause for war between our two nations?" This appeal went in vain. Instigated by Gurshivaz Afrāsiāb ordered an attack. True to his word Siāwush did not raise his weapons against the Turanians, nor permitted his Iranians to do so. The latter were massacred to a man and Siāwush, covered with wounds, dropped down from his horse. A Turanian, named Girūi Zarab, bound his hands and others put a rope round his neck. Notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of the warrior Pilsum, a brother of Pirān, and the entreaties of Ferangiz, Afrāsiāb listened to the crafty words of Gurshivaz and ordered Girūi to drag Siāwush away to a lonely spot and kill him. Girūi dragged Siāwush by his hairs to a distant place and cut off his head over a golden bowl, into which his blood was allowed to flow. He then emptied the bowl in a place where he had been directed to take it. On the spot where the blood of this pious prince was poured out there sprang up a plant which is known as *Khunē Syāwushān* ("the blood of Siāwush") and is believed to possess wonderful virtues.

In due course Ferangiz gave birth to a lovely son, who was named Kai Khūsrau. Pirān informed Afrāsiāb of this event and was ordered by the latter to send the child away to the hills to be brought up among shepherds, so that when he grew up he might not have any knowledge of his lineage and of the events of the past. Kai Khūsrau was accordingly handed over to the shepherds of Mount Kalū. As he grew up he began to show the qualities and natural instincts of his high birth. At the age of seven he improvised a bow and an arrow for himself and went on a chase. At the age of ten he hunted bears and wolves, and after a time combated tigers and lions, and did not heed his foster parent's remonstrances against his rash adventures. The latter informed Pirān, who went to see

the boy, and charmed with his looks and manners folded him in an embrace and brought him to his own palace. Afrâsiab, who was troubled by what he had done, sent for Pirân one night and said to him that it was not meet that a scion of Shah Feridûn should be brought up among shepherds, and that so long as the boy thought not of what had occurred in the past there was no danger to either side, but if at any time he showed a hostile disposition his head would be cut off as was his father's. Pirân pretended that the boy having been reared among rude mountain shepherds was witless and could have no knowledge of the past. He took an oath from the king that he would do no harm to the boy and produced him. Before bringing him in the king's presence Pirân instructed him to answer any questions the king might put to him as if he were an idiot. Afrâsiab was thus persuaded that he had nothing to fear from the boy, and ordered Pirân to send him away with his mother to Syâwushgard.

One night the warrior Gûdarz, who was a grandson of Kaveh the blacksmith and one of the most distinguished nobles at court, had a dream, in which he saw the angel Saraosh riding a rain-cloud. The angel told him that his son Giv must find Kai Khûsrau and bring him back to Iran in order that Siâwush be avenged. Gûdarz accordingly dispatched his son, who went alone for fear of his search for the prince being interfered with. For seven years he wandered throughout the Turanian domains, till at last one day passing through a forest he came upon a boy sitting by the side of a spring of water who had beautiful looks and was as straight as the cypress tree. Giv recognised him as the prince he was in search of by his likeness to Siâwush and was further assured of his identity by the lad's showing him on his arm the black mark that all the scions of the race bore from the time of Kai Kobâd.

Giv and Kai Khûsrau proceeded together to Syâwushgard to meet Ferangiz, and from there the three took the road to Persia and succeeded in escaping from Turan. King Kai Kâûs and the Iranians accorded them a most hearty welcome.

There was an impregnable fortress, Daz-i-Bahman, in the

district of Ardabil, which was a seat of the idol-worshippers. King Kâûs, in order to determine who should succeed him, his own son Faribourz or Kai Khûsrau, the son of Siâwush, asked them to compete and capture the fortress. Kai Khûsrau succeeded, while Faribourz, who had tried first, failed. It is said that the holy Fire Âzar Bûshasp or Âzar Gûshap appeared on the harness of Kai Khûsrau's horse and by its splendour the prince won the fortress. Sir J. J. Modi explains that what had happened was an electric phenomenon. It seems that Kai Khûsrau installed the Fire, produced by an electric phenomenon or by an electric lightning, into a fire-temple. This Fire continued to burn in Iran for some time even after the Arab conquest. (Sir J. J. Modi's *Introdn.*, J. M. J. V., p. XL.)

Kai Kâûs took to a life of seclusion, resigning the throne in favour of Kai Khûsrau after a rule of 150 years.

One of his wise maxims was that the best of things is counsel; the most excellent, health; the most complete, security; the most delicious, wealth; the most precious, religion; and the purest, justice.

Another of his sayings was that actions are the fruits of thought, which they resemble just as the fruits of trees assimilate to the parent seeds: that is, if the workings of intention and the operations of reflection be applied to the attainment of perfection in our pursuits, and to the correction of evil propensities, all our actions will necessarily terminate in the path of righteousness and the causes of prosperity. (M. R. S. S., 243.)

Kai Kâûs transferred the royal residence from Irâk to Balkh, which continued to be the capital of the Kaiyânians until Queen Homâi made Madâin (Ctesiphon) the capital. In the region of Khorâsân, he laid the foundation of the city of Samarkand, which centuries afterwards was destined to rise to great eminence under the Tartar king Timur (Tamerlane). Siâwush finished it, and Kai Khûsrau, who was born there, established in it the glorious fire-temple in the treasury whereof the first Zoroastrian king, Vishtâspa (Gûshtâsp), deposited the Zoroastrian scriptures indited on gilded tablets.

III. KAI KHUSRAU.



Kai Khushrau.

Four eminent qualities distinguished the new king, namely, high lineage, nobility of nature, diligence and wisdom. He assembled the ministers and nobles of the state, and in his address to them declared that his principal and most suitable concern was to regard with attention the state of the cultivators, in order that all ranks of his subjects might have the necessities of life prepared for them, and, in the next place so to secure the property of this class against oppression that they might cheerfully devote themselves to the service of God and also execute on

every occasion his royal commands which were in every way conformable to the pleasure of the Almighty, and, lastly, that they should be enabled to pray continually for the perpetuity of his daily increasing prosperity. (M. R. S. S., 243.) These sage words of this ancient Iranian sovereign remind us of that aphorism of a Parsi king of the historical age, Shah Ardeshir Papekân, which Gibbon mentions :—"There can be no power without an army, no army without money, no money without agriculture, and no agriculture without justice." They disclose, besides, the devotional spirit of these Iranian monarchs of the distant past and their conviction that the perpetuity of their prosperity could be assured through the prayers offered to the Almighty in their behalf by a contented people.

On one occasion when Kai Kâûs was in the company of his grandson Kai Khushrau and the warriors Zâl and Rûstam, he related to Kai Khushrau the tales of the crafts and cruelty

of Afrāsiāb, his unprovoked assaults and ravages, and especially his unpardonable crime of the murder in cold blood of his saintly and graceful son-in-law, prince Siāwush, the father of Kai Khūsrau, and made him take a solemn vow that he would avenge his glorious father's death on the Turanian king and would never incline towards amity for him on account of his near kinship.

The chiefs and leaders of Iran waited but the command to unsheathe their swords and wreak signal vengeance on the monarch of Turan. Kai Khūsrau decided upon a war with that country. We need not relate the numerous bloody engagements which took place and the valorous performances of the warriors of both sides. Briefly, at the outset the Iranians met with reverses, but eventually the forces of Turan, commanded by Pirān Wisah, were beaten, the commander was slain, and Afrāsiāb and his evil genius, Gurshivaz, were put to death "like two goats", in avengement of the murder of Siāwush.

It is related in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi* that the former Sultans of Kashgar claimed to be descendants of Afrāsiāb and traced that monarch's descent from King Feridūn in the following line:—Afrāsiāb, Pish, Dadinashin, Tār, and Feridūn. (M. Rn., 127.)

In the Avesta his name is Hūsrav, which means "Good Glory". Hāfiz Abrū mentions in his History, on the authority of other chroniclers, that Khūsrau had a shrine with a pulpit made for him, which accompanied him in every expedition and every place of residence and in which he offered up prayers, worshipping God in unity and exhorting mankind to adore Him. He undertook no affair without careful deliberation. He reduced the imposts and maintained the military from his treasury. In his testamentary advice he counselled his vizir Gūdarz to restore without consideration of cost the irrigational works and watercourses which Afrāsiāb had ruined. Among the acts of charity which he enjoined on this minister were (1) to help the orphan and the widow, (2) to help the aged who were in distress and especially those among them

who out of self-respect concealed their poverty, (3) to relieve towns and villages from the terrors of ferocious animals, and (4) to maintain places of worship.

The war of Kai Khûsrau and Afrâsiâb narrated by Firdausi is half legendary, yet has a considerable element of truth, for there are distinct allusions to it in the Avesta and Pahlavi writings and traditions are prevalent to this day among Balûchi tribes that connect Makrân (which was conquered by Kai Khûsrau and given to an Iranian satrap, Ashkash, to govern, as related in the Shâh-nâmeh) with the Kaiyânian rule. There are still existing in that region subterranean irrigational channels some known as Kâûsi (made by Kâûs) and others as Khûsravi (made by Khûsrau), which are believed to have been constructed by that satrap. In various places in Balûchistân are found ancient dams known to the people as *guebre-bands*, i.e., dams built by Fire-worshippers. These facts disclose the enlightened policy of the Iranian rulers, who even in conquered territories multiplied facilities for agriculture in order to increase the prosperity and happiness of their subjects.

Kai Khûsrau was childless. Having during a long reign of sixty years brought about the fulfilment of all his desires, he one day assembled his grandees and warriors and told them that he was sated with human grandeur and was relinquishing the throne in favour of Loharâsp, who was descended from a brother of King Kai Kâûs. He then proceeded to a wilderness and vanished from sight. One of the blessings addressed by Zoroaster to King Vishtâspa, namely, "Be thou as free from disease and death as was Kai Khûsrau," bears evident reference to this incident. The story in the Mahâbhârata of the renunciation of the Indian king Yûdhishthira appears to be taken from the Iranian story of Kai Khûsrau.

IV. KAI LOHARÂSP.

Loharâsp (Av. *Aurvât-aspa*, meaning "the possessor of strong horses") carried on the government with justice and magnanimity. He had two sons, Gûshtâsp and Zarir, both wise, courageous and strong. But to the great mortification of Gûshtâsp he showed greater fondness and favour towards

Ardešhir and Sydasp, who were sons of a daughter of King Kâūs and descendants of Minocheher and Tûs.

One day while the king, the princes and certain noblemen were regaling themselves with wine in a royal garden, Gûštâsp stood up and asked his father to declare him as the heir and successor to the Kaiyānian throne and diadem and boasted that there was not a single warrior who could combat with him on the battle-day, except, of course the great Rûstam. Loharâsp made the answer, "My son arrogance befits not a person of worth and merit. Listen while I recall the advice of Kai Khûsrau: 'If a wild weed infests a flower-garden and finds water, it will get vigour and strength and spoil that garden utterly. An youngster as thou art, thou shouldst not entertain high aspirations and shouldst set proper limitations to thy speech and utter weighty words.'"

Gûštâsp, sorely disappointed, at night time took the road to India with three hundred mounted retainers.

At dawn his father, learning of his sudden departure, sent Zarir, Gostahem and Gûrâzeh in different directions to overtake him and persuade him to return. Zarir found him and prevailed upon him to return to the place.

But as the king continued to show greater favour to the other princes than to his own sons, Gûštâsp was thoroughly disheartened and determined once for all to quit his native land. One dark night he put on an embroidered Chinese tunic and a coronet with an eagle's plume, and sped away in the direction of Rûm* on his charger Shabidz.

It was the custom of the Rûmi Kaisars,† when a royal princess was of marriageable age, to call an assembly of young men of position and wisdom from among whom she might choose her future husband. At this time the princess Katâbân having

* In oriental histories Rûm is used as a general and indefinite name given to the countries west of the Euphrates as far as the shores of the Mediterranean, Bosphorus and Euxine. (Arbuthnot's note at p. 236; M. R. S. R., Pt. I, Vol. II.)

† The Persian writers give this appellation to the Western Kings although the term came into vogue very much later when the Caesars ruled.

come of age, the Kaisar summoned an assembly in conformity with usage. Waited upon by sixty court ladies Katabûn proceeded amongst the assembly with a nosegay of exquisite narcissi in her hand, but among the assembled aspirants there was none whom she could find worthy of her choice, and was disappointed at not noticing among them the distressed-looking youthful foreigner, who was tall and straight as a cypress, in looks as beautiful as the moon, and in bearing like a king, whom in the previous night she had seen and presented the nosegay in dream. Dejected and disappointed she sadly retraced her way to her palace.

Next day the Kaisar issued a proclamation inviting youths of every rank to the assembly. On the persuasion of a village headman, whose acquaintance he had formed, Gûstâsp went with him to the palace to see the gorgeous sight and sat down in a corner with a heavy heart. The keen eyes of Katabûn detected him and muttering "The secret of the dream is solved" went straight up to him and gave him the fragrant bouquet and placed her coronal on his head.

The Kaisar was enraged that his royal daughter should have chosen a plebeian stranger and brought disgrace upon her august family. He was about to order the execution of both, but was deterred from that purpose by the persuasion of his wise priestly monitor. He, however, banished the couple from his palace and bestowed no treasure, crown, or signet.

One day the Kaisar happened to witness Gûstâsp's unrivalled excellence in the game of polo and his matchless feats in archery, and also came to know that the slaying of a monstrous wolf and a hideous dragon which his two princely sons-in-law, Mirân and Ahran, had vaunted as their own performance was actually the achievement of Gûstâsp. He became glad to see such excellent qualities in the person whom he had despised as a man of plebeian origin, and sending for him received him with great joy and all marks of honour, and appointed him to the chief command of his army.

The Iranian prince had all along concealed his identity,

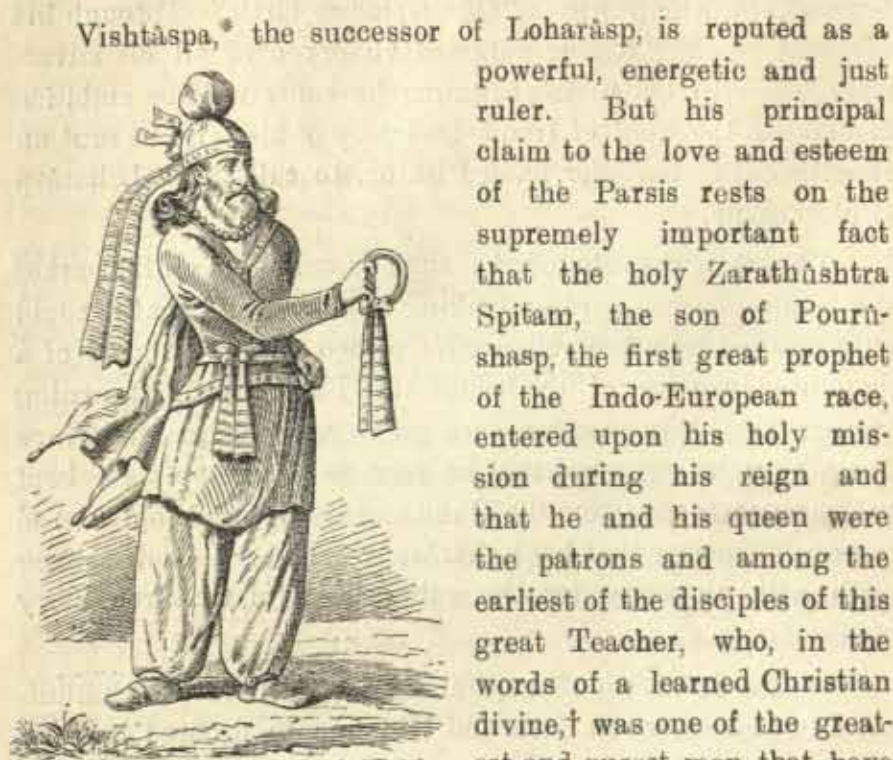
even from his wife Katābūn, and given out his name as Farrokhzād, which means "Of auspicious birth." Through his effectual aid, the Kaisar obtained victory over all his adversaries, and in his high exultation he conceived the ambition of making the king of Iran a feudatory of his. So he sent an experienced ambassador, named Kālūs, to call upon Loharāsp to pay tribute.

Loharāsp was astounded at such presumption on the part of the Rūmi monarch, and on making inquiry found that it could only proceed from the reliance he placed on the support of a matchless warrior of the name of Farrokhzād. Learning further that this warrior bore great resemblance to prince Zarir, he rightly guessed that he must be Gūshtāsp. He kept his surmise secret from the Rūmi ambassador and told him to inform his master that he, Loharāsp, would be himself setting forth with an army for the subjugation of that refractory monarch.

On the departure of the ambassador, Loharāsp communicated his suspicions to Zarir and told him to proceed to Rūm with an army, taking with him the royal throne and crown, which he was to deliver to Gūshtāsp, in case Farrokhzād was no other than Gūshtāsp, saying that the king was convinced of his merits and abdicated in his favour. Zarir succeeded in reconciling him with his father.

After a reign of one hundred and twenty years, Loharāsp passed his remaining days in constant devotion to the Great Omnipotent Lord and Creator in the Fire-temple of Naw-Bahār in Balkh. Huart (H. A. P. C., 188) mentions that under the Sāsānids the eastern parts of Persia were Buddhist, and the building at Balkh, which the Arab conquerors regarded as a fire-temple, was called Naw-Bahār, which is evidently a transcription of *Nava-vihara*, "new monastery." But we see from the Shāh-nāmeḥ that this temple was used as a place of worship by the Yazdānparasts (i.e., the worshippers of God) and there Loharāsp occupied himself in the worship of God and used to adore the sun in accordance with the creed of Jamshid. *Naw Bahār* means the New Spring.

V. KAI VISHTĀSPA.



Kai Vishtāspa.

Vishtāspa,* the successor of Locharāsp, is reputed as a powerful, energetic and just ruler. But his principal claim to the love and esteem of the Parsis rests on the supremely important fact that the holy Zarathūshtra Spitām, the son of Pourūshasp, the first great prophet of the Indo-European race, entered upon his holy mission during his reign and that he and his queen were the patrons and among the earliest of the disciples of this great Teacher, who, in the words of a learned Christian divine,† was one of the greatest and purest men that have ever been afforded us as a boon upon the earth, and who, in the words of another distinguished churchman,‡ was the most illustrious of a band of brilliant and mighty thinkers who have profoundly modified, nay created, the great philosophical movements in the ancient civilization of the world. It is a most interesting fact that an idealized statue of Zoroaster occupies a most conspicuous place among those of the great lawgivers of the world that grace in sculptured form the cornice of the Court of the Appellate Division, a beautiful building in New York City. The statue stands on the top of the edifice which faces on Madison Square, and it is next but one from the sculptured figure that overlooks the corner of the Twentythird Street, one of the finest situations in New York. Near it, along the roof at this commanding height, are statues of other majestic lawgivers, Moses, Manū, Solon, Charlemagne,

* This name signifies "the possessor of spirited horses."

† Dr. L. H. Mills (see Z. P. A. I., 459-460).

‡ Rt. Revd. A. C. Casartelli (see S. M. V., 139).

Alfred the Great, and their compeers; but none surpasses in imposing dignity the figure of Zoroaster. It is cast in great lines and represents the Prophet as a Magian, a law-giver, one who has worked in the East for the ideals of mankind. The figure is heavily mantled in flowing robes, reaching to the feet; a cloak covers the shoulders with its rich folds; a cap



Zarathushtra, the Poet-Prophet.

of antique design crowns the head; the curled beard (philosophic in its way) is truly Persian; and the right hand is raised in authoritative gesture, while the left holds in its grasp a flamed torch, emblem of the eternal light that gives illumination to mankind. But conspicuous above all is the noble deep searchful eyes of the thinker, betokening the sage who has grappled with the great problems that confront the world.*

In Yasna XLVI the question is asked "O Zarathushtra! who is thy pious friend for the great cause, and who is it that wishes to announce it?", and the answer there given is "It is he himself, Kavi Vishtâspa". On the Khordâd day of the Farvardin month the king accepted the religion from Zoroaster; and his adoption of the new creed and secession from that which the Huns still retained formed the cause of a great religious war with those formidable people.

* This description of the statue of Zoroaster is taken from an article by Prof A. V. Williams Jackson in S. V. A. of 1913, p. 23.

The faith or religion of the Iranians at the time of Zoroaster's appearance was that known as Paoryo-tkaeshi,* lit., "The religion of previous faith." It was a form of Māzdayasnism, i.e., a religion acknowledging Mazdā as the One God. According to Sir W. Ouseley, whose opinion is based on the authorities adduced in the Dabistān, Iran's primeval religion was that which Newton calls the oldest (and it may justly be called the noblest) of all religions: a firm belief that one supreme God made the world by His power, and continually governs it by His providence; a pious fear, love and adoration of Him; a due reverence for parents and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the whole human species and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation.

There is ample evidence in the Shāh-nāmeḥ that from the earliest periods the belief in one God, the Creator and Organizer of the Universe, prevailed among the Iranian people.

The Paoryotkaeshas taught these five things: (1) to keep oneself towards God and others towards the religion, (2) to be intelligent as to oneself and beneficent towards others, (3) to keep out defects and keep progress within oneself, (4) to mark one's own defects and the progress of others, and (5) having attained to the knowledge of religious duties and decisions to practise them accordingly oneself and to give the share thereof to others. (D. P. S., Vol. IV, LX.)

The religion of the Paoryotkaeshas comprised the prayers before the sun, prayers for Meher Yazd, hand and face ablution ceremony, the ceremony of the tying of the Kūsti (sacred thread), the Āfringhāns, several other prayers and incantations (*nirangs*), the observance of the Gahambārs (seasonal festivals), the prayers appropriate to the five *Gāhs* or divisions of the day,

* According to Ervad P. S. Masani, the word *Paoryo-tkaesha* literally means "the first or advanced ones in faithful practices of devotion", and is applied throughout the Avesta only to saintly souls advanced in spirituality. He points out that there was no established form of religion either in Iran or in the neighbouring Turan before Zoroaster's advent, and that the *Paoryo-tkaesha* or further advanced souls of Iran, Turan and many other countries are laudably remembered in the Avesta scriptures. (M. Z. A. M., 53.) Just as the Iranian *Paoryo-tkaesh* people were put on the track of Zoroastrianism, in the same way the Turanian good people (not all the Turanians of course) followed the path of Zoroaster. (*Ib.*, 55.)

the keeping aloof from woman during the menstrual period, and the exclusive devotion to divine worship during the ten days of *Mūktād* (the observance of feasts in commemoration of the dead). (D. J. A. D., Vol. I, XXXI.)

The great Mazdayasnān Teachers or Reformers, known as Saoshyants (Benefitters of Humanity), who from time to time had arisen in Iran previous to Zoroaster were eight in number: Kaiomars, Hoshang, Tehmūrasp, Haoma,* Jamshid, Feridūn, Kai Kāūs and Kai Khūsrau.

It is mentioned in the Zamyād Yasht that the powerful Kingly Glory (*Kavēam kharéno*), Mazdā-created, attached itself to Zarathūshtra so that he thought according to the Law (*daenā*), spoke according to the Law, and acted according to the Law, so that he was of the whole corporeal world in purity the purest, in rule the best ruling, in brightness the most shining, in glory the most glorious, in victory the most victorious.

For convenience of reference Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson (J. Z. S., 10) summarizes the general stages which can be recognized in the historical development of the faith as follows:—

1. Aryan period, or period of Indo-Iranian unity presumably pre-Zoroastrian period.
2. Medo-Bactrian stage—the Gāthā period and further development of Zoroastrian teachings.
3. Persia and the Achaemenian dynasty (559-330 B.C.).
4. Shattering of Zoroastrianism by Alexander's invasion—Seleucid rule (330-250 B.C.).
5. Parthian or Arsacid Sway—the dark ages of Zoroastrianism (250 B.C. to 226 A.D.).
6. The Sāsānian Empire—revival of Zoroastrianism for four centuries (226-651 A.D.).
7. Mahommedan Conquest (651 A.D.) and later fate of the Zoroastrian faith.

* This Saoshyant had made his abode for a long time on the Albārz mountain. To him is attributed the discovery of medicinal herbs, including the well-known Homa, the Soma of the Vedic Hindus.

○ Zoroaster came not to destroy, but to reform and reanimate the primeval (paoryotkaesh) faith and make it more comprehensive and consistent.* He denounced and strenuously opposed the worship and propitiation of evil spirits or elements. At a time when men's minds were clouded with beliefs in magical rites and superstitions, Zoroaster had the courage, in the face of bitter opposition, to stand up and preach the holy truth that he had come to know after profound thinking and by intuition and inspiration. "The idealism of a great religious reformer," writes Dr. Moulton (M. T. Z., 73), "crowned the edifice of a character hardly ever matched in the world's history."

The follower of the Zoroastrian creed called himself "*vidaevo Ahûr-tkaesho*", that is, "of the faith of Ahûrâ Mazdâ and opposed to demonism."

Prof. F. Zajtî, in his interesting paper on "The Huns in the Avesta Literature" read by him in the Hungary Academy of Science, Budapest, on 23rd August 1925, advances the theory that it was the early religion of the Huns which was reformed by Zoroaster, "who belonged to them". According to this authority, the early Huns settled in Iran, and later on the Yue-chi and White Huns ruling in Bactria and India accepted this reform and developed it, giving it a form the spirit of which has nourished the most powerful philosophic and religious movements. Another high authority, Sir Aurel Stein, says in his paper on the "History of the White Huns and kindred tribes in India", that the kindred tribes of the White Huns were the Yue-chis on the one hand and the Huns of Attila† on the other.

* It is the contention of Ervad P. S. Masani that the Zoroastrian Religion has never been a "Religion of Reforms". It is the entire Law of the Universe, called *Duend* in the Avesta, as taught by the great soul Zoroaster. Zoroastrianism is nothing but the Natural Law of Evolution or Unfoldment of Soul, known and taught by Zoroaster, and this *Universal Law* inculcates the Government of the Moral Order of the Universe by Ahûrâ Mazdâ helped by Archangels and Angels that are intelligences working in various capacities. Zoroastrianism is but another name of "Universal Science" or "Universal Knowledge of the Laws of Nature". (M. Z. A. M., 37, 352.)

† King of the Huns who invaded the Roman Empire in A.D. 451. He was known as "The Scourge of God".

10 Darmesteter, in his lecture on "Parseeism: Its place in History", happily describes the religion of this great Reformer as a religion of Life, in the noblest sense of the word: it brought to its followers two things, of which the old Aryan religions in the midst of which it rose had no idea, or only a dim perception, namely, moral duty and hope, armed with which two weapons a man can calmly face life and fate.

11 The intensely interesting questions of the birth-place of Zoroaster and the time of his ministry have been discussed by many learned authorities of the past and modern times, and variously answered.

We recognise with full sympathy the truth of the following observations of M. de Pastoret, author of "Confucius et Mahomet":—"Je ne m'arrêterai point à prouver son existence. ... Je ne sais comment il arrive que la postérité ignorent souvent où fut le berceau des hommes célèbres. On diroit que le hasard, en cachant les lieux qui les ont vu naître, a voulu s'unir à la raison, pour nous prouver que l'univers entier doit être regardé comme la patrie des Sages qui l'éclairent. Celle du législateur des Perses est mal connue. Son origine et l'époque de son existence même sont contestées." [Transl.: "I will not wait to prove his existence.....I do not know why it happens that posterity often forget where the cradle of celebrated men was. One will say that chance, in concealing the names (of places), which had seen them born, has wished to unite with reason to prove to us that the whole universe must be regarded as the country of the Sages who have instructed it. That (i.e., the place) of the legislator of the Persians is badly known. His origin and also the epoch of his existence are contested."]

Certain Pahlavi writers put the epoch of Zoroaster's mission at three hundred years before Alexander the Great, whilst a number of Greek and Roman writers mention that the prophet lived thousands of years before that king. Prof. Harlez places the time at about B.C. 800, Mills at about B.C. 800-900, Duncker and Dasturji Sahab Rustamji Edalji Sanjana at about B.C. 1000, and Geldner at about the fourteenth

century B.C. Aga Pour-e Davoud is certain that the date of Zoroaster can be taken back much earlier than the establishment of the Median sovereignty in Persia, i.e., much earlier than the 8th century B.C.

Mr. Govindacharya Swami writes in his treatise on Mazdaism in the Light of Vishnuism :—"Darius Hystaspes (Vistâspa) was not the prehistoric Vishtâspa, the contemporary of Zarathusht.....In B.C. 3000 stands the central figure of Krishna; in B.C. 1000 that of Zoroaster; in B.C. 500 Kurush and Buddha, the ethical avatar of Krishna; five centuries later Christ, spiritually the great-great-grandson, so to day, of Krishna."

In a short but scholarly paper on the date of Zoroaster contributed to the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha has made a praiseworthy attempt to prove, by a comparison of passages in the Vedas and the Avesta bearing references to personages common to both the literatures, that the two writings were contemporaneous. The profound Hindu scholar, Mr. B. G. Tilak (T. O., 219), has shown that the most active of the Vedic period commenced at about B.C. 4000, if not earlier. Therefore the era of Zoroaster must be as old. A living Parsi savant, Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, places the era of Zoroaster nearly forty-three centuries ago.

The conclusion to which the late Mr. S. K. Hodivala, who had made a careful study of both Sanskrit and Avesta literature, arrived was that the Deluge happened in the days of the Rig Veda, and if Zoroaster was a contemporary of the Rig Veda Rishis, the date of the Rig Veda as also of the Great Flood would be the date of Zoroaster. (H. Z. C. R., 41.)

According to the Bûndeheshn, Zoroaster was born in the house of his father Paurûshasp on the banks of the river Dâraja, which flows from Mount Savalan in Āzarbaijân (Atropatene) in Media and meets the Arras. Prof. Jackson (J. P. P., 53) identifies Savalan with the 'Mount of the two Holy Communicants' in the Avesta where Zoroaster communed with Ahûrâ Mazdâ. His mother Dûghdâ's home was in

the city of Ragha or Rae* in Media Proper. Some authorities say that Zoroaster belonged to the East Iran or Bactria and call him a Bactrian sage. The true fact seems to be that he was born in West Iran, and promulgated his religion in the East, that is to say, Bactria, where Vishtāspa ruled. Sir J. J. Modi, who has personally visited the locality, assigns to Amvi or Amui, a town in the district of Urumiah, which is a part of the ancient country of Āzarbaijān, the distinction of being the Prophet's birth-place. (J. K. O. I., No. 9, p. 10.)

At his birth Zoroaster burst out into a loud laugh, a light emanated from his body, which illumined the whole room, and his brain pulsed so strongly that it repelled the hand when laid upon it,—a presage, says Pliny, of his future wisdom. The curious incident that Zoroaster laughed at his birth is mentioned also in the Edda, the book of Scandinavian lore written in the 13th century.

In fine poetical language the composer of the Farvardin Yasht says that in the birth and advancement of Zarathūshtra the waters and the plants rejoiced, in his birth and progress the waters and the plants progressed, at his birth all the creatures of the good Creation cried out, "Hail! Hail! the Āthravan (Spiritual Guide) Spitama Zarathūshtra is born for our sake."

When he was about twenty years old Zoroaster retired to a mountain in order to devote himself entirely to contemplation. This mountain where at the age of thirty revelation came to him is Ūshidarena (Pahl. *Oshdāshtār*), which means the mountain that gives or preserves understanding. "As we scan the distant horizon", writes Prof. Jackson, "the curious table-mountain of Kūh-i-Khwāja, 'Mountain of the Master,' is the one striking feature in Sistān's orography. This was surely Mount Ushidhāo of the Avesta (Yt. 19.66; cf. Yt. 19.2; 1.28) and Ūsh-dāshtār of the Pahlavi texts, the mountain sacred in Zoroastrian times as 'Imparting Illumination.'" Major Rustom

* According to a report in T. I. of 4-11-1933, an American expedition was to start in January 1934 to excavate the ancient city of Rae, under the direction of Dr. Erich F. Schmidt. The expedition expects to uncover the remains of a civilization which flourished more than 5000 years ago to throw light on the entire development of Persian culture.

M. Khareghat, I.M.S., writes in S. V. A. of 1933 (p. 12), that the numerous allusions to places in Sistân and to Mount Ūshidarena in the Zoroastrian religious books leave the impression that only this mountain (the modern Kūh-i-Khwāja) was a holy mountain, but also that Zoroaster was more familiar with Sistân than about any other province in Persia. But he adds that it must not be supposed that Ūshidarena was the mountain of the Revelation, which latter may have been Savalan Dagħ in Āzerbaijān.

Pliny mentions on the authority of Hermippus,* who after laborious investigations had composed a work on the Zoroastrian doctrines in the 3rd century B.C., that Zoroaster had written two million verses. It is written in the Pahlavi treatise *Shatrohā-i-Airān* that the Prophet, by the order of King Vishtāspa, wrote 1200 chapters concerning the new religion on gilded tablets, which the king deposited, along with pre-Zoroastrian writings of the former national Faith, in the *Ganj-i-Shapigān* ("The Treasury of Shapigān") in the Fire-temple of Samarkand, an authenticated copy being put in another secure place, the *Daz-i-Napisht* ("The Fort for Written Documents") at Persepolis. Copies were also distributed all round. In a letter to Jasnafshah, king of Tabaristān, Tansar (Taosar), the chaplain of the first Sāsānian sovereign Ardeshir, speaks of the sacred writings as 1000 chapters written on 12,000 cow-hides.

The Holy Book of the Parsis, known as the Avesta, and more popularly as the Zend-Avesta, is, so far as it exists at present, as large as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined. To this Parsi Book of Books, the Revd. Dr. Lawrence H. Mills pays a fitting tribute in the following plain but reverential words:—

* Inquiries into the religion of ancient Persia began long ago and it was the enemy of Persia, the Greek, who first studied it. Aristotle, Hermippus and many others wrote of it in books of which unfortunately nothing more than a few fragments or merely the titles have come down to us.....But Zoroastrianism was never more eagerly studied than in the first centuries of the Christian era. Religious and philosophic sects in search of new dogmas, eagerly received whatever came to them bearing the name of Zoroaster.....Proclus collected seventy tetrads of Zoroaster and wrote commentaries on them." W. G. C. P. L. Vol. Sacred Books of the East, p. 56.)

"Yes, the Avesta is important, if anything like it could be ever called so; and it should be preserved not only as a mass of documents considered by some to be of interest, nor even as a quantity of unique monuments, but most of all as a Holy Book." (M. Z. G., 8.)

The first Avestan text that was taken to Europe was a Ms. of the Yasna, which was taken to Canterbury in 1633 by an unknown Englishman, who had received it from a rich Parsi, Nanabhai Modi, of Surat. (I. I. S., p. 286.)

The original Avestan literature comprised 21 books, called Nasks, which covered besides religion, or theology and ethics, a vast and varied field of subjects including the sciences. Seven of these contained the Gāthās (Holy Songs or Hymns), seven the Dāta (Law), and seven the Hadha-Māthra literature. The first are devoted to spiritual matters, the second to the laws of worldly life, and the third to philosophy and science. Certain Gāthās out of the Gāthic Nasks and the Vendidad (Vidaeva-dāta), one of the Dātic Nasks, are the only portions of the original literature that have survived in their entirety. Of the Hadha-Māthra literature little has survived, except what has remained in the Yasna and the Visparad; and out of the Dātic Nasks the Nirangistān and the Aerpatastān sections of the Aûsparûm Nask are extant, besides the Vendidad. According to West's conjectural calculation the twenty-one Nasks, which composed the Sāsānian Avesta, contained in all about 3,47,000 words, of which we now possess only some 83,000 or about a quarter. (B. L. H. P., Vol. I, 98.) Fortunately a summary of the contents of almost the entire Avestan literature survives embodied in the volumes of the Pahlavi Dinkard. This Dinkard (properly Daénakart or The Work of the Religion) is the most comprehensive work written in Pahlavi regarding the doctrines, history and literature of the Mazdayasnān Religion. (D. D. S., Vol. X, p. vii.)

The prevailing belief is that the Gāthās (Ahūnavaiti, Ūstāvaiti, Spentāmairyū, Vohūkhshthra, and Vahishtaishiti) alone contain the *ipsissima verba*, the inspired writings or utterances of Zoroaster, and that the Avestan texts are later writings.

The Pahlavi traditions, embodied in the Dinkard and the Pahlavi translations of the Gāthās, declare the Gāthās to have been composed not only by Zoroaster, but also by his contemporaries and disciples such as Farshoshtar, Jāmāsp, Vohū-nemānhan, and Saena. Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, the scholarly son of a scholarly father, points out that a close study of the Gāthās will show that there are several stanzas written by a person or persons other than Zoroaster, and that it is likely that whole hymns, such as the Khashmaibyā and Vahishtaishiti, were written by an admirer or admirers of the Prophet. (I. L. Q., Vol. I, No. 6, p. 353.)

The Gāthās that have survived comprise seventeen songs, called Hās, containing 238 strophes of three to five lines each. They constitute chapters XXVIII to XXXIV, XLIII to LI and LIII of the Yasna and form the very kernel of the Zoroastrian faith. Their metres are the exact counterpart of the Vedas.

The extant Avesta consists of:—(1) the Yasna (including the five Gāthās), the sacrificial or liturgical prayers*; (2) the Visparad,† the book of invocations of the principal subjects in each kind of creation, the principal virtues, etc.; (3) the Vendidad (or "Law against the Devas"), containing a collection of sanitary laws, directions for purifications, and expiatory, penal and similar sorts of laws; (4) the Khordeh-Avesta (or "the Small or Minor Avesta"), containing 21 Yashts, Nyāeshes, Āfringāns, Gāhs and other miscellaneous hymns.

The Nyāeshes are five in number, each one being a composition to be recited in praise of one or another of the five great creations, namely, (1) Khūrshed, or the Sun; (2) Meher, or the Light preceding the rising of the sun; (3) Māh-Bokhtār, or the Moon; (4) Ātash, or Fire; and (5) Āvān-Ardūisūr, or the Waters. The Āfringāns, which are five in number, are short chapters, mostly extracted from the main Avesta, to be recited in certain congregations called *Myazd*, by priests, with trays containing fruit, milk, flowers, etc., placed before them,

* According to the Grand Bāndeheshn, the ancient Persians used in their prayer-services musical instruments, such as the harp, tamburā (a kind of guitar), etc.

† From Av. *vispā ratavō*, which means "all the chiefs" or "all the seasons."

which after the recitation are solemnly partaken of by the congregation. The Gāths are five small compositions, each containing invocations or praises of the invisible spirit presiding over each of the five sections of the day and night.

Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria explains that from the Gāthās downward in the whole Avestan literature 'Yasna' is used to express 'worship', 'fervent esteem,' 'adoration paid to Ahūrā Mazdā, the Ameshāspentas, and the Yazats', without any trace of prayer or supplication for favours without deserving them; and he points out that it is owing to the miscomprehension of the term *yasna* (Pahl. *Yazisn*) that Parsis, learned as well as unlearned, have considered as "prayer" the Yasna text recited by the Parsi priests for memorization and study. The Pahlavi word *Yasht* (Av. *Yēshti*) is derived from the same root, viz., Av. *Yaz*, to praise, invoke or adore, from which the word *Yasna* is derived. The distinction between *yasna* and *yēshti* lies only in this that whereas the Yasna is a collection of the *Yēshtis* offered to Ahūrā Mazdā, the Ameshāspentas and the Yazatas, the *Yēshti* is adoration offered to one only, either to Ahūrā Mazdā, or to one of the Ameshāspentas, or to one of the Yazatas. (I. L. Q., Vol. I, No. 6, pp. 359-360.)

In Dr. J. M. Unvala's resumé of Meillet's *Trois Conférences sur les Gatha de l'Avesta*, given in J. K. O. I., No. 9, (p. 123), it is stated that although the root *yaz-*, Skr. *yaj-*, means to sacrifice, this meaning is not applicable to the Gāthās. *Yasnā* in Y. XXXIV, 1, means "sacrifice", i.e., that which is thought, thought, as it forms the well-known triad with "deed and word." There is no question of the animal sacrifice which is condemned in § 14 of the same Gāthā. In this connection we cite the following pertinent passage from a review (appearing in J. J. of 14th May 1934) of Dr. Johannes Hertel's work on *Yashts XIV, XVI and XVIII* :—

"The Avesta nowhere prohibits animal food, but it sternly forbids cruelty to animals, especially to cattle. And that appears to many the superb virtue inculcated by the religion of Zoroaster. This also makes for us certain passages of Avesta, otherwise obscure, perfectly

intelligible. Why was Zoroaster so vehemently opposed to the powers called *Dævas*; only and exclusively because they were concerned with sanguinary sacrifices. And when we see those bloody holocausts in certain parts of the Avesta, the scientific interpretation is not that they represent something else or that it is all esoteric idiom or poetic metaphor. These sacrifices were real and actual: only they were subsequently forbidden by the prophet. In obedience to his teachings the revisers of the Yashts introduced changes. The composer or reviser of the 18th Yasht (*Ashi*) was palpably an opponent of animal sacrifice. The offerings of Zoroaster were of more innocent nature. They did not, however, necessarily exclude the killing of animals; but the Yashts, certainly as they stand, do depict the spirit of sympathy, commiseration and pity for the lower animals which we have a right to believe were of the cardinal tenets of the Prophet of Iran."

In Zoroastrianism, since at least the Pahlavi age, there has been introduced a considerable lot of rites and ceremonials. Many of the intelligentsia of the Zoroastrian community take the rites, ceremonies, and *mâthras* or *mantras* not as essential parts of religion, but as useful adjuncts to the pursuit of truth. This view Mr. Jamasp Phiroze Dastur, M.A., LL.B., briefly sets forth as follows in his article on Religion in K. I. H. of 3rd September 1933:—"The path is steep and narrow, dreary and toilsome, beset with seductive surroundings. The *mantras*, rites and paraphernalia of religion serve to curb the rebellious spirit, to regale the weary soul, to fortify the diffident heart, or to edify the uncultured mind, in the arduous task. These forms and slogans of battle are to the soldier marching to death or liberty what the banner and cry 'Excelsior' were to the solitary youth who climbed the Alps on his journey to heaven." But there are students of the esoteric side of Zoroastrianism, among whom too are some shining lights of the universities, who hold that the incantations, the words or *mâthras* have themselves a power, a special efficacy of their own. A keen exponent of this latter view, Mr. Phiroze S. Masani, in his "Zoroastrianism, Ancient and Modern," describes *mâthra* as the law of the efficacy of the mystic words or charms composed by the

Prophet in unison or attunement with the original Universal Musical Note—the Creative Word Ahûnavar—the law whereby the Urvân or soul can be *en rapport* with the Music Celestial.

M. Meillet, Professor of Ancient Iranian Languages in the Ecole des Hautes Etudes of Paris, and several other authorities have asserted that the doctrine of the Gāthās differs from that of the later Avesta. Their view is that the latter is a compromise between the religious reform, of which the Gāthās are the only document, and the Ancient Iranian tradition, parallel to the Indian tradition represented by the Vedas. According to Meillet, when the great national reaction took place which culminated in the foundation of the Sāsānian Empire, the little that remained of traditions of all sorts was utilized, and the Māzdian religion, which then took its definite form, became the State Religion, whereas Zoroastrianism was formerly only a sectarian religion. The Professor further remarks that whatever is rigid and stiff in the religion of the later Avesta is due to this Māzdian religion; as also the striking contrast between the thoroughly moral religion of the Gāthās and intellectual poverty of the Sāsānian Avesta, and thus it is conceivable that the later Avesta has very little of the idea of freedom of spirit, of religious ardour, of vivid intelligence and the taste for moral novelties, which have always characterized the Iranians: the Gāthās reflect the brilliant mentality and the whole of its ardour: the later Avesta has not got that slightest trace. (See Dr. J. M. Unvala's art. "Trois Conférences sur les Gāthā de l'Avesta" par A. Meillet, J. K. O. I., No. 9, 1927.)

Mgr. Baron C. de Harlez says in the Introduction to the Avesta (W. H. A., 301) that the Gāthās represent primitive Māzdaism pure and simple, while the other parts of the Avesta represent naturalism and a modified type of Māzdaism. In another place in the same book (p. 122) he writes that the monotheistic tendencies predominate in the Gāthās, dualism in the Vendidad, naturalism in the Yasna, and the revived cult in the Yashts, and that in all these books we find allusion to the ancient myths of Iran and even of the Aryan people.

Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, in a series of thoughtful articles on Zoroastrian religious literature contributed by him to the Iran League Quarterly, beginning with the April-July 1930 number, has put forth an able and ample refutation of such assertions as these, which, among other European and oriental scholars, Meillet and Harlez have advanced. He denounces those Orientalists, Parsi or non-Parsi, who being innocent of the traditions embedded in Pahlavi writings have never been able to conceive the process of unfoldment of Gâthic thought in the later Avestan writings, wherein they see nothing but a resuscitation of pre-Gâthic mode of worship and religion, introducing the "Devas" of the Vedic Pantheon under a new name "the Yazatas"; and he shows his righteous indignation that this immature judgment, howsoever incorrect it could be, has been pounced upon by the learned and the unlearned of the Zoroastrian community to prove the deterioration of the creed of Zarathûshtra in the later Avestan writings. He contends, with evident reason, that the spirit of the Gâthâ hymns was followed to the very letter, nay, some of the beautiful stanzas are quoted by the poets of the later Avesta or placed in other words therein, and that no honest scholar, savant or orientalist can ever prove that the later poets, whilst offering their '*yasna*', "fervent esteem", to the Ameshâspentas and the Yazatas, to holy men and women worthy of reverence, to the beneficent animals to all the good creatures and creation of God, had left off monotheism, belief in Ahûrâ Mazdâ as the Creator of the Ameshâspentas and the Yazatas, of men and animals, of the entire creation. In brief, in all the heterogenous writings, ranging over many centuries, which make up the Zend Avesta, there is discernible an unity of thought and purpose: there is no break with the past.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the so-called later Avesta do not supplant but very considerably supplement the Gâthâs. The grammatical structures, style, and subject-matter are different in each of the extant Avesta text only because each has a different Nask-origin. (M. Z. A. M., 220, 323.)

The Prophet explains his Mission thus in his Holy Song XXVIII, 4:—

I who would devote my soul
to the Divine Symphony of the Heavenly Blessing
By means of the Pure Reason
and the Affection and Power of the Good Mind,
And have been knowing well the Blessings
of the Deeds of the Lord Who is the Wisest One,
As long as I have the will and power,
So long will I teach the world to aspire after Righteous-
ness !*

Further, in his Songs XXX and XLV, the Prophet proclaims:—

"I will speak, now listen, now hear, ye, who come from near and who (come) from far desiring. Now mark ye all him, for he is unmasked. Not shall the false teacher destroy the life a second time, the lying tongue that adheres to the wicked faith."

"And we will be those that will perfect this life, O Wise One, and (ye) other Lords, and Asha, give us your help, so that thoughts may be united where the wrong faith still subsists. Then will happen the destruction of the power of Drûj, and they will partake of the reward of the good abode of Vohûmano, of Mazdâ, and of Asha, (they) that abide by the good message."

Zoroaster, in his Gâthâs calls upon one and all to use their eyes, their ears, and their reasoning faculty, and judge and decide, each one for himself, whether to accept or reject the truths and doctrines which he is preaching as learnt by him from the Wise One by intuition, heavenly inspiration and meditation.

S. Laing, in his fine book "A Modern Zoroastrian," points out that the religion of Zoroaster has this great advantage, in the existing conditions of modern thought, that it is not dragged down by such a dead weight of traditional dogmas and

* See Mr. Buhārâ's transln. in I. L. Q., Vol. III, No. 4, p. 261.

miracles as still hang upon the skirts of Christianity. But the fact cannot be overlooked that one of the original Nasks, the *Spend*, which was devoted to the biography of Zoroaster, did describe the many marvels and miracles attributed to the Prophet which are collected in the Seventh Book of the *Dinkard*; and in this connection Ervad Phiroze Masani's observations are worth quoting:—"There is nothing regarding the miracles of Zoroaster in the extant Zoroastrian Avesta scriptures and Pahlavi writings which is supernatural. These miracles must be looked upon as superphysical, for they necessitate for their successful performance perfect power of Ashoi or attunement with all the Laws of Asha together with complete cognizance of the Laws of the Four Planes of the Universe, viz., the *Minoi* or the Spiritual, the *Jermâni* or the Luminary, the *Arvâhi* or the ultra-physical, and the *Jesmâni* or the physical,—of which the former two, termed *Hasti*, are permanent and ever-lasting and constant and the latter two, termed *Nisti*, are transitory, evanescent and variable. One instance out of the many miracles will serve the reader in good stead. Zoroaster took out all the four feet of the *Asp-i-Siâh* or Black Horse of King Vishtâspa, which were buried into the loins of the horse. It is further said that Zoroaster took them out only by the chanting of some Manthra or Avestic formula. This is regarded as a miracle, for this phenomenon cannot be reasonably understood by the educated youth of the present century in its literal sense. This miracle when explained in its original light becomes a fact possible and certain of achievement to a student of psychic science. When the subject of sixteen *Chakhra* or psychic centres in the *Kêhrpa* of the human constitution is properly understood by the student, he can very easily admit the truth of the fact that Zoroaster developed the four *Chakhra* or psychic centres of King Gûshtâsp connected with the faculties of the brain in order to enable him to see for himself the verities of the revelation or *Daenâ-i-Zarathûshtri*." (M. Z. A. M., 401-2.)

The teaching of Zoroaster is primarily directed to the formation of the mind and the salvation of the soul. It is for the good as well as for the erring. He wants to convince and

turn all to the right faith. In Yasna XXXI he addresses Ahurā Mazda thus:—

Grant Thou, O Holy Spirit ! by means of the soul's
holy fervour,

And by Righteousness point out
to both the good and the erring people,
the joy of heavenly and happy acumen !

And what would be as holy Canon for the discreet

That with the tongue of Thy own mouth tell us for
Enlightenment.

That therewith may we bring all the living to Faith.*

In Farvardin Yasht, § 94, it is manifested that hereafter the good Mazdā-worshipping religion shall widely reach to all the seven regions. In Vendidad XIX, 26, Ahūrā Mazdā is represented as answering in the clearest affirmative Zarathuštra's question, "O Thou All-knowing Ahūrā Mazdā! shall I make a virtuous man my follower? Shall I make a virtuous woman my follower? Shall I make the wicked demon-worshipping men of simple life my followers?"

As regards the requital for following the precepts of the true faith, Yasna XXX, 4, makes it manifest that the Best Mind (*vahishtâm mano*) shall be the reward of the righteous. In the penultimate passage of the short prayer known as Nâm-Sitâyesn the devotee offers praise to the merciful Lord, Who desires good deeds, and rewards those who act according to His commands, and (at last) will purify (even) the wicked out of hell and will beautify all with purity.

The quintessence of Zoroaster's ethical teachings is concentrated in one tiny word *ashah* = Asha (Purity) expanded into the triad, *humata* = *Hūmata* (Good Thoughts), *hukhta* = *Hūkhta* (Good Words), *havarashta* = *Hūvarashta* (Good Deeds), three small words again, but of supreme significance to humanity. A learned follower of Islam, Prof. M. A. Shustery, observes that while there is much logic and metaphysics found in Vedantism, splendid psychology in Buddhism, spirit of great love in Christ-

* *Mc. Bulger's transla.*, in *L. L. Q.*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 263.

ianity, Zoroaster's message to humanity is pure morality. (I. L. Q., Vol. I, Nos. 3-4, p. 203.)

When Sheikh Sadi of Shiraz sings :—

راستی موجب رضای خداست
کس ندیدم که گم شد از راه راست

(" Truth is in accordance with the wish of God. I never saw any person lost in a straight road ")

he reiterates what Zoroastrianism taught in the remote past. *اَئَوَب پانتو یو اشاهه* = *aevô pantô yô ashahê* (" Purity is the only path to tread").

Purity, declares Zoroaster, is for man the greatest good from his very birth (*اَئَوَب پانتو یو اشاهه* = *yaozdâo mashyâi âpi zânthêm vahishtâ*). Happiness is to him who is pure for purity's sake (*اَئَوَب پانتو یو اشاهه* = *ushtâ ahmâi hyat ashâi vahishtâi ashêm*). By highest and best purity man can reach near unto Ahurâ Mazdâ, and have vision of Him and gain His eternal friendship (*اَئَوَب پانتو یو اشاهه* = *asha vahishtâ asha sraeshit darêsam thvâ pairi thvâ jamyâm hamêm thvâ hakhma*).

The German poet Goethe admires the view of the purity of Elements as observed by the ancient Persians. In his Notes attached to his *Parsi-Nameh* or *Buch des Parsen*, he writes: " Their religion is clearly based on the dignity of all elements as manifesting God's existence and power. Hence the sacred dread to pollute water, the air, the earth. Such respect for all natural forces that surround man leads to every civic virtue. Attention, cleanliness, application are stimulated and fostered. On this the culture of the soil was based." The French scholar Darmesteter remarks that the axiom " Cleanliness is next to Godliness" is altogether a Zoroastrian axiom with this difference that in Zoroastrianism it is a form itself of God (" *Le Zend Avesta*, Vol. II, p. X). Another European scholar, Heinrich F. J. Junker, writes that there is scarcely a people higher in estimation on account of its generosity, charity, sincerity, and purity both of body and spirit than the descen-

dants of the ancient Zoroastrians, the Parsis of Bombay and the Ghebers in Kermān. (S. V. A., 1912, p. 24 c.)

The Purity (Asha)* which Zoroaster preaches is not merely that which can be procured by means of washings, ablutions and fasts, or secured by retirement to a solitary cell, a mountain hermitage, a monastery, or a nunnery, renouncing earthly ties and the duties and cares attaching to one's station in life. Swāmi Vivekānand, a well-known Hindu divine and sage, gives out just the Zoroastrian idea when he observes in his "Karma Yoga" that it is useless to say that the man who lives out of the world is a greater man than he who lives in the world, for it is much more difficult to live in the world and worship God than to give it up and live a free and easy life.

Zoroastrianism fosters no faddism, favours no extremes of any kind. Celibate life, fastings, self-castigation, self-inflicted tortures, sackcloth and ashes have no function in a Zoroastrian's *ashoi*. The joys of this world are not considered in any way derogatory to the happiness of the next. Enjoy all the good that Ahūrā Mazdā has given for man's enjoyment and anon render thanks unto Him for them,—only be moderate and temperate in all your habits: this is a most sane and practical doctrine of Zoroastrianism. It is written in the Persian Saddar, "There are people who strive to pass a day without eating and who abstain from any meat: we (Zoroastrians) strive too and abstain, namely, from any sin in thought, word or deed: in other religions they fast from bread; in ours we fast from sin." The Zoroastrian, while asking in his prayers for a cultivated and an active soul, asks at the same time for abundant nourishment, abundant riches and abundant glory. (Ys. LXII, 4-5.) In his poetical treatise *Farziāt-nāmeḥ* ("The Book of Obligatory Duties") Dastur Darab Pahlān says:—"The Creator, the Keeper of the World, once said to Zoroaster, (in case of) whatever things that appear pleasant (or beautiful) to your eyes speak out '*Ba nām-i Yazad*' (i.e., in the name of

* This word अश्व = *asha* is the same as Sansk. *ऋता* *rita*, which corresponds to the English word *right*.

God) by way of reverence. This recital will increase its goodness and splendour." However, material wealth and material good are not to be acquired at the cost of man's spiritual good.

Zoroastrianism is a manly creed. Its commandment is, Be pure that ye may be strong, be strong that ye may be pure. To the follower of this creed "life is real, life is earnest, life is not an empty dream". To him it is a veritable battlefield. He is not to lead a life of drift and inertness, but must be up and doing "with a heart for any fate." He is a *Rathaeshtâr* (warrior) in the world's broad field of battle, a protagonist of Truth and an antagonist of Untruth. He must wage a constant war with evil, and engaging himself actively on the side of God he must go on performing his duty.

Laborare est orare. All labour, says Carlyle, is equal in the sight of God. For a Zoroastrian no labour is so noble and meritorious as the cultivation of the soil. In the *Vendidad* a question is asked of Ahûrâ Mazdâ as to what is the advancement of the Mazdayasni religion and the answer given is "Abundant cultivation of the food grains". Again, it is declared that he who sows grain sows righteousness. There is a story told by Xenophon of the younger Cyrus, brother of Artaxerxes II, that he led the admiring Spartan general Lysander through his pleasure-grounds and displayed their regularity and beauty, and informed him that he had himself planned and even planted many of the trees with his own hands, and when the Spartan replied by an incredulous glance at his splendid robes and chains and armlets of gold, he swore to him by Mithra, as a good servant of Ahûrâ Mazdâ, that he never tasted food till he had fatigued himself by labour. (H. H. R., Vol. I, 271.)

In his work "Evolution and Creation", Sir Oliver Lodge says:—"Freewill is a reality, a fact of experience. We can really choose. If we persist in choosing wrong, a terrible form of soul-death may supervene." Did this eminent scientist know that this dictum of his is but the reiteration of a tenet that Zoroaster propounded millennia ago? In delivering his spiritual message to the masses who had assembled from near and afar to hear him, Zoroaster declared that it was upto

every individual to use his eyes, his ears and his intellect, and make his choice whether he should surrender his mind and soul to Spentamainyû, the Beneficent Influence, or to Angramainyû, the Maleficent Influence, but, in the result, he that makes the latter choice shall have woe as his lot. (Yasnas XXX, XLV). Prof. Dr. Kossoviev, of the University of St. Petersburg, has well interpreted this dogma of the Ancient Prophet in the Preface to his "Zarhustricae Gathaes tres posteriores". He says:—"Man is destined, according to Zoroaster, to prosper in this life and to enjoy celestial bliss in the other. All things are created for furthering this well-being of humanity; but it is left to the freewill of man to acquire the bliss of the life to come. Evil is the result of the freedom of the will: it proceeds from the arbitrary choice on the part of man of what is bad and constitutes a mistake." (W. H. A., 117). Dr. Rabindranath Tagore writes in the Vishvabhâratî Journal of October 1923 that Zoroaster was the greatest of all the pioneer prophets who showed the path of freedom of moral choice, the freedom from the blind obedience to unmeaning injunctions, freedom from the multiplicity of shrines, which distract worship from the single-minded chastity of devotion.

All Parsi prayers begin with the formula "*Khshnaothra Ahûrahe Mazdâo*" ("May God be well pleased"), which signifies the fact of the devotee's primary and essential duty to think, speak, and act in such ways only as will please Him.

In Zoroastrian ethics great stress is laid on the virtue of charity and philanthropy.

In the Avestan Nirangistân so much importance is given to it that it is said therein that the gift which relieves the entire material world is the gift which consists in charitable thought, charitable word, and charitable deed. In the Mino-i-Kherad charity is said to be the first best act of righteousness, the second being truthfulness; and it is mentioned in the Dinkard (Vol. V, 303-5) that it is stated in the religion that every man should become capable of doing good to every other man and of benefitting every one without doing harm to anybody.

The following three profound truths form a prominent

and noteworthy part of the doctrines of Zoroaster, namely, (1) that the soul is immortal, (2) that man shall be judged by his acts, and (3) that truth must in the end prevail over evil.

The doctrines of a belief in the resurrection of the dead,* a belief in the immortality of the soul, and a belief in future rewards and punishment, which are among the chief dogmas of the Jewish, Christian and Mahomedan religions, were borrowed by them from Zoroastrianism. No less an ecclesiastical authority than Dr. Cheyne expresses his conviction in his "Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter" (pp. 400-1), that had it not come into contact with Zoroastrianism Israel would, historically speaking, have struggled in vain to satisfy its religious aspirations.

In an address on "Soul and Body" delivered in Bombay in 1916, Dr. J. H. Moulton made an earnest appeal to the Parsis to sweep out of the Indian mind the *karma* doctrine, which he considered was no mere speculation, but an idea that lay at the root of all the saddest things in India, and he exhorted them to plant instead the virile teaching of Zarathûshtra and Jesus—on personal responsibility, so that India would lift her head among the nations as high as her most loyal sons desired.

The Avesta mentions the existence of the following nine principles in the human constitution :—(1) *Tanû* (physical

* It is stated in the Dinkard (D. P. S., Vol. V, p. 346) that by virtue of the good religion, Ganâmino shall be severed by Spentâmino from every object and action pertaining to the *Frashokêrêti*, while the spread of the *Frashokêrêti* (i.e., final reformation) shall follow the propagation (in the world) of the good conceptions in the Mazdayasnâ religion. Dr. Martin Haug writes (H. E., 312) that "though in the Gâthâs there is no particular statement made of the resurrection of the dead, yet we find a phrase used which was afterwards always applied to signify the time of resurrection, and the restoration of all life that has been lost during the duration of creation. This is the expression *frashem kereâon ahûm* (Yas. XXX, 9), 'they make the life lasting', i.e., they perpetuate the life. Out of this phrase the substantive *frasho-kêrêti* 'perpetuation of life', was formed, by which, in all the later Avesta books the whole period of resurrection and paligenesis at the end of time is to be understood. The resurrection forms only a part of it. That this event was really included in the term of *Frasho-kêrêti* one may distinctly infer from Vend. XVIII, 51, where, Spenta Armaiti (the earth) is invoked to restore 'at the triumphant renovation' of creation, the lost progeny in the form of one knowing the Gâthâs, knowing the Yasna, and attending to the discourses.

tabernacle), (2) *Gaethâ* (the vital organs and viscera), (3) *Azda* (the nervous matter), (4) *Kehrpa* (the invisible subtle body), (5) *Ūshâna* (the vital force or energy which sustains the breath and life), (5) *Tevishi* (the desire-force, the origin of Thought-activity), (7) *Ūrvân* (the soul which unfolds itself), (8) *Bao-dângî* (right spiritual consciousness), (9) *Fravashî* (the highest ideal). (M. Z. A. M., 123.)

According to the scriptures, besides Ahûrâ Mazdâ the Ameshâspentas (Ameshâspands, the Holy Immortals) and Yazatas (lit., those worthy of praise or invocation) form the celestial hierarchy. In the Gâthâs practically the only Divine Beings mentioned, besides Ahûrâ Mazdâ, are the Ameshâspentas, the Yazats Sraosha, Âdar and Ashi being notable exceptions.

God made the universe by His Thought. In Yasna XXXI, 7, Ahûrâ Mazdâ is spoken of as the First Thinker (*Mantapouryo*) and it is stated that He is through His understanding the Creator of the Righteous Order. It is also mentioned in the Avesta that when Ahûrâ Mazdâ created the universe the *Fravashis* were present and helped Him in the act of re-creation, which implies that He had thought out the complete scheme or plan of creation and the thoughts formed themselves into the Universe. This ancient Zoroastrian view exactly coincides with the one that no less a scientific authority than Sir James Jeans put forward in his book "The Mysterious Universe", published about the end of 1930. His theory is that the universe is a world of thought and we and our tiny world are "a pulse in the eternal mind"; and he observes that if the universe is a universe of thought, then its creation must have been an act of thought, and that to-day there is a wide measure of agreement, which on the physical side of science approaches almost to unanimity, that the stream of knowledge is heading towards a non-mechanical reality.

Each of the six Ameshâspentas represents or embodies one of the Divine attributes of the Creator Himself. Dr. Moulton is evidently right that the Prophet meant the Ameshâspentas to be *within* the Being of God, not separate

from Him as exalted members of the heavenly court. (M. T. Z., 13.) The six are:—

- (a) Asha Vahishta, the Spirit of Truth and Right, of Universal Harmony.
- (b) Vohumanah,* the Spirit of the Good Mind.
- (c) Vohu Khashtra, the Spirit of Holy Sovereign Power.
- (d) Spentâ-Ârmaiti, the Spirit of Benevolence, Devotion and Love.
- (e) Haurvatât, the Spirit of Perfection, Health and Well-being.
- (f) Amêrêtât, the Spirit of Immortality.

It is within the power of every individual, with the help of the Divine Spark within him or her, to attain to and acquire the Divine Attributes of the six Holy Immortals, and be "God-like" or "worthy of God", and come into tune with the Infinite in his or her actions. (I. T. Z., 1.)

Moulton very judiciously observes that the position of Asha suggests that view of evolution which is universal among intelligent Western Christians to-day: Asha stands for the Reign of Law, but it is also a part of the Being of God, and we are not therefore to regard Natural Law as something outside of God. (M. T. Z., 14.)

The Yazats are powerful spiritual existences pervading the whole universe in hundreds and thousands. Thirty of them preside over the thirty days of the month, which are named after them. The function of the Yazats is to spread benedictions and develop and increase the creation and to fight against Evil. According to the Dinkard, God has placed the prosperity of man in their hands.

The Zoroastrian Confession of Faith is contained in Yasna XII. Its last clause Geldner renders as under (J. K. O. I., No. 24, p. 25):—

"I promise (to follow) the religion of the Mazdâ-worshippers, which unbuckles (the sword) and puts down the weapons and recommends next-of-kin marriage, which of all the present

* Dr. Spooner maintains that Brahma is not an Indian God, but an echo or imitation of the Zoroastrian Ameshaspenta Vohumanah or Vahmna, i.e., Vahmana became Hinduised as Brahma. (See K. I. H. of 3-9-33, p. 141.)

and future (religions) is the loftiest, the best, and the most beautiful, which is of the Ahûrian faith and Zarathûshtrian. I promise all the good things to the Wise Lord. This is the confession of the religion of the Mazdâ-worshippers."

It is best to call to mind the fact that every unbiased and reliable authority has admitted that the ethics of the religion of Zoroaster are of an eminently practical and uplifting character.

For instance, H. H. Zoka-ol-Molk Foroughi, H. I. M. Reza Shah's Islamic Minister of Foreign Affairs, in an inaugurative address delivered at Teherân in 1930, expressed his deliberate opinion that the literature of the old religion of Iran, the revelation of Zarathûshtra, was from beginning to end a marvellous story, one of the best arguments for proving the rational wisdom, the straight path, the pure taste, superior magnanimity and lofty traits of character of the Iranian nation; Wilder, author of "Philosophy and Ethics of Zoroaster," writes that a faith so simple and pure is profound and ethical enough for the most exacting moralist as well as the most philosophic schoolman; and Meillet says, in his "Trois Conférences sur les Gâthas de l'Avesta", that freedom of thought, a zealous sense of self-respect, magnanimity in religion, a sharp intellect, and a zest and fervour for principles of ethics, which have always been the particular characteristics of the Iranians, are peculiarly manifested in the Gâthas of Zoroaster.

Does it not stand to common sense that in such an eminently ethical and philosophical religion there can be no plea or place for such a revolting practice as incest, and that the Avesta term which translators have rendered in that sense must have an altogether different meaning?

The Avesta word which is generally interpreted as next-of-kin marriage is *Khetûadath* (Pahl. *Khvetûkdas*). Nowhere in the Avesta next-of-kin marriage is applauded, advocated or even suggested. *Khetûadath* in the Avesta literally means "the dedication of oneself".

A Pahlavi text gives the following elaborate estimation

of the relative value of the observance of *Khvetūkdas*:—"If one performs the *Khvetūkdas* for the first time a thousand demons and two thousand wizards and witches will die; if the person observes it twice, then two thousand demons and four thousand wizards and witches will perish; if this rite be performed for the third time then three thousand demons and six thousand wizards and witches will die; and if it be observed for the fourth time, then the man and woman performing it will be righteous." (West, Pahl. Texts, S. B. E., 18, pp. 417-8.)

It must be obvious to the simplest, but unprejudiced, mind that such especially wickedness-destroying and righteousness-earning results could never have been so boldly claimed to rise from the performance, and repeated performances, of the immoral and degrading practice of next-of-kin marriage, that is, in plain language, of incest, and that *Khvetūkdas* must, therefore, be something quite other than next-of-kin marriage. And so, indeed, it is.

The fact which the translators have not understood is that the principles of *Khvetūkdas* implies the spiritual conjunction of *Sharif* or the Superior Self with *Khasis* or the Inferior Self—the ideal union of Spiritual Masculinity with Spiritual Femininity—which can be attained only by exceptionally unfolded souls like the Magavans or Great Masters of Souls. To reach or accomplish the state of *Khvetūkdas* means to be able to keep one-self in tune with God and His Holy Ameshāspentas, to be able to act in concert with them; and this accomplishment, it is claimed, can be achieved by means of the religion of Zoroaster. (M. Z. A. M., 404, etc.)

The thoughtful Prophet ponders profoundly over the grave riddle of the co-existence in this world of good and evil and comes to the one and inevitable conclusion that all existence, material and spiritual, is due to the play and interplay of two opposing forces, twins working spontaneously together, the forces of good (*Spentā-mainyū*) and evil (*Angramayū*)*; and

* *Mainyū* is derived from the Aryan root *man*, to think. This word may be probably rendered into English by the word "Spirit", meaning that which can be conceived by the mind, but cannot be felt by the senses. The word *Spenta* comes from the Avesta root *span* (Sansk. *Shavi*), to increase, and *Angra* comes from the root *Ang* (Sansk. *Anā* = Lat. *angere*), to press together, to annoy (M.R.S.P., 8-9.)

he draws pointed attention to this in his addresses to the people who have assembled to hear him preach his gospel, and declares that in this he is proclaiming the first *Māthra* (Doctrine) of this life which the All-Wise had revealed to him. The purport of his sermon is that this is a world of polarities and that from the very beginning in the mental sphere the spirit of Good and spirit of Evil co-exist, between which two warring elements men have to make their choice.* The happiness of every individual depends on this fundamental and primary choice of his. This wonderful exposition of the nature of things is contained in Yasna XXX (Gāthā Ahûnavaiti, Chap. III), verses 1 to 6 of which Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala renders as under (see his Article "The First three chapters of Gāthā Ahûnavaiti", S. V. A. of 1929):—

1. Now will I speak of the Two to (those) desiring. (to know.)
 (The two) who (have been) created by Mazdā—this
 (knowledge is) indeed for the wise;
 And (I will recite) hymns unto Ahûrā,
 And praises of Vohû-Mano.
 (And I will explain) the Sacred-Lore of Asha.
 So that ye (the Prophet's hearers)
 shall experience Bliss-Supreme in Realms of Light.
2. Hear ye with (your) ears the Highest (Truths),
 Consider (them) with clear mind,
 Before deciding between the two Paths ;
 Man by man, (each) for his own self,
 Before the great ushering in (of the New Age),
 Waking up (to help) in accomplishing this our (great purpose).
3. Now, these Two Spirits primeval,
 Who, Twins well-working, reveal themselves
 In thought, and in word,
 (And) in deed (as) Good and Bad;

*Compare with this the views expressed by Pastor Charles T. Russell in Study VII of his "The Divine Plan of the Ages", which book had a phenomenal circulation of over six million copies. He writes: "It is a self-evident truth that for every right principle there is a corresponding wrong principle; as, for instance, truth and falsity, love and hatred, justice and injustice. We distinguish these opposite principles as *right* and *wrong* by their effects when put in action. The result of these principles in action we call *good* and *evil*. The faculty of discerning between right and wrong principles is called the *moral sense*, or *conscience*. It is by this moral sense which God has given to man that we are able to judge of God and to recognise that He is good."

And of these two the Wise (do choose) the Good,
(But) the Unwise do not (thus) choose.

4. And now when these two Spirits together
Did forgather, they first of all created
Life and Not-Life,
And thus Creation's purpose is (fulfilled):
The worst (mental darkness) for the Untruthful,
But for the Truthful the brightest (Light of) mind.

- 5-6. Of these Two spirits did choose,
(The One) who (was) the False-One the worst deeds.
(But) Asha (did) the Holiest Spirit (choose):

He who would clothe himself in Imperishable Light,
And who would please Ahûrâ,
With truthful deeds let him side with Mazdâ.

Among these two the Daevas, indeed, chose not aright,
For unto them did the Deluder
Approach (when they) stood in doubt:

Thus they accepted the Worst Mind,
And then with him (the Deluder) they rushed away to Wrath
And thus did they pollute our mortal life.

In another sermon of his the Poet-Prophet tells the assembled people (Yasna XLV, 2):—"I first declare to you the two spirits of the world of whom the Bounteous one spoke to him who was Angra thus, 'Not our minds, nor teachings, nor intellects, nor beliefs, nor words, nor actions, nor consciences, nor souls accord with one another.'"

This doctrine of a Good and an Evil principle may be said to be the corner-stone of the structure of Zoroaster's religious and political philosophy. He did not preach it in the sense that the world is governed by two independent deities. They are two Spirits or Powers or Principles whereby all creation follows the definite law of cosmic progress, the law of *Asha* (Righteousness, Law and Order), the goal of creation being Perfection. In course of time, however, Ahûrâ Mazdâ was confounded with Spentamainyû, the Beneficent Principle; and as the true nature of evil was not properly understood, it came to be believed that Ahriman or Angramainyû was an opponent of Ahûrâ Mazdâ.

In an article published in J.K.O.I., No. 20 (p.133), the Revd.

Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann correctly observes that it is an inaccurate use of the name of Ahūrā Mazdā for Spentamainyū that has given rise to the view of Zoroaster's doctrine being Dualism. For the understanding of this doctrine much light is furnished by that thoughtful writer, Ervad Phiroze S. Masani, in his treatise "The Zoroastrian Ideal Man". He writes: "Not an inch in Nature is void of that working of that Great Law (namely, the Law of Service and Mutual Help underlying all the concatenations of the multitudinous activities in Nature, exoteric or esoteric). Even what seems outwardly to be opposition 'Paitiyara' of Angramainyū is only Negative Help or Service working by the subtle Law of Polarity according to the great plan of the Universal Progress. In reality Angramainyū has no separate existence of its own, but it is a force helping on the Law of Service negatively. It is only the Punitive Law putting into practical enforcement the Divine Will 'Khshathra Vairya' for those backward souls who are still inclined towards the material selfish ends and ideas of material happiness, towards the narrow self-seeking regardless of the Great Law of Mutual Help and Service, which is designated as Anghra Mainyū. One can conclude logically hence that Anghra Mainyū has a momentary existence, and as soon as the backward souls are awakened and disposed to help on the Great Law of Service or Yaçna, Anghra Mainyū ceases to work with them or upon them. Hence it is repeatedly said in the Pahlavi Texts that *Spena Mino aēt lā Ganāk Mino*—the Spenta Mainyū exists, the Anghra Mainyū does not. In the Avesta the same idea of the ultimate vanishment of Anghra Mainyū is reiterated everywhere, implying that when the Law of Positive Help and Service reigns supreme, the Law of Negative Service shall subside and ultimately disappear."

It is stated in the Dinkard (D. P. S., vol. V, 346), that by virtue of the good religion, Ganāmīno shall be severed by Spentāmīno from every object and action pertaining to the Frashokêrêti, while the spread of the Frashokêrêti (the final reformation) shall follow the propagation (in the world) of the good conceptions in the Mazdayasnan religion.

Samuel Laing, the author of "A Modern Zoroastrian", arrives at this deliberate conclusion that of all the hypotheses which remain workable in the present state of human knowledge that seems to be best which frankly recognises the existence of the dual law, or law of polarity, as the fundamental condition of the Universe and, personifying the good principle under the name of Ormuzd, and the evil one under the name of Ahriman, looks with earnest but silent reverence on the great unknown beyond, which may, in some way incomprehensible to mortals, reconcile the two opposites, and give the final victory to the good. This and this alone, seems to Mr. Laing to afford a working hypothesis which is based on fact, can be brought into harmony with the existing environment, and embraces, in a wider synthesis, all that is good in other philosophies and religions. Recently the well-known journalist, G. K. Chesterton, pronounced that we are here for a mystical reason, we are here to strive with evil, this champion or that may die, but in the end evil will be overcome, and that the fight is also to defend the good, such good things as freedom and free fellowship—and above all to defend the home. The opinion that he has come to is that the object of man's existence is to rejoice that friend whom free thinkers will not forbid him to call God. (See I. W. I., 22-10-33, p. 17.)

It is worth mentioning that at his conference with the Anjuman or synod of leading men in the Zoroastrian community at Yezd, Prof. Jackson, for three or more hours, asked and answered questions relating to Zoroaster and his Faith, and concerning the condition of his followers in Persia. He found that the most enlightened of these Zoroastrians look upon Ahûrâ Mazdâ as comprising within himself the conflicting powers of good and evil, designated respectively as *Spenta-mainyû*, "Holy Spirit", and *Anghra-mainyû*, "Evil Spirit." (J. P. P., 363.)

H. Kiepert, cited by the famous traveller Dr. Sven Hedin in "Overland to India", Vol. II, 232-234, has expressed the view that it is the effect which the nature of the country exercised on the minds of its inhabitants that finds expression

in the Old Iranian belief in a beneficent creative power and one hostile to mankind (Ormazd and Ahriman). As creations of the latter are regarded the hot sandstorms, mirage in the desert, the cold of winter, miasma, noxious insects and snakes, etc. Hence, points out Kiepert, the practical religious precepts ascribed to Zoroaster, the extermination of these creatures, the planting of trees, the construction of water-conduits, the sinking of wells, etc. Sven Hedin himself expresses a similar view. He says "such a clearly pronounced struggle between life and death, between good and evil spirits, for the dominion of the earth could scarcely have been conceived unless the natural conditions in ancient Iran had given grounds for it". (J. K. O. I., No. 25, p. 157.)

It is mentioned in the Yashts and Pahlavi books that three seeds of the holy Zoroaster are preserved in the Lake Kāsava (the present Zarah or Hāmūn Sea in Sistān) and are watched over by good, strong, beneficent Fravashis (pre-existing guardian spirits) to the number of ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine, and that three maids bathing in the waters of this lake will conceive and to them will be born the Saoshyant (Saviour) and his two forerunners Ukshyat-ereta and Ukshyat-nemangh (Hoshedar-Māh and Hoshedar-Bāmī). This legend is not to be understood literally. A Parsi scholar, the late Ervad M. P. Madan, explains that by the three seeds of the Prophet are meant the famous triple doctrine of *Hāmata*, *Hūkhta*, and *Hvarshata*, signifying thereby the entire original Zoroastrian Scriptures, all which literature, inscribed on skins, has been carefully treasured and preserved, against possible destruction by the foes of the Good Religion, in three stages of caves or tunnels constructed under the beds of Lake Kāsava and the Helmund, the chief river of Sistān which empties into the Hāmūn. When the Saoshyant, the Regenerator of the Good Religion, will arise, he will find access to and obtain possession of the Spiritual Glory and sacred writings treasured in these caves. He will revive the ancient Faith, and enlightening all with its eternal truths will thus bring about a Resurrection or Renovation (*Farshakard*) of humanity. The world will become

perfect and destined for everlasting beatitude. Besides the above-mentioned three sons of Zoroaster hereafter to be born of immaculate virgins, the ancient writings speak of his having been the father of three sons and three daughters during his life-time. The sons were Isat-vâstra, Uruvtat-Nara, and Hvarr-Chithra, and the daughters Freni, Thrity and Pouru-Chisti.

The student of the symbolism and esoteric philosophy of Zoroastrianism does not believe in any issue of the holy Prophet. Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara points out in his article on the Holy Progeny of the Divine Helper Zarathûshtra Spitama in J. C. M. V. (p. 413) that the names of the holy progeny of this glorious Helper of the world indicate the stages and progress of his divine mission and heavenly Gospel.

Zoroaster had a thoroughly practical bent of mind. So while he reformed the religion, he also instituted reforms in the customs and practices of the people.

As regards religious and social customs and observances, his precept was that all that is good and beneficial to mankind in what has come down from the past should be respected and all that is evil and injurious should be destroyed. (M. D. P., 135.)

An old custom that Zoroaster retained in his creed, one to which considerable importance is attached in the Zoroastrian ritual, is the tying of the *Kûsti* round the waist and over the *Sûdreh*. It is an irrefragable injunction that a Zoroastrian child between the age of seven and fifteen must be invested with the *Sûdreh* (shirt) and *Kûsti* (sacred girdle), after being given the necessary religious instruction and taught the duties that would henceforth be incumbent upon it as a true worshipper of Ahûrâ Mazdâ. The investiture ceremony is called *Navjote*, a shortened form of the Avesta word *Navazaota*, which signifies a new worshipper of Ahûrâ Mazdâ. Some take the word *Navjote* to be another form of *Naozâd*, i.e., a new birth, meaning thereby a new spiritual birth. The Vendidad (XVIII, 54-57) lays down that the person of more than fifteen

years of age who goes about without the sacred girdle and shirt is the fourth one to make the *drúj* (evil personified) pregnant, committing thereby a sin which is inexpressible. It is also laid down (XVIII, 9) that he who for three springs does not wear the *Kūsti* brings in the power of death.

The word *Sūdreh* is derived from the Av. word *vastra*, which means a garment. Some derive it from Pers. *sūd* 'profit' and *rāh* 'way', hence meaning a garment leading to the right and profitable path. The *sūdreh* is made of white cambric and consists of nine parts. The *kūsti* is prepared from the snow-white wool of sheep or lamb. It is a hollow, cylindrical tape, the warp of which consists of seventy-two threads and the weft of one unbroken thread. It is declared in the Avesta (Meher Yasht, 126) that white is a similitude of the Mazdayasnān religion.

Aivyaonghana is the Avestic word for the *Kūsti*, as *yajnopavita* is the Sanskrit word for the *janoi*, the sacred thread which the Brahmins wear over the left shoulder and across the body. It appears from Anandgiri and Govindananda's commentaries on Shankara's Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras that the Brahmins, like the Parsis, once wore the thread round the waist. (T. O., 148.) The Zoroastrians delight to call themselves *busto-kūstiāns*, that is, *kūsti*-binders, and regard the *kūsti* as the bond that binds them all, as brothers and sisters, in a common knot.

It does not matter what dress a Zoroastrian wears, but under it he must wear the *sūdreh* and *kūsti* as indispensable garments. He is enjoined to untie the *kūsti* several times during the day and to retie it again on the *sūdreh*, reciting a short prayer during the process. Immediately before this untying and retying of the *kūsti*, he must perform the *pādyāb*, that is, he must wash the exposed hands, face and feet with clean water. The *sūdreh* and *kūsti* serve as perpetual reminders to him that he is a servant of God and bound to do His will and to lead a life of innocence and purity.

Brig. Genl. Sir Percy Sykes (S. H. P., 3rd ed., vol. I, 114) pronounces his unhesitating opinion that it is difficult to

improve on the tenets of this religion, as represented by every lad when he is old enough to don the mystic girdle and, instructed by his elders, says *Hûmata, Hûkhta, Hûvarshata* (Good Thoughts, Good Words, Good Deeds).

The Zoroastrian religion encourages matrimony, for the avowed reason that a married man is more likely to be able to withstand physical and mental afflictions and more apt to lead a clean and useful life than an unmarried man. In Yasna LIII, 5, there is the following monition:—"These words do I address you, maidens marrying. Pay heed to my words and impress them in your mind. May you two strive to lead the life of the Good Mind. These counsels do I give to you, bridegrooms. Learn from the righteous the precepts of the Good Religion. With upright hearts love and cherish each other. Then surely a happy home-life shall be yours."

To the Zoroastrians marriage is a sacrament, and the monition just cited shows that the aim of the married couple should be a noble one, namely, to advance themselves in Righteousness and to be loving and faithful.

In Zoroastrianism women are held on a level with men. If the husband is the *namâno-paiti*, the master of the household, the wife is the *namâno-pathni*, the mistress of the household. In the Avesta both sexes appear constantly as possessing equal rights. Pious men and women are frequently named together. Women have the same religious rites as the men. The spirits of deceased women are alike invoked as those of men. The great respect in which the female sex was held is assigned by Sir John Malcolm as the principal cause of the progress the Persians had made in civilization.

In Zoroastrianism the father of children is considered as superior to him who has none,* and very strict punishments are prescribed for offences of adultery and abortion. (*Vendidad* IV, 47-54.)

* Herodotus (Bk. I, 136) mentions that in ancient Persia the State encouraged married life and that next to prowess in arms it was regarded as the greatest proof of manly excellence to be the father of many sons. The kings used to send gifts to the man who could show the largest number.

In the Avesta (Farvardin Yasht, v. 100; Zamyād Yasht, v. 86) King Gûshtâsp is mentioned as defending the Zoroastrian Law from the Huns. A wall, 720 miles in length, from Beidah in Persia to Samarcand, was built by him on one bank of the Oxus, believably as a defence against these people. The Great Wall of China, 1500 miles long, 20 feet high, and 15 feet broad, was built by a Chinese emperor who died, in 210 B.C., while building it.

On the advent of Zoroaster the Iranians followed the reformed creed, but the Huns continued to follow, at least for some time, their old form of Iranian religion. Sir J. J. Modi (M. O. C. P., 172-3) surmises that latterly, after a long stay on the frontier of Iran, and after coming into continuous close contact with the Iranians, the Huns may have taken into their faith many of the elements of the reformed religion of Zoroaster.

The Rûmî Kaisar's daughter Katabûn, known also by the name of Nâhid (Venus) and called Queen Hûtaosa in Avesta, bore Gûshtâsp two sons, Asfendiyâr (Av. Spéntodât; Pahl. Spendâd) and Pêshûtan (Av. Peshotanu; Pahl. Peshotan), both which princes were remarkable for their prowess and piety and for their staunch advocacy of Zoroastrianism.

Arjâsp (Av. Aréjataspa)*, the powerful ruler of Turkestan, who is spoken of in the Pahlavi treatise Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân as Arjâsp-i-Khyonân Khûdâi, i.e., Arjâsp, the King of the Khyaonas or Huns, and in the Pahlavi Jâmâspi as Sapit Hyaona or White Hun, resented Gûshtâsp's abandonment of the common ancestral religion and acceptance of the creed of Zoroaster, and sent to his court two envoys, Vidarîsh and Shamkhâst, bearing a letter from him to Gûshtâsp in the Turki language to the following purport:—"When thou readest this message purify thy body with ablutions, throw away the *Kûsti* which thou hast tied round thy waist, return to the ways and customs

* Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha (art. "The date of Zoroaster", K. R. C. M., 5) considers that the Shâh-nâmeh and other Iranian writings have erred in speaking of Aréjataspa or Arjâsp being a Turanian, since the last element *aspa* = *ashva*, both in the Avestic and Vedic names is obviously Indo-Iranian, and therefore Aréjataspa, the chief opponent of Gûshtâsp, must have been a Vedic personage and not a Turanian.

of former monarchs, who were among the great ones of the earth, and listen not to the deceitful teachings of Zarathûshtra. Shouldst thou disregard this counsel, I will march on Iran with a countless army in a month or two and spread destruction throughout thy cities with my Tartar and Chinese hordes."

To this impertinent letter of the Hunnish King the Iranian monarch sent a dignified answer, meeting threat with threat. So a war ensued, a war which was urged with all the fury that has characterized religious crusades throughout all ages. The laurels of victory fell to Iran, but not without a terrible loss in men. Arjâsp fled, leaving the greater portion of his troops dead on the battlefield. The place where Arjâsp was defeated is mentioned in the Bûndeheshn as Mount Miândasht and in the Bahman Yasht as Spêdrazûr ("White Forest").

Asfendiyâr greatly distinguished himself in this war, the successful termination of which was in a great measure due to his personal valour and martial ability.

Envoys from the rulers of Berbarestân, Ind, and Sind waited on the victorious king of Iran with costly gifts from their royal masters.

Freed from the war with the Huns, Gûshtâsp turned his attention to the propagation and proper understanding of the new religion. He sent out the books of the religion to the different provinces, with many kinds of instructions along with Magian teachers of eloquent tongue.

To Asfendiyâr he entrusted the administration of the State and the charge of the national flag, the Darîsh-i- Kâveyân, the public treasury and the army. But he did not resign the throne to him, saying that his time to accede to it had not yet arrived, and directed him to proceed to other countries to propagate the pure religion of Zoroaster, to turn idol worshippers to the worship of Ahûrâ Mazdâ, and to establish Fire-temples in conformity with the tenets of the new Faith.

As Asfendiyâr proceeded on this mission, he received from

the monarchs of Rûm, Yaman, Hindustân and other territories messages of their acceptance of Zoroastrianism and asking to be given the Zend-Avesta and to be instructed in its doctrines.

He founded the city of Navâzak in Bactria and established there a glorious Âtash-Vahrân (Fire-temple). Planting his lance there, he sent a message to Gubâkhkân and Suje-Pipâkhkân and Churâkhkân and Rabâkhkân and Guhram and Turchâv (Tûzhâv) and Arjâsp, King of the Haonas, saying, "Look to my lance. Those who may look to the interpretation of this lance may run to the country of Iran (to render submission)." It is evidently in allusion to this incident in particular and his martial skill in general that in the prayer of Blessings (Âshirwâd) which is recited by the Zoroastrian priests in the course of the marriage ceremony, one of the blessings pronounced is *Nizêh-var bed chûn Aspandiyâr dinyâvar* ("Be thou a spear wielder like Asfendiyâr, the Defender of the Faith!").

Firdausi relates that wherever the Iranian prince went he was received with welcome, all the world believed, all took the holy Avesta book willingly and gratefully, and evil men disappeared from the earth.

Asfendiyâr despatched an envoy to his father with a message, wherein he informed Gûstâsp that by virtue of his God-bestowed Glory (*Farré Khûdâé*) he had purified the earth, and peace, prosperity and contentment were now spread over all lands, the country was well guarded by troops, and heretics had left the land, and he asked for orders whether he should now present himself before the king or whether the latter had any other enterprise for him.

Gûrzam, a kinsman of the king, who was nursing a grudge against prince Asfendiyâr, incited Gûstâsp against his noble son by filling his ears with slanderous tales to the effect that Asfendiyâr was plotting to seize the king's person and throw him into a dungeon and sit upon the throne himself. The king was vexed and directed his minister Jamâsp to go and summon the prince immediately into his presence.

When Asfendiyâr came the king covered him with reproaches, and, notwithstanding the prince's utter repudia-

tion of any treasonable designs on his part, put him into chains and consigned him to the fort of Gûmbadân in the hill country, where he was bound to four pillars.

The king proceeded to Sistân and stayed there for two years, enjoying the unstinted hospitality of Zâl and Rûstam, who both learnt the Zend-Avesta from their royal guest.

King Arjâsp considered this a favourable opportunity when the matchless Asfendiyâr was pining in a dungeon and Gûshtâsp was enjoying himself in distant Sistân, to avenge himself upon Iran, and commanded his martial son Kohram to take an army and capture Balkh, which had been left ill guarded.

A thousand men gathered together from the market-place to resist the invader and the venerable Loharâsp came out of his place of devotional retreat, donned his armour, and rushed against the enemy, felling a Turanian warrior at each blow of his mace. At last an arrow struck him and he fell dead. The Tartars entered the city, pillaged and destroyed the palaces, set fire to the temple of Nûsh-Âzar, burnt the Zend-Avesta, massacred in front of the sacred Fire the eighty Herbuds (priests) who were devoted to Mazdâ's service in that fire-temple, put out the Fire with their blood, and laying hands on Gûshtâsp's daughters, Homâi and Behâfrid, carried them to Turan.

Gûshtâsp's queen, dressing herself in a Turkman's garb, effected her escape from the palace and rode post-haste to Sistân to convey the doleful news to her husband. Gûshtâsp collected a large force from all quarters and proceeded towards Balkh without loss of time. On the other side, Arjâsp hastened to join Kohram with an additional army. For three days and nights they fought. The King of Iran was heavily defeated and thirty-eight sons of his lost their lives in the battle. He retreated into a mountain-fort, where he was pursued by the Tartars, who laid siege to the fort.

Jâmâsp, who was most skilful in astrology, consulted the stars and told Gûshtâsp that Asfendiyâr alone could relieve him from his direful situation. The king asked the minister to

leave the fort secretly that very night and bring back Asfendiyār. In his letter to the prince the king promised, taking God to witness, that as soon as he came he would hand over to him the diadem and the treasure and like Loharāsp devote the remainder of his days to the service and worship of God. The prince yielded to the persuasions of the wise Jamāsp, and consented to go to the help of his royal father. A blacksmith was called to break his massive fetters, but he was so slow with his file and hammer, that Asfendiyār lost patience and snapped the chains with one mighty effort. The pain from his wounds was so great that he fainted away. When he regained consciousness he flung away the broken pieces from the walls of the fort, and the first words which he uttered show how greatly he was influenced by the teachings of Zoroaster. He exclaimed, "I submit to God my complaint of the cruel infliction on my body of these chains, manacles, and sharp nails by the king's command. I would not have remained bound by them, but in pursuance of Divine commands I did not free myself from them, for the holy Zoroaster has declared in the Zend-Avesta with great emphasis that the son who disobeys the commands of his father and turns away from his advice is as wicked as a sorcerer, and even if the father puts him in confinement that is better than flowers showered upon him by the enemy."

When night fell Asfendiyār rode out of the fort with his sons Bahman and Nūshāzār and his uncle Jamāsp, and lifting his face toward the heavens made a solemn vow to the Lord of Truth and Justice and Almighty Maker of the Universe that if He gave him the victory, he would take full revenge upon Arjāsp for his slaughter of King Loharāsp and his dear thirty-eight brothers, establish a hundred new fire-temples, remove all tyrants, build a hundred serais for travellers in desert lands, and construct ten thousand wells and plant trees in wild wastes. He further vowed that he would entertain no ill-will toward his father for confining him in prison, would give away a hundred thousand dérams to the poor and needy, bring heretics to the true Faith, destroy sorcerers, and when all this

was accomplished he would devote himself entirely to God's worship, giving up every pleasure.

In the battle with Arjāsp Asfendiyār with his cow-shaped mace and glittering sword made great havoc. The Hunnish king took to flight. Such of his soldiers who asked quarter had their lives spared by the Zoroastrian prince.

At the king's command the prince now started for Turan with twelve thousand horse and with his brother, the wise Peshūtān, as his minister and pastor, to liberate and bring back the two royal princesses who were kept there as captives.

Arjāsp had sought safety behind the strong walls of the castle of Rûin-Dez ("The Brazen Fort"). To this Asfendiyār proceeded, taking the shortest of the three routes which led to it. This route was known as Heft-Khān (*i.e.*, "Seven Stages") and was beset with monsters and dangers and terrors of every sort. Overcoming each and every peril, the intrepid prince reached the Brazen Fort, and took it by storm. He slew Arjāsp, hung his son Kohram on the gibbet, and returned to his father's court with his two sisters and considerable booty.

Gūshtāsp had no desire yet to resign the royal power and transfer it to Asfendiyār, and so resorted to another pretext in order to put off the prince's installation. He told the prince that Rûstām bore them no good will and was boasting that Gūshtāsp was a newly made king, while his own crown was an ancient one, for which reason it behoved Asfendiyār that he should seize Rûstām in combat or by craft or cunning and bring him in chains. Asfendiyār remonstrated, but at last submitted.

Arriving at Sistān, Asfendiyār spoke to Rûstām that it was his father's command that he should bring the paladin in chains before him, and asked him to put on the chains by his own hands, and accompany him to the royal court. He further promised that he would stand by Rûstām's side and not suffer the least harm to be done to him. Rûstām recounted some of his many marvellous exploits and the eminent services he had rendered to the kings and country of Iran, and said,

"Why art thou puffed up in consequence of the crown of Gûstâsp and the throne and treasure of Loharâsp? From my childhood to old age, I have suffered not a single soul dare speak a word of this sort." He roared with just rage, "Who says, Go, put fetters on Rûstam's hands? Even high heaven cannot bind my hands."

In the single combat in which the aged paladin and the youthful prince engaged the first day, the former had the worst of it. While the shafts of the prince inflicted severe wounds on him, his own arrows, which could pierce an anvil of iron and the stoutest shield, had no more effect on Asfendiyâr than thorns on rock, for his body was protected by a coat of mail, which was the gift of the holy Zoroaster and was invulnerable to spear, shaft and sword.*

The next day when he proceeded to a further trial of strength with Asfendiyâr he had with him a forked arrow specially prepared from a tall gaz (tamarisk) tree under the directions of the Simûrg, whose aid Zâl had specially invoked. Rûstam employed the most persuasive language and offered all that he possessed to turn Asfendiyâr from his purpose, but to no avail. Eluding an arrow aimed at his hand by Asfendiyâr he swiftly shot his forked shaft into the prince's eyes. Asfendiyâr's straight cypress-like body bent down in a curve, blood flowed in torrents from his eyes and he dropped down from his horse Aspé Siâh. With his dying breath he spoke to Rûstam that he did not blame either that warrior or his forked arrow for what had befallen him, and charged him to accept his son Bahman as his ward, to cherish him, and to make him proficient in all the crafts and accomplishments befitting a prince.

* Asfendiyâr was spoken of as *Rûn-tan* or brazen-bodied. The legend is that when Zoroaster was in Gûstâsp's court, he performed the liturgical ceremony of *darân* (sacred bread) on the day Mârespand of the month Asfandârmad and gave four of the articles forming the offerings consecrated in the ritual to four different persons. To the king he gave the consecrated wine, the drinking of which gave him the power of leaving his body in this world for three days and taking his soul to the next to see Paradise. To Jâmâsp, the prime minister, he gave the consecrated flowers, on inhaling whose perfume he obtained the power of prophecy. The milk was given to the high priest, Peshûtan, who on drinking it became immortal. To Asfendiyâr was given a grain of the pomegranate which made him brazen-bodied, so that no weapon would injure any part of his body. (M. A. P., Pt. IV, 56-57.)

Bahman stayed in Zabûlistân under the loving care of Rûstam. After a period he was sent for by his grandfather. He had grown into lofty stature, and was strong, masterful, wise and devout. On seeing the great courage that he possessed Gûstâsp bestowed on him the name Ardeshir.

We must now turn to the tearful tale of the death, by treachery, of the renowned Jahân-pehelwân (Champion of the World), Tahmtan (Irresistible in Might), and King-maker, Rûstam.

Zâl had a slave girl, who bore him a beautiful son, who looked the very image of Sâh. Astrologers from Cabul and Kashmir cast a horoscope and predicted that this boy Shûghâd would bring ruin on the illustrious house of Sâh and Narimân and cause the destruction of the throne of Zabûl.

Notwithstanding these woeful predictions, Zâl brought up the boy with great care, but sent him away to the Court of Cabûl when he came to man's estate.

The Shah of Cabûl was pleased with his strength, beauty and high descent and bestowed on him the hand of his daughter.

Rûstam as the feudal lord of Cabûl used to exact every year from the Shah an ox-skin of money as tribute. The Shah expected that out of regard for the new relationship Rûstam would forego the tribute. But as it was collected as before when it became due, the Shah and his people were deeply aggrieved. Shûghâd was also vexed and concerted with the Shah a plan of ensnaring Rûstam and bringing about his death.

At a feast the Shah, as preconcerted, spoke words of bitter insult to Shûghâd who rose up in feigned anger and rode away to Zabûl.

When Rûstam heard his brother's complaint, he was incensed and declared that he would at once march to Cabûl, depose the king, and give the throne to Shûghâd. When they arrived at the confines of the city, the Shah went out to meet them, and descending from his horse, fell down at Rûstam's feet and craved pardon for what he might have uttered in a drunken frolic. Rûstam was appeased and pardoned him.

The King of Cābūl most lavishly entertained Rūstam and his party with a sumptuous banquet, wine, and music, and afterwards invited him to partake the pleasures of the hunting field. The champion always fond of this sport mounted his Rakhsh. Shūghād rode by him to show the path. In the hunting ground deep pits had been prepared large enough to swallow Rūstam and his charger, and in them long swords, spears and blades of steel were planted, and the surface was made good. Rakhsh, when he smelt the soil that had been newly turned, shied and reared and plunged and tore the ground, and then walked slowly and cautiously feeling his ground. Rūstam lost his temper and whipped the sagacious animal. Rakhsh sprang forward and fell into a pit. The concealed sharpened swords and spears pierced both him and his rider. The mortally wounded Rūstam made a grand effort and succeeded in ascending to the brink of the pit. He looked forth and saw the malevolent visage of Shūghād. At once he understood his brother's treachery. He said to Shūghād "I am at the point of death. Uncase my bow, string it, and give it to me with two arrows, so that I may ward off prowling lions in quest of quarry and not let my body be rent by them while there is still breath in me." Shūghād gave his bow to Rūstam, who clutched it hastily. The dastardly Shūghād in terror ran into a hollow plane tree. The expiring champion shot an arrow with such force that it sewed the traitor and the tree together, and with his last breath he rendered his thanks to God Who had granted his wish before his death to inflict the punishment due to his brother's treacherous deed.

Thus died the mighty champion who had played so eminent a part in the history of Iran and shed lustre on that history. Concerning him Atkinson says that of all that is pious, disinterested and heroic he was a most illustrious example. The same writer says: "Single combat and the romantic enterprises of European chivalry may indeed be traced to the East. Chivalry in Europe began with the Feudal system. Rūstam was a knight of the knights of the Feudal times of the Empire."

In the words of Firdausi,

جهان آفرين نا جهان آفريد سوارى چون رستم نيامد يديد
بگيتى كسى مرد ازين سان نديد نه از نامداران پيشين شنيد

("From the time that the Creator created the world, no cavalier like Rûstam has ever appeared. No one in the world has seen a man like him; nor has one heard of such a one from the illustrious ones of yore.")

The name of this national hero is still a household word where Persian is spoken; and most frequently Parsis, and Mahomedans too, name their sons after him.

Benjamin tells us that the figure of this paladin in battle is over the city gates of Teherân and reappears in myriad fantastic designs in the metal and plastic work of Persia.

The indefatigable traveller and explorer Sir Aurel Stein discovered on his visit to the Kûh-i-Khwâjah, the Sacred Hill of Sistân, in 1915, the first pre-Moslem mural paintings found in Persia and dating from Sâsânian times. The most striking of these paintings was a portrait of the mighty Rûstam, seated, holding a curved mace painted in red with yellow ornaments. The head of the mace was in the form of an ox-head. In a position of worship stands a three-headed figure, which in treatment is similar to figures discovered in Chinese Tûrkestan. (S. H. P., Vol. I, 3rd ed., p. XXXVIII.)

When the sad tidings of the death of the redoubtable hero were conveyed to Sistân, Zâl tore his white hair in agony and made loud lamentations. He directed Rûstam's son Ferâmurz to proceed with an army to give battle to the King of Câbûl, and bring back the body of the slain hero.

Ferâmurz routed the Câbûl army and took the king prisoner. When he had killed the tyrant, he made a Zabûli king of Câbûl.

After a reign of one hundred and twenty years, Gûshtâsp entrusted his throne, crown and treasures to prince Bahman.

Gûshtâsp was the first monarch who established a minister for despatches and correspondence, and the first who

stamped money with the image of a fire-temple on one side and his likeness with a crown on his head on the other.

It is difficult to understand his policy in evading the fulfilment of his promises to Asfendiyār to abdicate in his favour. The non-observance of a pledge solemnly and repeatedly given does not conduce to the honour of this first Zoroastrian king whose religion enjoins the strict fulfilment of a pledge given even to an enemy.

The view is advanced by Prof. Jackson, though not without considerable doubt, that Gūshtāsp's long reign of 120 years may be intended to give the length of the reign in round numbers or to denote a short-lived dynasty, and that in the latter case we might assume that the name of Vishtāspa (Gūshtāsp) covers the period of kings Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes, or we might possibly conjecture that the reign represents the Bactrian rule down to Artaxerxes and assume that Zoroastrianism then became the ruling faith of Persia. (Monograph on the Religion of the Achaemenids, I. I. S., 37.)

VI. BAHMAN.

Soon after mounting the throne, Bahman assembled a force of five score thousand horse in order to avenge his father's blood, and invaded Zābūl. Zāl, attended only by a couple of horsemen, went to meet him and implored him to forget the past and abandon the idea of revenge. But Bahman was relentless and loaded the venerable old man with chains, removed the accumulated treasures of Rūstam and his forbears to Balkh, and gave up Zābulistān to pillage.

When the news of this calamity reached Ferāmurz, who was at the time on the borders of Bost, he gathered his troops and advanced against Bahman. For three days a sanguinary battle was fought. The army of Zābūl and Cābūl was routed. Ferāmurz, lion as he was and the offspring of a lion, kept up the fight against heavy odds with a few faithful adherents. His body was hacked by a hundred scimitars. At last he fell a captive to an Iranian warrior of the name of Ardeshir, and was hanged head downwards on a scaffold by the spiteful Bahman.

The author of *Jinat-ul-Tawārikh* records the heroism displayed in the battle in question by Gordāfrid, the valiant daughter of Rūstam and sister of Ferāmurz. Her memory is held in honour by the Parsis as one of the bravest of their race.

Peshūtān, the venerable prime minister, pleaded with the king to desist from bloodshed. Bahman repented and issued a proclamation for the cessation of bloodshed and pillage, and liberated Zāl.

A short time before his death, Bahman seated on the throne his wife Homāi, instead of his son Sāsān, and announced to his chiefs and nobles that the issue, whether son or daughter, of Homāi, who was then advanced six months, should take the throne.

The following practice of Bahman, which Mirkhond relates (M. R. S. S., 39), shows this king's solicitude for the just and good government of his realm. Once a year he summoned all his subjects to appear before him. He then descended from his throne, and having opened with suitable prayers and thanksgiving, thus addressed them:—"One more year has now elapsed of my reign and authority over you. If any act of mine or of the governors appointed by me have given you discontent, you are now to declare it, that I may investigate the matter." After some interval, the high priest rose up and said, "O king! may thy reign last for ever! The nobility and people are grateful and contented. Thy virtues are universally applauded and thankfully acknowledged." Then some one proclaimed aloud to the people, "O men! cultivate the ground; fear God; be not guilty of treason; depart far away from corrupt desires." The king then said to his ministers, "Whenever you perceive me inclined to falsehood or deviating from the direct path, keep me back from such deeds: if you observe me wrathful against any, restrain me: on every occasion inspire me with a desire of doing all that is praiseworthy."

Bahman was given the appellation of Darāz-dast (Long-handed, Longimanus). Mirkhond mentions that he acquired this appellation because his arm of authority stretched over vast

regions. Birûni also says that Bahman was so called because his rule was so predominant that it seemed as if he had only to spread out his hand in order to set things right. Another version is that he was given this appellation because his hand was ever stretched forth in generosity.

From some curious passages in Tabari Sir W. Ouseley makes the conjecture that Bahman is the Ahasuerus of Scripture, who "reigned from India even upto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces" (Esther I).

In the *Rauzat-us-Safâ* we find some curious circumstances recorded concerning the Assyrian monarch Nebuchedrezzer in relation to King Bahman. There it is said, "In the course of his reign, Bahman deposed Bakhtanassar (Nebuchadrezzer)'s son from the government of Babel, which he committed to one of Loharâsp's sons, named Kûresh, whose mother was descended from the children of Israel; he likewise commanded him to send back the captives of the children of Israel to the territory of the Holy Temple, and to appoint as their governor whomsoever they themselves should select. Kûresh therefore assembled the children of Israel and appointed Daniel to the government. It is related in some histories that Loharâsp having deposed Bakhtanassar from the government of Babel, permitted the Israelitish captives to return in order that the kingdom of Shâm (Syria) should be cultivated. They conformed to these orders, and in the days of Bahman had brought the territory of the Holy Temple to the highest state of cultivation; but Bahman having sent an ambassador to the children of Israel, their king put him to death, which so aroused his indignation that he commanded Bakhtanassar a second time to lay waste the country of a people who neither obeyed God nor the decrees of the king. Bakhtanassar, therefore, setting out with his army, laid the Holy Temple and the region of Shâm entirely waste, and returned to Irâk Araby with one hundred thousand young children whom he had borne away into captivity; but all knowledge is with the Almighty."

Masoudi says that Nebuchadrezzer was the governor or satrap of Irâk and of the country of the Arabs, on behalf of

the king of Persia, whose capital was at Balkh, and adds that some persons take Nebuchadrezzar to be an independent king, but he does not think so. (M. M. P., 202-3).

F. Arbuthnot observes, tentatively, that from Persian history it must be inferred that Sennacherib, Nebuchadrezzar and his son were not independent sovereigns in Babylon and Assyria, but ruled or reigned under the Kaiyânian dynasty of Persia. (See note at page 239, M. R. S. R., Vol. II, Pt. I.)

The Bahman Yasht enumerates the different periods of the Zoroastrian religion as follows:—That which was of gold was the reign of king Vishtâspa, that which was of silver was the reign of Artashir the Kaiyânian whom they call Vohûman (Bahman), the son of Spend-dât (Asfendiyâr), who is the one who separates the demons from men, disperses them and vindicates the authority of religion in the whole world, and that which was of bronze was the reign of Artakhshir (Ardeshir Pâpekân), the regulator and restorer of the world, and that of king Shâpûr. From this Prof. Jackson (monograph "the Religion of the Achæmenians", I. I. S. 162) infers that Zoroastrianism during the reign of Bahman found acceptance throughout the whole of Iran. The same savant identifies the long reign of Bahman, whom the Pahlavi Texts also call Artakhshar (Ardeshir Darâzdast or the Long-handed), with that of Artaxerxes Longimanus or Makrocheir.

According to the Bûndehešn Bahman's reign lasted 112 years, and according to the Shâh-nâmeh 99 years.

VII. HOMÂI.

Homâi was the first of the three queens that have sat on the throne of Persia. In wisdom and justice she excelled Bahman. She is known as Chéhérâzâd, which means "noble born" or "of open or free countenance". A son was born to her, but having no desire to part with sovereign power, she privily made him over to a faithful nurse and gave the public to understand that the child was dead. She administered the realm with such sagacity, justice and goodness that all the people were contented and happy, and there was prosperity everywhere. Any chief who turned insurgent was quickly suppressed. She erected

a Fire-temple in Istakhr and the building known as Hazār-setūn ("Thousand pillars") in the ruins of Istakhr is attributed to her.

When her son was eight months old she sent for him, and wrapping him up in silk placed him on a pillow in an ark, which was lined with soft Rūman brocade and filled with pearls, cornelians, emeralds and gold. A precious jewel was tied upon his arm. At midnight the ark was committed to the Euphrates. A launderer rescued him and took him to his wife, who was mourning the recent loss of her own babe. She rejoiced over the beautiful stranger child and immediately fed him with her own milk. They named him Dārāb, because they had found his cradle in the stream.*

Dārāb grew up to be a youth of noble stature and divine looks. He rapidly picked up learning and acquired the science and accomplishments of a warrior from a skilled horseman. When at Queen Homāi's command Rashnawād was leading his troops against the Kaiser of Rūm, who had invaded Iran, Dārāb enlisted under him and in the fight with the Rūmans distinguished himself by the utmost bravery. Forty prelates, among the Rūmi magnates, Dārāb felled with his sword and bore off the Labarum.

On his return to the queen's presence, Rashnawād related to her Dārāb's valour and some strange proofs which he had witnessed of his auspicious fortune. Homāi recognized her son, and on the first day of happy omen, the day Shahrivar of the month Bahman, installed him on the throne and put the crown on his head with her own loving hands. She lavished gifts through all the provinces, and as thanksgiving bestowed treasure wherever there was a fire-temple.

VIII. DĀRĀB.

Dārāb's rule lasted for twelve years and was marked with justice and benevolence. One day in his excursions he noticed a deep and broad lake on an elevated mountain. He called experts from Rūm and Hind, and getting canals constructed

* Dar-āb = in water. This is a fanciful etymology. The old Persian form of the word was Dāryavāsh, which, according to A. H. Sayce, means 'the maintainer', from *darj* (Sanak, *dāri*), 'conserve.'

to irrigate the tract from that lake, built there a beautiful city, which he called Dārābgerd after his own name, and established a fire-temple on the top of the mountain. In the Pahlavi *Shatroihā-i-Airān* the foundation of this city is attributed to Dārā, the son of Dārāb, but other Oriental writers agree with Firdausi in assigning it to Dārāb.

Shaib, an Arab chief, made an incursion into Persia, with a large force of lancers, but in a four days' battle his army was routed and he was slain.

Dārāb then led his troops against Philip of Macedon, whom he defeated with great loss. Philip took refuge in the fort of Amur and sent an ambassador to him with costly presents to sue for peace. As terms of peace Dārāb asked for the hand of Philip's only daughter, who was "the crown upon the head of womanhood", together with an annual tribute, to be paid in the month of Meher, of a hundred thousand kingly jewels and an equal number of eggs of molten gold, each weighing forty miskāls (about six ounces Troy). Peace was established on these terms, and Dārāb espoused the Macedonian princess Nahid. Though divinely handsome in person, she had a fetid breath. A skilful physician cured the complaint by rubbing a herb called *Iskandarūs** upon her palate. But Dārāb was unable to get over his disgust towards her and sent her back to her father. There, in secrecy, she gave birth to a son, who was resplendent as the sun at its meridian, and whom she named *Iskandarūs* (Alexander). Philip kept the real facts concealed and gave out that there had appeared a Cæsar from his seed.

European writers consider this narration of Alexander's birth to be wholly fictitious and devised to lessen the disgrace of the conquest of Persia by Alexander.† But besides Firdausi, other Oriental writers, such as Ja'kūbi (lived A.H. 260), Tabari (died A.H. 411 or 416) and Ibn al Athir (died A.H. 630) speak of Alexander's Persian origin.

* This word is derived either from Gr. *skorodon*, garlic, or Lat. *ascalonium*, shallot (Warner).

† See, e.g., Dr. Louis H. Gray's paper on *Peace-Negotiations and Peace-Treaties*, M. M. V., 143.

Firdausi and other Eastern historians have not hesitated to narrate the conquest and occupation of Iran by foreign invaders such as the Turanian or Tartar Afrâsiâb, the Arab Zohâk, the Hunnish Arjâsp, not to speak of the final Arab conquest in the time of Yezdegard Shehryâr ; and therefore it is reasonable to assume that they have spoken of Alexander's Persian origin not with the view of lessening the disgrace of the Persian defeat, but because they had knowledge of the story and more or less believed in it.

Dârâb took another wife and by her had a fine graceful boy, whom he named Dârâ and nominated as his successor.

Dârâ ascended the throne of Persia on Dârâb's death in the year 336 B.C., the same year in which Alexander, who was destined to wrest from him the Persian empire and end his dynasty, came to the throne of Macedon.

In his narrative of the last two kings of the dynasty of the Kaiyânians, Dârâb and Dârâ, Firdausi, in consequence of confused legends and insufficient materials available to him at the time that he wrote his *Shâh-nâmeh*, has described the epoch-making wars between Persia and Macedonia as occurring during their reigns. As a matter of historical fact those wars took place centuries later. Dârâ whom Alexander defeated and succeeded as the monarch of Iran was not Dârâ the Kaiyânian, but Dârâ the last of the Achaemenian line, the Darius Codomannus of the Greek writers.

According to the well-argued theory of the late Mr. Jamshedji Palanji Kapadia, the author of an elaborate Gujarati work on the Rise and Fall of the Persian Empire, the foreign potentate who took Bactria and brought the rule of the Kaiyânians to an end was an Indian king, Karisâk, whose name is found in the *Dinkard* (D. P. S., Vol. V, 311). The *Ervad Kutars*, in their introduction to Vol. VIII of their Gujarati transliteration and translation of the *Shâh-nâmeh*, put the time of the said potentate three hundred years after Zoroaster.

The Achaemenides, some kings of which dynasty history recognises as among the greatest and best monarchs the world has ever seen, are not mentioned at all in Firdausi's epic. A

strange fact is that all Pahlavi writers have ignored the existence of this great and mighty dynasty. Evidently their glories had faded from the recollection of the people, the script of their cuneiform inscriptions had ceased to be understood or even known, and the Pahlavi writers had lost all knowledge of the "First Empire".

Firdausi draws his episode of Dārā and Sikander not from native tradition, but from Greek literature, the Alexander romance of the Pseudo-Callisthenes. He gives no account whatever of the Medes and of their empire, which preceded the Achaemenian; and the Arshkānian or Parthian dynasty, which succeeded the Macedonian line of the Seleucids, he dismisses in a single chapter of 54 couplets.

Such a noteworthy part on the stage of Iran and, in fact of the ancient world, the Medes, the Achaemenides, and the Parthians have played that any history of the ancient Persians that omits a narration of these dynasties and the empires they founded and ruled must be deemed as woefully incomplete as it would be if it did omit an account of the well-known Sāsānian dynasty, which overthrew the last until it in its turn was overthrown at the Arab conquest.

While the extant Pahlavi books and the *Shāh-nāmeh* of Firdausi make no mention of the Achaemenides, the classical writers are entirely silent about the Kaiyānians. The question is worth investigating in what relation of time the Achaemenian dynasty stands in relation to the Kaiyānian. The conclusion to which the late Dr. Sir J. J. Modi's studies led him was that they were contemporaneous dynasties, the Kaiyānians ruling in the East in Bactria and the Achaemenians in the West of Persia, the latter perhaps, beginning their career as vassals of the former. (M. As. P., Pt. II, 118.)

Prof. A. M. Shustery's explanation is that the Kaiyānian dynasty, who were the upholders of Avestan teaching, lost their temporal supremacy after a glorious period, but like the Abbasids perhaps retained their spiritual influence for a considerable time, and it is with such idea that the Persian historians have referred to the great Achaemenian Emperors,

such as Cyrus, Darius, and others, as the Viceroys in Western Iran of the Kaiyānian Popes. (I. L. Q., Vol. IV, Nos. 2-3, 195.)

In the Avestic literature the ruler who was one of the early followers of Zoroaster and his protector is named Kavi Vishtāspa ("King Vishtāsp"), or in the Pahlavi literature Kavi-vishtāspshāh ("King-Vishtāsp-King"). The name of the father of Darius the Great, in the Old Persian Inscriptions, is Vishtāspa and his title is *xšāyābiya* (Shah). In the identity of these historic names and titles Ernst Herzfeld finds an amply sufficient reason to discuss the thorny problem of the identity or non-identity of their bearers. As the result of his analysis he finds a perfect parallelism, a duplicity of cases, for which, in his opinion, there is but one explanation, namely this, that we are forced to accept the identity of the two persons,—in other words, Vishtāspa, the father of Darius, Governor of Pārthava and Zranka, is the protector of Zoroaster, when the prophet was teaching on Mount Ushidhào, the Kùh i-Khwājāh. (M. M. V., art. "Vishtāspa," 182-205.)

One substantial fact which militates against the theory of identifying the protector of Zoroaster and the father of Darius the Great as one and the same person is this that while according to the Būndeheshn the genealogy of the former was as follows, namely, Kai-Kavād, Kai-Apiveh, Kai-Pishin, Mānūsh, Aūzāv, Loharāsp (Aūrvadaspa), Vishtāspa, that of Darius the Great according to his Behistūn inscription was as follows, namely, Hakhāmanish, Chaishpish, Ariyārāmna, Arshāma, Vishtāspa, Daryavūsh.

Arthur Christensen, after entering into a lengthy consideration of the Kaiyānides in a paper on the Later Avesta, comes to the conclusion that the Kaiyānides flourished long before the Achaemenians. From the very fact, among others, that Darius does not speak of his father Hystaspes as a Kai, in his cuneiform inscriptions, he concludes that this Hystaspes is not the Kai Vishtāspa (Gūshtāsp) of the Avesta (See J. K. O. I., No. 20, 215).

We will now proceed with the history of the Median dynasty.

CHAPTER V.

THE MEDIAN DYNASTY.

The Medes have left no records of their achievements.* So their history is shrouded in much obscurity, and we are dependent for information concerning them on the records of other contemporary nations, such as the Assyrians, Jews and Greeks (B. L. H. P., 20). Our main source of information is Herodotus.

These people were for the most part, like the Persians, Indo-European in speech and Aryan in descent. They first appear on the Assyrian inscriptions of Shalmaneser II about the year 840 B.C., when they are called Amadâ and Matai. In an inscription of Rimmon-Nirari III (B.C. 810-781) they are named Mada. (S. H. C. V., 26.)

From Southern Russia they had migrated into Persia. They gradually established themselves in the country lying between Rhages and Ekbatânâ on the north-west of Persis. Sir Denison Ross (R. P., 30) puts this event in the eighth century before Christ. Dr. Meyer (E. B., ed. XI, Vol. 21, 203) mentions that the Assyrian statements with regard to the Medes demonstrate that the Iranians must have reached the west of Iran before 900 B.C., at which period, probably, the Persians also were domiciled in their later home. The immigration of the Persians, as opposed to the Medes, Dr. J. C. Tavadia, a Parsi lecturer in the University of Hamburg, places after the destruction of Elam in B.C. 640. According to this authority, the City of Pasargadae was founded by the Persians before the victory of Cyrus over the Medians, that is, during 559-550 B.C., and during the interval of eighty years the Persians slowly colonized Anzhan, later on called Pârsâ after them. (J. K. O. I., No. 16, pp. 29-31.)

* There is a stone lion at Hamadân which is supposed to be of the Median period. Herzfeld considers it as belonging to the Selucides or Arshkânian tribes. Nöldeke gives hopes that possibly one day from beneath Hamadân cuneiform inscriptions may be found which may throw light on the Median period. (P.D.I.G., 10.)

Herodotus gives the names of six tribes of the Medes, namely the Busae, the Paretececi,* the Struchates, the Arizanti,† the Budii, and the Magi. They were mostly nomads.

The kings of Assyria overran Media at various times and exacted tributes, but none of them ever actually occupied that country. It was divided into a large number of cantons, each under the rule of its own independent chief, or city-lord. In B.C. 715 twenty-eight such chiefs paid tribute to Sargon II; two years later no less than forty-six chiefs were tributaries of Assyria.

I. DAYAUKKU.‡

At the close of the reign of Sennacherib, the Median tribes, who had adopted much of the civilization of the Babylonians and Assyrians, began to form into a confederation and elected as their sole ruler Dayaukku (Deioces), who was an important personage in his own village and had acquired a high reputation for his wisdom, uprightness and sense of justice.

The first act of this king was to form a strong bodyguard for himself. He constituted his capital in Ekbatânâ, and fortified that city by seven concentric walls of great size and strength. The battlements of the outermost wall were white, of the second black, of the third scarlet, of the fourth blue, of the fifth orange. Those of the sixth and seventh walls were incrustated respectively with silver and gold. In a strong fort built inside the seventh wall he had his royal palace and treasury.

The name Ekbatânâ (O. P. Hangmatana, from *ham*, together, and *gam*, to go), means a meeting-place, and was fittingly bestowed on the new capital implying that the clans formerly scattered over were now gathered together in a more concentrated form. (H. A. P. C., 29.)

Sir Henry Rawlinson and, following him, his brother George Rawlinson believe that the Ekbatânâ founded by Deioces was at

* The Paretececi were probably "mountaineers", from Sansk. *Parvata*, a mountain. (Oppert.)

† From *ariya*, excellent, and *santu*, stirps; therefore "of noble stock".

‡ An abbreviated form of Pers. *Dahyaspati*, the master of a province. (Justi.)

Takht-i-Suleimân, in Media Atropatene, and not at the modern Hamadân. But a comparison of the two sites in detail, during his travels in Persia, has convinced Prof. Jackson (J. P. P., 156) that Hamadân has the right and title to being the sole heir of Ekbatânâ. As to Takht-i-Suleimân, although Jackson does not accept Sir Henry's view that it is the site of Ekbatânâ, he accepts the latter's unquestionable identification of it with the Shiz of the Arab writers and probably also with the Gazna and Ganzah of the Persians, the Gazaka or Canzaca of the classical writers and the Ganjak of the Pahlavi texts. But the expert archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld (H. P. A., 8) pronounces his definite opinion that the identification of Ganzaca with Takht-i-Suleimân cannot be maintained and that the former must have been situated more in the north in the neighbourhood of Marâgha.

On a careful review of the facts, it seems there were two Ekbatânâs, one ascribed to Deioces in Media Atropatene on the site of Takht-i-Suleimân, and another built by a later king, Kyaxares, on the site of the modern Hamadân.

Dayaukku reigned for the long period of 53 years and was succeeded by his son Fravartish (Phraortes).

II. FRAVARTISH.

The new king, not satisfied with having dominion over the single nation of Medes, brought also the kindred Persian tribes under his sway. But it does not appear that there was any actual conquest. Native kings continued to govern Persis, but they had to owe allegiance to Media, a position which was galling to the high spirited Persians.

Fravartish had the boldness to invade Assyria, but received a severe defeat from the veteran Assyrian troops and fell on the battlefield with the greater portion of his army. Herodotus gives him a reign of twenty years.

Prof. Jackson, in an article on the Historical Sketch of Ragha, S.M.V., refers to the Book of Judith wherein it is mentioned that Nebuchadnezzar, who ruled over Nineveh, made war with Arphaxad, who ruled over the Medes in Ekbatânâ, and the

two kings fought in the great plain in the borders of Ragau (Ragha), the battle resulting in the victory of Nebuchadnezzar and the death of Arphaxad; and he says that this king Arphaxad is generally identified with the Median ruler Phraortes.

III. HŪVAKSHATRA* (KASTARIT, KYAXARES).

Under Hūvakshatra, the successor of Fravartish, Media reached the zenith of her power. He shone both in war and in peace. Sir G. Maspero (M. P. E., 465) describes him as one of those perfect rulers of men, such as Asia produces every now and then, who knew how to govern as well as how to win battles—a born general and law-giver. He remodelled his army on the Assyrian plan, and formed separate battalions of spearmen, bowmen and horsemen. The last were trained to ride without saddle and stirrups. The bow was their most formidable weapon. They could shoot with unerring aim from all positions, both charging and retreating.

According to a tradition, a horde of Scythians, led by king Madyes, who emerged from the Russian steppes in pursuit of the Kimmerians (the Gimirrai), an Indo-European tribe, came into contact with the Medes at the foot of Mount Caucasus and defeated Kyaxares. As to the Scythians, Prof. M. Rostovtzeff (R. I. G. R., 43) points out that it has become customary to speak of the whole of South Russia as peopled by Scythian tribes, but nothing is further from the truth. He writes, "Even the description in Herodotus, who is responsible for the habit of applying the name of Scythians to all the inhabitants of South Russia, shows that the Scythians were no more than a group of Iranian tribes, mixed with Mongolians and constituting the ruling aristocracy. As conquerors and as a dominant minority, the Scythians developed a strictly military organization, resembling the military organization of all the nomad peoples who succeeded them, the Khazars, the various Mongolian tribes—the Torki, the Pechenegi, the Polovtsy—, and the Tatars. The military chief was the king."

For eight and twenty years these Scythians kept the whole

* According to Rawlinson this name means "more beautiful eyed", and according to Pourc Davoud it means "of a fine stature".

of Asia under terror, till at last Kyaxares massacred Madyes and his officers at a banquet to which he had invited them, and expelled the Scythians after desperate fighting.

Kyaxares made a league with Nabopolassar (Nabu-bal-uzur), the Assyrian king's satrap of Babylon and led his troops against Assyria. In B.C. 614 he marched almost upto Nineveh.* An auxiliary army of the Ashkuza, which advanced against him, was defeated. The Medians took Tardis and sacked Ashur, the ancient capital. The Assyrian king Sin-shar-ishkan (Saracus)† shut himself up in Nineveh, the fortifications of which were considered impregnable. Hard pressed by the invaders, he burnt himself alive in his palace together with his family to save him and them from being made captives. Nineveh was seized and destroyed (B.C. 612).

It is not certain whether in the siege and capture of Nineveh Nabopolassar and his Babylonians gave active assistance to the Median king. Dr. Koldewey's Excavations at Babylon have led to the discovery of a building-inscription occurring on a barrel-cylinder of clay inscribed with a text of Nabopolassar, wherein that king says: "As for the Assyrians who had ruled all peoples from distant days and had set the people of the land under a heavy yoke, I, the weak and humble man who worshippeth the Lord of Lords, through the mighty power of Nabu and Marduk, my Lord, held back their feet from the land of Akkad and cast off their yoke." Messrs. King and Hall opine that this newly discovered reference to the Assyrian Nabopolassar may possibly be taken to imply that the Babylonians were passive and not active allies of Kyaxares. (K. H. E. W. A., 422-3.)

After the fall of Nineveh Kyaxares overran all Assyria and the northern part of Babylonia and pillaged Haran and its temple in north-west Mesopotamia.

Nahum the Elkoshite, who lived a century earlier, had prophesied the doom of Assyria:—"Thy shepherds slumber, O

* Nineveh is now represented by the mounds of Nebi Yunus and Koyunjuk, opposite Mosul (Sayce). The name Nineveh is from Nins, the fish-goddess, who is identical with Ishtar (Donald A. McKenzie).

† According to Sayce, the last king of Assyria was Esarhaddon II, called Sarakos by the Greeks.

King of Assyria: thy nobles shall dwell in the dust: thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them. There is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continuously?" (Nahum, c. III, v. 18-19.) So also Zephaniah had foretold the fate:—"He will stretch out his hand against the north and destroy Assyrians and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness." (Zephaniah, c. III, v. 13.)

A body of the Assyrian garrison under Ashur-uballit managed to escape from Nineveh and took refuge in Harran, where their leader assumed the throne of Assyria. Here they struggled on for a few years, until they were finally defeated and wiped off by the Babylonians. (C. A. H., vol. III, 130, 207.)

One of the mightiest nations of the past, one which had existed for untold ages* and domineered Asia for a number of centuries, vanished entirely. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

Sir Percy Sykes asks, "What is the verdict of history on Assyria", and answers the question himself thus:—"It is this, that although Babylonia and Egypt were merciless in the hour of triumph, yet Babylonia bequeathed to mankind law, astronomy, science, and Egypt erected buildings which still challenge the admiration of the world; whereas Assyria merely borrowing such arts of peace as she adopted, shone only as the great predatory power, and when she fell, she passed away into utter and well-merited oblivion." (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 125.)

Sykes appears to have gone too far in his wholesale condemnation of Assyria. We have the weighty opinion of Dr. H. R. Hall, Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, that the Assyrians were not merely great warriors; they were also great artists, as is exemplified by the reliefs of Nimrûd, Kûynjik and Khorsâbâd, and the gates of Balâwât, imitating the stone-reliefs on skilfully beaten bronze. Their representations, writes this authority, are of course Babylonian in character, like their whole civilisation, but their own originality is none the less manifest, and

* According to Berossus ten kings reigned in Babylon and Assyria before the Deluge.

the tradition of Assyrian art lived in that of Persia, at Behistûn, and at Persepolis, and influenced the art of Caucasia and of Scythia, even ultimately Siberia and China. (C. A. H., Vol. III, 330, 332.) Mr. Sidney Smith mentions that in the reign of Ashurbanipal the arts of sculpture and architecture reached a level of perfection beyond which development would seem impossible without a complete change of style. (Ib., 109.)

The conquerors divided the Assyrian empire between themselves. The southern and western portions passed into the hands of Nabopolassar; and Assyria proper and the lands extending westward into Asia Minor to the frontier of the kingdom of Lydia came into the possession of Kyaxares.

The Urartrians (the people of Armenia), the Kimmerians, the Chaldæi, and the industrious tribes of the Chalybes and the White Syrians were all brought by Kyaxares under his rule.

The view of the eminent Assyriologist Dr. A. H. Sayce (S. A. E. E., 239-241) is that it was Kyaxares or Kastarit who united pre-Aryan Media under a single monarchy. According to him, Kyaxares was king of that part only of Media in which the city of Caru-kassi was situated, his ally Mamiti-arsu having the general title "city lord of the Medes." Along with the Minni, the people of Saparda or Sepharad, and the Kimmerians, the two allies attacked and overthrew the Assyrian power. The city of Ekbatânâ was founded in imitation of the new Babylon Nebuchadrezzar had built. The kingdom of Ekbatânâ was given the name of Media, partly owing to the Median conquests of Kyaxares, partly in consequence of a confusion of words, which will be noticed in some detail further on.

W. S. W. Vaux (V. P. A., 16) calculates 647 B.C. as the probable time of the establishment of the Median empire. G. Rawlinson is inclined to the view that the great Median kingdom was first established by Kyaxares, about the year 633 B.C., and that the Deioces and Phraortes of Herodotus must sink into fictitious personages, indicating perhaps certain facts or periods, but improperly introduced into a dynastic series among kings who are strictly historical. (R. H., Essay III, 330 ff.)

For five years (590-585 B.C.), a struggle for supremacy went on between Lydia and Media without advantage to either side. The last great battle, which was fought on the banks of the Halys, was interrupted by a total eclipse of the sun (28th May 585 B.C.), which Thales of Miletus (640-546 B.C.) had foretold. The darkness which came over the earth seemed to the belligerents a manifestation of divine displeasure and struck them with religious alarm. Both armies ceased fighting and a truce was declared for the purpose of settling the dispute by mediators. The Syennesis (ruler) of Cilicia and Nabonidus, as envoy representing Babylon, who were selected as mediators, succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation. A sworn agreement was made fixing Alyattes' farthest limit, the Halys river, as his formal boundary. The pact was further strengthened by a marriage between Aryenis, the daughter of the Lydian king Alyattes, with Astyages (Ishtuvegu), the son and heir-apparent of Kyaxares, since "without a strong bond agreements would not keep their strength". The unique importance of this agreement is this that it is the first recorded treaty of peace to which Iran was a High Contracting Party.

Kyaxares died after a reign of 35 years, and Ishtuvegu came to the throne.

IV. ISHTUVEGU (ASTYAGES).

Ishtuvegu is never styled king of Media in the contemporaneous Babylonian inscriptions of Nabonidus and Cyrus, but is on the contrary King of "the Barbarians", or tsabmānda, *Manda* being a term of general meaning applied by Esarhaddon to the Kimmerians and in older documents to the Kûrdish tribes, the *Mada* or Medes, on the other hand, being the heterogeneous populations east of Kûrdistân. Media was the name given by Persian and Greek writers to the kingdom of Ekbatānâ. Its native name, says Sayce, was Ellippi, at all events in the time of Sargon, and the title of Media applied to it in later history seems to have been due to a confusion between the Assyrian words *Mada* (Medes) and *Manda* (barbarian). The same authority points out that in his own cylinder Cyrus declares that (the god)

Merodach had made the king of Guntum and the Manda or barbarians bow down before his feet. Sayce has little doubt that the Manda over whom Astyages ruled were the Scythians of classical tradition, who had occupied the ancient kingdom of Elippi. (S. A. E. E., 241-2; S. F. L. M., 37, 128; also see M. P. E., VIII.) Vaux also is of opinion that Astyages was not a Median ruler, but really a chief of the Manda, under which the Assyrians and Babylonians included the Kimmerians and the Scyths of classical story. (V. P. A., 127-29.)

Tolman and Stevenson (T. S. H. E., 69) have put forward the view that Kyaxares, and not Astyages, must have been the last representative of the national kingdom of Media and that the latter was not the son of the former, but belonged to that people who had conquered it, i.e., the Umman-manda (Scythians).

Benjamin (B. P. P., 86) is convinced that the Kyaxares of the Greek historians is the Kai Kâûs of Persian legend. In our narration of the reign of the Kaiyânian Kai Kâûs we have seen that during the battle with the White Div his army was struck with blindness. Sykes sees in this legend a reference to the eclipse which occurred during the battle between Kyaxares and the Lydians, and is inclined to identify, at least to some extent, Kai Kobâd with Deioces and Kai Kâûs with Kyaxares.

Astyages had a long and peaceful reign until, in the middle of the sixth century B.C., he was overthrown by Cyrus and the Iranian Empire passed from the Medes to the Persians.



CHAPTER VI.

THE ACHAEMENIAN DYNASTY.

I. CYRUS THE GREAT.

Cyrus had succeeded his father, in 559 B.C., as ruler of



Cyrus the Great.

Anzan or Anshan, a small state under the overlordship of the Median Empire. The capital bore the same name as the state. A lexical tablet from the library of Nineveh states that it was the country known to the Semitics as Elam, the mountainous region to the north of Babylon; and in the third millenium, Gudea, an early Sumerian king, records his conquest of "Anzan, in the country of Elam." (S. H. C. V., 516). Dr. G. Buchanan Grey identifies Anzan with Southern Elam, and especially the district around and surrounding Sûsâ. From his discoveries in Fârs

of ancient monuments and sites previous to the period of Darius compared with cuneiform texts published by A. Poebel, Prof. Herzfeld definitely concludes that Fârs was the old land of Anzan. At any rate, says he, Cyrus and his predecessors resided in Fârs as Kings of Anzan. (Herzfeld's monograph on Vishtâsp, M. M. V., 188.)

French excavations at Sûsâ have proved that the Elamites were an enlightened people, whose civilization was just as old as and as remarkable as that of Sumer. In their work in bronzes, ivory, and the precious metals these people attained

to a high level of design and technical perfection. (H. H. W., Vol. V, 1715.) According to Sir Flinders Petrie, both the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian cultures are branches from the still older culture of Elam, as shown in the great depths of the great mound of Sûsâ, reaching back before 6000 or perhaps to 8000 or 10000 B.C. (H. H. N., Vol. I, 3.)

Sykes mentions that the name Elam or Elamtu signifies "mountains" and that the people of Sûsâ termed their country Anzan-Susunka. Under the Persians the province was known as Ouvaja, and, in mediæval times it was called Khûzistân or "the country of the Hûz or Khûz", which name the present Shah of Persia, H. I. M. Reza Shah Pahlavi, has revived. (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 50.)

Cyrus* was born in 599 B.C. In the time of Herodotus four stories were current among the Persians concerning his origin and his relation to Astyages. The one preferred by Herodotus is that he was the son of Cambyses and Mandané, a daughter of Astyages.

Alarmed by the dream of the spreading vine, which was interpreted to mean that his grandson would be the master of all Asia, Astyages delivered Cyrus to a man of his household called Harpagus with orders that he should make away with him. Harpagus passed on the order to the king's herdsman Mithridates. Cyro, the wife of Mithridates, persuaded her husband to spare the child's life and bring him up as their own. When Cyrus was ten years old, he was discovered and recognized by Astyages.

Xenophon also makes Cyrus the grandson of Astyages, but Ctesias and Nicholas Damascenus (a contemporary of Emperor Augustus and a writer of a Universal History in one hundred

* Various etymologies of the name Cyrus have been put forward. For instance, Sayce derives it from the Elamite and translates it "The Shepherd". (S. A. E. E. 69.) The Persians attributed it the sense of the Sun, and Oppert and Justi uphold this interpretation. According to Sir H. Rawlinson, the name is more properly compared with the Sansk. *Kuru*, which was a popular title among the Aryan race before the separation of the Median and Persian branches. Dr. R. W. Rogers mentions that this is the only name ever borne by an Oriental king which passed into common use among Christians. (R. H. A. P., 35.) According to a tradition preserved by the Greeks Cyrus's name was Agradates.

and forty-four books in Greek) deny his relation to the Median king. According to Ctesias, Astyages was attached to Cyrus and kept him at his court, and while there he conceived the idea of making his native country free from vassalage to Media, and, after secret communications with his father, escaped to Persia and started a campaign of independence.

For three years he carried on warfare. Astyages took the field in the final campaign and won a victory on the Hyrba. The Persians retreated to the heights of Pasargadae. But here they were assailed by their mothers, wives and sisters with bitter taunts, which put them on their mettle; and they assaulted the foe with such irresistible vigour that sixty thousand Medians bit the dust and the rest fled. Astyages was among the fugitives, but was subsequently captured. According to Ctesias, the captured king was well treated by Cyrus until his death.

For the gallant behaviour of the Parsi women of Pasargadae, the Parsi kings made it their custom, whenever they had occasion to go to that place, to bestow a gold piece of the value of 20 Attic drachms on each Parsi woman of the place; and it was in Pasargadae that each king on his accession was formally crowned and received a meal of figs and terebinths with a cup of sour milk.

In the cuneiform tablet known as the Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus, which contains a summary account of the reign of Nabonidus, the victory of Cyrus over Astyages is thus recorded:—"Ishtuvegu gathered [his forces] together and marched against Cyrus, king of Ansan, and.....the army of Ishtuvegu revolted against him and seized him with the hands; to Cyrus they delivered [him]. Cyrus [marched] against the country of Ekbatânâ, the royal city. Silver, gold, goods and chattels [the spoil] of the country of Ekbatânâ they carried away, and he brought them to the land of Ansan."

D. G. Hogarth (H. A. E., 168-9) speaks of these Persians thus:—"The Persians appeared from the Back of Beyond, uncontaminated by Alarodian savagery and unhampered by the theoretic prepossessions and nomadic traditions of Semites. They

were highlanders of unimpaired vigour, and spiritual religious conceptions. Possibly, too, before they issued from the vast Iranian plateau, they were not wholly unversed in the administration of vast territories. In any case their quick intelligence enabled them to profit by models of imperial organization which persisted in the lands they now acquired."

As Bunsen said of Egypt, great nations of the far past spring suddenly on to the stage of history, full-grown. Mrs. Annie Besant (B. H. I. W. F., i) remarks that truer perhaps would be the simile if we said that a curtain rises and we see the nation on the stage full-panoplied, complete, as no nation could be without centuries, perhaps millennia, of civilizations behind it. This is true of the Persians of Cyrus. It is evident that they had a long period of civilization behind them. They must have been considerably advanced in religion and morality also, since they were, as there is reason to believe, followers of the Faith of Zoroaster.

Arrian tells us that these Persians were originally a nation of shepherds and herdsmen, occupying a rude country, such as naturally fosters a hardy race of people capable of supporting both cold and watching and, when needful, of enduring the toils of war.* This Greek historian's allusion to the Persians' capacity for supporting cold and watching reminds one of the fact that every Zoroastrian, among the desirable qualities which he prays for as gifts for himself in his daily invocation to the Fire, asks for sureness of foot, sleeplessness except for a third part of the day or night, quick rising from bed, and watchfulness.

The physiognomy of the Persians was handsome. A high straight forehead, a long slightly aquiline nose, a small head with a thick shock of hair, a determined mouth, a short and curved upper lip, a well rounded chin, and an eye steady and alert, characterized their person. The moustache was always cultivated, and curved in a gentle sweep. Whiskers and a

* Compare Ruskin's observation in sec. 105 of "The Queen of the Air", namely, that all great nations first manifest themselves as a pure and beautiful animal race, with intense energy and imagination they live lives of hardship by choice and by grand instinct of manly discipline: they become fierce and irresistible soldiers: the nation is always its own army, and their king or chief head of government is always their first soldier.

curly beard were worn. The figure was well-formed, with sturdy shoulders and thighs. The carriage was dignified and simple. (R. S. O. M., ch. II ; M. P. E., 459.) Dr. R. N. Sitaram, Vice-Principal of Rajaram College, Kolhapur, describes them as divinely tall and fair and gifted with a clear and analytical head much in the way of the best specimens of modern American intellect. (Art. "The Idealism of Zoroaster", Rajaram College Journal, October 1925.)

The Persian conquest of Media is a memorable event in the annals of the world. By this conquest Cyrus laid the foundation of the Hakhāmni* (Achaemenian) Empire, which was not only one of the most renowned and most extensive ancient empires of the world, but was the first empire in the modern sense of that word known to history.

Cyrus united under one sceptre both the Medes and the Persians. The Parsi or Persian empire was not so much a new empire as a continuation of the Median. It now stretched from the mountains east of Elam to the Halys on the west, and from Ararat on the north to the Persian gulf on the south.

We learn from Herodotus that the Persians were divided into many tribes, the principal of which were the following ten :— (1) Pasargadae ; (2) Maraphii ; (3) Maspil† ; (4) Panthialaei ; (5) Derusiaei ; (6) Germanii (Carmanians) ; (7) Dahi (the name equivalent to the Latin Rustici) ; (8) Mardi (meaning 'The Heroes') ; (9) Dropici ; and (10) Sagartii. The first six tribes engaged in husbandry ; the others were nomads. The first three were the chief tribes, and of them the Pasargadae were the noblest. The Hakhāmni or Achaemenians were the royal family belonging to Pasargadae.

The Aryan Medes at once acknowledged the sovereignty of Cyrus ; but the Scythian element remained unreconciled and held out for some time in the more distant districts. Three years after the capture of Ekbatānā, Cyrus marched from Arbela,

* *Hakhāmanish* is derived from *hakha*, "a friend", and means "possessing friends" (Sayce).

† G. Rawlinson sees in this name the root *aspa*, "a horse", and conjectures that the initial letter represents the Sansk. *meh*, "great", so that the Maspil are "those who have big horses," or possibly "the big horses".

crossed the Tigris and put an end to all vestiges of Median independence. (S. A. E. E., 244.)

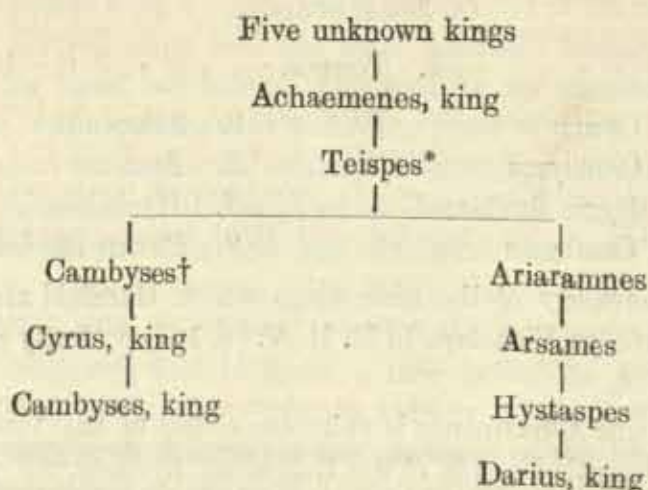
According to Grote (G. H. G., Vol. III, 160-1), all or most of the various tribes and people who occupied in these times the vast space of country between the Indus on the east, the Oxus and Caspian sea to the north, the Persian gulf and the Indian ocean to the south, and the line of Mount Zagros to the west, belonged to the religion of Zoroaster, spoke dialects of the Zend language, and had also something of a common character; and Ed. Meyer (E. B., ed. XI, Vol. 21, 205) asserts that Cyrus owed allegiance to that religion.

Cyrus calls himself, on a brick from Senkereh, 'the son of Cambyeses, the powerful king'. In the Behistûn inscription Darius the Great says: "VIII *Manâtaumâyâ tyaiy paruvam Khshâyathiyâ aha(n)*; *adam navama(h)*; IX *duvitâparanam vayam Khshayâthiyâ amahy*." (Eight [were] my ancestors who formerly kings were; I [am] ninth; in two lines we kings were [lit. are]).

The word *duvitâparanam* Oppert reads as *duvitâtaranam* and says that it means "twice", that is, at two different epochs, once before Achaemenes, the second time beginning with Cyrus, and that Teispes, Ariaramnes, Arsames, and Hystaspes have never been kings. Tolman (T. G. P. I., 118) reads "*duvitâtaranam vayam khshyathiyâ amahyâ*", and translates this as "Individually we were (lit. are) kings"; but in the glossary appended to the same book he gives two doubtful meanings of *duvitâtaranam*, namely, "separately" and "for a long time". Justi says that the word *duvitâtaranam* signifies "from of old", in the Susian translation *samakmar*. Dr. Paul Horn reads the word as *duvitâtranam* and renders it "of old". In his excellent monograph on "Iranica" (D. H. M. V., 560-1), Dr. A. Hoffman Kutschke renders *duvitâparanam* as "twofold", that is, "in two lines". Herzfeld reads the word as *dvitâprnam* and gives "in two lines" as its meaning. King and Thompson assign the same meaning, but they transliterate it *duvitâparnam*.

Oppert contends that Achaemenes was the last king independent of Persia, and, so, the kings after Cyrus declared

that they were his descendants. He takes it as highly probable that Achaemenes was superseded by Phraortes, the Median king (657-635), since it was he who first subdued the Persians. He gives the pedigree of the race as under :—



The theory of Ferd. Justi is that the sons of Teispes founded two lines, one of which exercised sovereignty from the valley of Murghâb over the districts of Pârs and Kermân, the other took to itself the kingdom of Sûsâ where King Ummanuldash, 640 B.C., had exchanged for voluntary exile his shadow-kingdom built on the ruins of the territory that had been devastated by Ashurbanipal in a great war. (Justi's monograph "The Sovereignty of the Persians", I. I. S., 223-4.)

Dr. Augustus Ahl (A. O. P. H., 18ff) offers some useful comments. He points out that the word *xsāthiya*, though commonly understood to mean "king", may also be rendered "royal", "princely". He accepts Tolman's interpretation of *duvitātaranam* "long aforetime" as giving good sense, and, at the same time, etymologically correct. To name this house after Achaemenes and yet not consider him the first king is, he points out, nothing unusual, but simply analogous to referring to the house of David as the house of "Jesse", or in modern times speaking of the house of "Bourbon" in France and of

* Teispes (O.P. Chishpaish) is probably from *chish*, hair, and *pa*, to protect or nourish, and signifies "hair-nourishing" or "long haired". (Sir H. Rawlinson.)

† Cambyesa (O.P. Kabujiya) is thought to be from Sanak. *kab*, to praise, and *uji*, a speaker, and its signification, according to this view, is "a bard". (Sir H. Rawlinson.)

"Hohenzollern" in Germany though neither country ever had a king "Bourbon" or "Hohenzollern." The genealogical order, then, in agreement with this interpretation, Ahl gives as under:—

O. ACHAEMENES.

1. Teispes.

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 2. Cyrus | 3. Ariaramnes |
| 4. Cambyses | 5. Arsames |
| 6. Cyrus the Great | 7. Hystaspes |
| 8. Cambyses | 9. Darius the Great |

The genealogy of the nine kings which Herzfeld gives in his monograph on Vishtâspa in *M. M. V.* (p. 187) perfectly agrees with Ahl's list.

The name Achaemenes is unknown either in the *Vendidad* or in the romantic legends of the Kaiyânian dynasty, for which Sir H. Rawlinson assigns the reason that this personage lived after the completion of the *Vendidad*, but so long before the invention of the romances that his name was forgotten. Donald A. Mackenzie, the author of "*Myths of Babylonia and Assyria*", designates Achaemenes as a semi-mythical Persian patriarch who resembled the Aryo-Indian Manû and the German Mannus. The view of Dr. R. Campbell Thompson (*C. A. H.*, Vol. III, 219) is that about the middle of the seventh century, after Ashurbanipal had quelled the Elamites, Achaemenes founded the Royal Persian line which was to produce the renowned monarch Cyrus the Great and Darius, and his son Chispis (Teispes), the first Persian to be called king of Anshan, evidently from his title absorbed the kingdom of Elam, whither the Persian royal family moved, and from him sprang the double line of descent through his two sons Cyrus I and Ariyâramna (Ariaramnes).

Cyrus adopted the title of King of the Persians (B.C. 547). The inhabitants of Persis proper were considered the ruling people of the empire, and, therefore, in the organization of Darius the Great were immune from taxes, but paid voluntary contributions. Pasargadae became the royal capital and Cyrus built there a palace and a treasury. Even when the Persian monarchy grew into a mighty and wideflung empire, it continued to be the capital,

along with three more capitals which were found necessary to be established, and, as already mentioned, it was at Pasargadae that each succeeding Parsi king came to be crowned.

Croesus, King of Lydia, and brother-in-law of Astyages, possessed a powerful army and had such countless treasures at Sardis that his name has become a by-word for an immensely wealthy person. He took alarm at the rising power of Cyrus, and thought it prudent to increase his military strength by contracting alliances with Amasis, the rich and powerful Pharaoh of Egypt, Nabonidus, the Babylonian king, and the Spartans, who were the greatest military people of Greece. His design was to invade, in coalition with these allies, Cappadocia, the Persian province nearest to his own dominions, and to strike a blow before the Persians could consolidate their power. But the military genius and dash of the Parsi king were superior to the prudence of the king of Lydia. He precipitated an attack on Lydia before Croesus could be joined by his allies. A sanguinary battle took place at Thymbra. Although at that time there was no braver or more warlike people than the Lydians, the Persians proved their superiors and won a great victory. Croesus threw himself into the citadel of Sardis, which was besieged and taken by escalade. The powerful empire of Lydia fell (B.C. 546), and at a bound the Parsi empire stretched as far as the Mediterranean.

From two oracles whom he had consulted Croesus had received the response that if he should send an army against the Persians, he would destroy a great empire. This prophecy was fulfilled, but not in the sense in which Croesus had understood it. The great empire which got destroyed was his own. Grundy, the author of "The Great Persian War", describes the sudden and complete collapse of Lydia, not in the decadence of age, but at the very height of its young and vigorous life, as a catastrophe unparalleled in the history of the world, and, in the opinion of General Sir Percy Sykes, the daring decision of Cyrus to quit Media and Persia for a long period, to march one thousand miles mainly across lands which were either outlying provinces of Babylon or independent, and then to surprise a powerful military state, marks out Cyrus as indeed worthy of the title "Great".

The Persian conquest of the powerful phil-Hellenic state of Lydia staggered the Greeks, who considered it a great public calamity.

The story of Herodotus that Cyrus ordered Croesus and fourteen Lydian youths to be burnt alive on a pyre is not worthy of belief. This Persian king, whom the historians describe as a humane and sensible monarch, was incapable of such barbarity. That Croesus sat on a burning pyre is an undeniable fact. In the Louvre at Paris there is a vase of Attic work of about B.C. 500 representing him sitting on a pyre, with a laurel crown on the head and a sceptre in the left hand, and pouring out a libation from a cup held in the right hand. But this pyre was erected by Croesus himself and he mounted it of his own free will, either with the object of offering himself as a sacrifice to Apollo in order to propitiate that god and secure his favour for his people, or in order to save himself from being taken captive by the enemy. The latter hypothesis receives confirmation from a poem of Bacchylides wherein it is related that when the day of doom surprised the king "he would not abide to endure the bitterness of bondage, but he raised a pyre before the palace court and sat him up thereon with his wife and his weeping daughters. He bade the slippered thrall kindle the timber building; the maidens screamed and stretched their arms to their mother. But as the might of the fire was spreading through the wood, Zeus set a sable cloud above it and quenched the flame." (B. H. G., 228-9.)

Several such instances of self-immolation are known to history. According to I Kings, XVI, 18, Zimri, King of Israel, when he saw that his city was taken, went into the king's house and burnt it over him with fire and died. When the soldiers of Ashurbanipal were entering in triumph the gates of Babylon, Shamash shumunkia, the Babylonian king, shut himself up in his palace and setting fire to it perished in the flames with all his family, slaves, and treasures (B.C. 647). Sin-shar-ishkun (Saracus), the last of the Assyrian monarchs, sacrificed himself with his family on a funeral pile, on defeat by the Median Cyaxares (B.C. 606). In order that the battle of Himera may end in favour of Carthage, Hamilcar offered himself as a sacrifice on a burning altar (B.C. 480).

The celebrated Hannibal took poison, which he had long carried about with him in a ring, to avoid being captured alive by his enemies (B.C. 183).

Croesus was saved from the funeral pile, and received into special favour by Cyrus, whose intimate friend and confidential councillor he soon became. The city of Barene, in the proximity of Ekbatānā, was assigned for his maintenance.

Cyrus appointed one of his officers, Tabalos, to be governor of Sardis, and a Lydian, named Pactyas, to transport the riches and treasures of Croesus to Ekbatānā. The latter turned traitor and heading a revolt besieged Tabalos. Cyrus despatched one of his Median captains, Mazares, to the succour of Tabalos, and the rebellion was soon suppressed.

The fall of Lydia was the end of all buffers between the Orient and Greece. East and West were now in direct contact, and, as Hogarth observes (H. A. E., 166), the omens boded ill to the West.

The Persian king conquered Phrygia; and Mysia, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia acknowledged his sovereignty. One by one all the Ionian, Aeolian, and Dorian colonies fell before his generals.

The people of Phocia and Teos abandoned their cities and sailed off westwards. The Phocians* took a vow never to return until a bar of iron which they sank in the sea should rise and float. They founded the city of Massalia (Marseilles). The Teans sailed north to recolonize Abdera on the Thracian coast. Among these was the poet Anacreon.

Pressed into their capital Xanthus, the Lycians built a great pile of fire and burnt their women and children and their valuables, and then made a sally on the Persians and fought until they were slain to a man. Caunus fell into the hands of Harpagus, its inhabitants having in the main followed the example of the Lycians.

The philosopher and statesman Thales of Miletus had advised

* Bury mentions that the people of Phocia, or the greater part of them, sailed to Corsica, where their own settlement of Alalia received them. Grunby also states that the mass of these people went into voluntary exile in Corsica in the farthest west.

the Ionians that they should form into a confederation, to be governed by a congress which should meet at Teos, the several cities retaining their own laws and internal independence, but being united for military purposes into a single community. It is the opinion of Rawlinson (R. A. M., Vol. IV, 367) that if this advice had been adopted and the loose Ionic Amphictyony, which in reality left each state in the hour of danger to its own resources, had been superseded by a true federal union, and the combined efforts of the thirteen Ionian communities had been directed to a steady resistance of Persian aggression and a determined maintenance of their own independence, Mazares and Harpagus, the commanders of the Persian forces, would certainly have been baffled, and the great king himself would probably have been called off from his eastern conquests to undertake in person a task which after all he might have failed to accomplish.

Whilst his generals were accomplishing their conquest of the Greek colonies, Cyrus marched towards Ekbatânâ with the object of extending the boundaries of Media further to the north.

At that time there were two powerful tribes in Central Asia, the Bactrians and the Sakae. Balkh, the Bactrian capital, is mentioned in the Avesta as "*Bâkhdhim Srirâm érédhvo drafashâm*" ("Balkh the beautiful city with high-flying banners"). In the cuneiform inscriptions it is mentioned as Bâkhtri. According to Strabo and Apollodorus, the Bactrians resembled the Persians in appearance and their language differed but little from the Persian tongue. This is not surprising considering that during the rule of the Kaiyânian kings of Iran, Balkh was the royal capital, as it was also the scene of the earlier teachings of Zoroaster. The Sakae were a war-like equestrian people, probably of Mongol origin, who dwelt either on the Pamir Steppe or on the high plain of Chinese Tartary and were renowned for their bravery and wealth.*

The Bactrians were among the bravest of the nations of the east. They at first offered vigorous resistance to Cyrus, but on learning that he had married a daughter of Astyages, they

* Herodotus relates that the Persians distinguished "all the Scythians", i.e., all the northern nomads as Sakae. (E. B., ed. XI, Vol. 21, 203.)

abandoned resistance and accepted him as the legitimate successor of the last Median sovereign.

Amorges, the king of the Sakae, took the field against Cyrus with an army of half a million, of which about half the number were amazons. These brave people were obliged to yield to the Persian king.

Hyrcania, Chorasmia, Parthia, Sogdiana, Areia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, and Gandaria were successively conquered.

Prior to his attack on the powerful Semite Empire of Babylon* Cyrus subdued the Phrygians and the Cappadocians and imposed his sovereignty on Arabia. (D. N. B., 163ff.)

Owing to climatic conditions as well as to artificial irrigation, Babylonia was an exceedingly fertile country. It was a land of corn and wine, a land of oil, olive and honey. It was a region so rich that empire came to it earlier and stayed later than the other West Asian lands which ever enjoyed it at all. (H. A. E., 7.) Its capital Babylon was, in the words of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, the city that dwelt upon many waters, abundant in treasure.

After its total annihilation by Sennacherib, Babylon was rebuilt by command of his successor Esar-haddon. Nebuchadrezzar II,† son of Nabopolassar, by far the greatest of the Babylonian kings, renovated it and made it the handsomest and best fortified town of the East. It had a circumference of 480 stadia or nearly sixty miles. Its fortifications consisted of a double wall, pierced by a hundred gates of bronze. The outer wall was eighty-seven feet thick and three hundred and fifty feet high. The inner wall was less thick but equally strong. Beyond the outer wall on the east of the city Nebuchadrezzar II erected a new fortification consisting of a "mountain high" wall and an outlying ditch. The twenty-five main streets were perfectly square, and each crossed the city from gate to gate, a distance of fifteen miles.

The Hanging Gardens, one of the Seven Wonders of the

* Babylon is the Greek form of Babel or Bab-ili, i.e., the Gate of the God. It was also known as Din-Tir or Tin-Tir, i.e., the House of the Jungle.

† The original name is Nebo-kudurri-usur, which means "May Nebo protect the crown". (R. P., Vol. V, 112).

World, were constructed by Nebuchadrezzar II within the precincts of his splendid palace, called "The Admiration of Mankind," to gratify his Median consort, Amytis (Amyhia), who was desirous of having scenery at Babylon resembling that of her native country.

The first Babylonian empire was founded about twenty-one centuries before the Christian era. Babylonia was divided into Accad in the north, and Sumer or Shinar in the south. From the ancient documents and inscriptions which have been unearthed, the beginnings of Sumerian history have been traced as far back as B.C. 6000 or even 8000. By his recent archaeological researches Baron Max von Oppenheim has discovered that the capital of that north-west land of Mesopotamia known to Babylonian records as Subartu was in Tell Halaf, a hill in the upper Mesopotamia head-waters of the Khabur region. He adduces sound reasons for holding that the Sumerians did not immigrate into Upper Mesopotamia, but were settled in this very region since the earliest times, and in fact are the Subaraeans. (T. I., 16-6-33, p. 7.)

The Sumerians had attained a high level of culture. They were, after long years, overrun by the Semite invaders, nomadic people of Arabic origin. From the fusion of Sumerians and Semites rose the Babylonians and Assyrians.

At a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, on 9th April 1866, Mr. Edward Thomas, an authority on Oriental numismatics, gave out, as the result of his palaeographical investigations, that the Aryans invented no alphabet of their own for their special form of human speech, but were, in all their migrations indebted to the nationality amid whom they settled for their instruction in the science of writing; thus the Persian cuneiform owed its origin to the Assyrian, and the Assyrian cuneiform emanated from an antecedent Turanian symbolic character; the Pahlavi was the offspring of later and already modified Phoenician letters; and the Zend was elaborated out of the limited elements of the Pahlavi writing. But it has been the happy lot of a Parsi scholar, Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara, M.A., as an outcome of his patient study of the ancient Hieratic letters of the Egyptians and their names as preserved by them, to make the startling

discovery that the names suggested Avestan words which were the names of the objects whose pictures those letters represented respectively, and further that the initial sounds of the Avestan words represented the values of the letters which those pictures stood for respectively. A proof that this discovery is true is the fact of those Avestan letters that are not found in the Egyptian system also having names and forms fitting in wonderfully in this original plan of letter formation. The ancient Hieratic letters are supposed to be ten thousand years old, and they are only corrupted forms of the original Avestan letters which more faithfully preserved the primary shapes. So apparently the Avestan letters are older by several millenniums. How old indeed, asks Mr. Bulsara, must then be the Avestan civilization! By a flash of the brightest genius, for it could be nothing less, the ideal alphabet was invented, before all known records of history, in the cradle of the gifted Iranian people, and these have handed it down to us as preserved in the Avestan writings. Pure alphabetic writing must be claimed as first invented by Iranian genius and disseminated in the whole ancient world through its enterprise.*

Cyrus opened his campaign against Babylonia in the seventeenth year of the reign of its last king, Nabu Nahid (Nabonidus).

It is recorded in Chapter V of the Book of Daniel that the countenance of the king of Babylon was changed and his thoughts troubled him when, as he was feasting and drinking with a thousand of his lords and his wives and attendants, he beheld emblazoned on the wall of his banqueting-room the mysterious words "mene, mene, tekel, upharsin". Daniel, who was one of the captives from Judah, was summoned and asked by the king to interpret these mysterious words. So Daniel informed him that they foretold the approaching downfall of his kingdom at the hands of the Medes and Persians.

At Opis, which lay on the Tigris to the north of Babylon, Bel-shar-usur (Belshazzar), the son of Nabu Nahid and the commander-in-chief of his army, sustained a heavy defeat

* S. J. Bulsara's essay, "The Origin of the Alphabet" in *M. M. V.*, and in *I. L. Q.* of July 1932.

(B.C. 539). It was a hard-fought battle, which raged for a number of days.

Cyrus then divided his army into two corps. At the head of one he appeared before the walls of Sippar, near the Euphrates, which threw open its gates to the invader. With the other corps Ugbaru (Gobryas), governor of Gutium, advanced upon Babylon, which yielded without a blow. Seventeen days after the military occupation of Babylon by Ugbaru, Cyrus himself made his triumphant entry into that city, which received no harm from the Persians. The temples were guarded against any profanation, and pillaging was forbidden.

The Jews, exiles from Judah and other parts, as well as the Babylonians themselves, a large part of whom were discontented with the heresies of Nabonidus, saw in Cyrus God's chosen deliverer. He "took the hands" of Merodach at E-Sagilla, and was proclaimed "King of the World, King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of the Four Quarters." (B.C. 538.)

According to Babylonian belief, no king could be regarded as the lord of the land until he had "taken the hands" of Bel-Merodach. If the god was satisfied with the king he sent blessings to the land; if he was angry he sent calamities.

By consummating this ancient rite, Cyrus immensely gratified his new subjects, and at the same time made it clear that he had come not as a conqueror, but as a friend and deliverer, and had no intention of imposing on them the religion of his own race.

The capture of Babylon by Cyrus and his accession to the rulership of an extensive kingdom are recorded in a cuneiform inscription known as the Cylinder of Cyrus now in the British Museum. Therein Cyrus announced, "When I had entered into the midst of Babylon peacefully I took the seat of sovereignty in the palace of princes amidst rejoicings and festal shouts."

The conqueror guaranteed life and property to all the inhabitants and restored to the respective Babylonian towns their gods which Nabonidus had removed to Babylon. The fact of this restoration is recorded thus in the Cylinder just mentioned:—
"In wrath because he (Nabu-Nahid) brought them (*i.e.*, the gods of Ur, Uruk and Eridu) to the Shu-Anna (Babylon), Merodach.....

showed compassion upon all the lands together.....Yea, He sought out an upright prince, after His own heart, whom He took by the hand, Cyrus, king of the city of Anshan ; He named his name ; to the kingdom of the whole world He called him by name." Sykes (S. H. P., Vol. I. 151) appropriately draws attention to the almost identical language used in Isaiah, ch. XLV, as of considerable interest for its parallelism to this quotation from the Cylinder. It runs : "Thus saith the Lord to His anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him ... I have even called thee by thy name."

By his conquest of the ancient and mighty empire of Babylonia, Cyrus has established his reputation as one of the greatest generals of all times ; and by his magnanimous attitude towards its people and its religious institutions and customs he has proved the nobility of his disposition and the greatness of his political foresight.

With every careful attention to what he says, Dr. Lawrence H. Mills asserts that the capture and occupation of Babylon with its provinces by the Parsi monarch Cyrus was not only a mighty event in the history of politics and war, which no one disputes, but its results, both immediate in restoring the Jewish nation, and later in protecting and influencing its worship, were well-nigh incalculable. Without it, he properly asks, where would the post-exilic, pre-Christian creed would have been, where the Christian, where the Mûhammadian ? The same savant argues that the Avesta of the Parsis in its sister schemes and in its sources, if our careful reasoning has not been utterly at fault, conferred upon the great Christian Church of all ages the utmost conceivable benefit, since but for its priestly king, the great Restorer Cyrus, who was animated by Avesta lore, or by its sources directly or indirectly, Jesus Christ would not have been born in Bethlehem, nor would he have agonised in Gethsemane, nor met his death on Golgotha. He asserts that it should be regarded as a most distinguished privilege of Parsiism that it helped on, if it did not give the very key-note to some of the sublimest passages in religious literature which the earth has ever seen. He makes this assertion bearing in mind the books of Job, Isaiah and Daniel, the Apocalypse, and

the Drama of the Crucifixion with its antecedents, its main action, and its close. (M. Z. P. A. L., 438-9.)

Susiana, Palestine,* Syria and other fiefs of the Babylonian empire hastened to proffer their allegiance to the Parsi victor and the Syennesis† of Cilicia became his tributary vassal.

Persia was now the undisputed mistress of Western Asia. A territory of 250,000 square miles was added to her domains and her empire now extended from the Aegean and Mediterranean seas on the west to the borders of India on the east.

This was a momentous triumph of the Aryans over the Semites, and dealt a severe blow to that idol-worship which had flourished unchecked for untold ages in the countries between the Mediterranean sea and the Zagros mountains. The Persian empire, established by this eminent Parsi conqueror, Cyrus, was the first great Aryan monarchy known to history. Prof. Raymond Philip Douglas (D. N. B., 167) records, with evident pride, that the triumph of Persia in 539 B.C. marks the turning-point in favour of Aryan leadership, a directing force which has maintained itself at the forefront of civilization to the present day.

The occupation of Babylonia by Cyrus was far from being a source of unhappiness or discontentment to the people of that country. But the people who rejoiced most at this event were the Jews. Though they were Semites like the Babylonians they hailed the Persians as deliverers and monotheists.

Nebuchadrezzar II‡ had laid seige to Jerusalem, conquered that holy land, brought desolation to it, murdered the chief priest and about sixty other men of consequence, and deported the greater part of the people to Babylon. Having slain the sons of Zedekiah, king of Judah, before their father's eyes, he had put out the latter's eyes and carried him away in chains to Babylon (B.C. 588), where he was confined till the day of his death. A scanty remnant of the inhabitants, the poor of the land, were left to be vine-dressers and husbandmen.

* The name in Greek (παλαιστίνη) means "the country of the Philistines".

† This is not an ordinary personal name, but a royal title in Cilicia. (D. N. B., 86.)

‡ According to Persian writers Nebuchadrezzar was a satrap of the Peshadian kings. (See p. 141 *supra*.)

In their captivity the Jews had remained constant in their affection for their fatherland and yearned and pined for it, as Psalm CXXXVII and other lamentations of theirs evince. Houston Stuart Chamberlain (*C. F. N. C.*, Vol. I, 106), however, in contrasting the love of home that was a fundamental trait of the old Roman character with the verbose love of the Jews, observes: "We know how very pathetically the Jews sing of the 'Babylonian captivity,' but, when sent full-handed by the magnanimous Cyrus, prefer to submit to fines and force only the poorest to return, rather than leave the foreign land where they were so prosperous."

Cyrus was singularly free from fanatical prejudices and showed much sympathy towards the Jews, who also were worshippers of one God. In the very first year of his enthronement in Babylon, he promulgated an order, saying, "Thus saith Cyrus, King of Persia. The Lord God of Heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth and He hath charged me to build Him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all His people? His God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel, (He is the God), which is in Jerusalem, and whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the free will offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem." (*Ezra*, Ch. I, 2-4.)

Huart (*H. A. P. C.*, 42-3) calls this edict a famous land-mark in the history of mankind, and describes Cyrus as beyond dispute one of the greatest figures in history. It is to be regretted that the eminent Iranist scholar Prof. Nöldeke should have been so far carried away by pre-conceived bias as to remark, in relating the story of the supposed order of Cyrus to burn Croesus alive, in Section I of the chapter on Medo-Persian Empire in *E. B.*, ed. IX, Vol. XVIII, that it is by no means inconceivable that Cyrus, whom we must picture to ourselves, not as the chivalrous and sentimental hero of Xenophon, but as a savage conqueror, should have destined such a punishment for a vanquished foe, against whom he may personally have been especially embittered. To call Cyrus a savage conqueror is nothing short

of a calumination of this great and good king, whom the Jews distinguished as the Lord's Anointed; and this shows that even for men of great learning it is difficult to shake off the prejudice of centuries.

In B.C. 538 the first party of the exiled Jews to the number of 42,360,* attended by 7,337 servants and maids, went up out of the captivity in Babylon and returned to Jerusalem and Judah under Sheshbazzar, a Davidic prince, and Josadak, the high priest. They set to work at the end of eleven months to rebuild the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem. Cyrus ordered his treasurer Mithredath to deliver the five thousand and four hundred gold and silver vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadrezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, to Sheshbazzar whom he had made governor. The expenses of rebuilding the temple were paid by the king.

It is interesting to note that according to the historian Berossus (c. 250 B.C.), who was a priest of the temple of Bel at Babylon, Babylon had been taken in B.C. 2458 and ruled over by a foreign invader of the name of Zoroaster, who was succeeded by seven other kings of the same name, the total period of the rule of this dynasty being 234 years. Evidently it was an Iranian dynasty.

The death of Cyrus (B.C. 529 according to Sayce and Ross; 530 according to Jackson) is wrapped in mystery. Several different stories of it were current in the time of Herodotus. The one which he considers the most worthy of credit is that he was killed in a battle with Tomyris,† the Queen of the Massagetæ,‡ a powerful tribe of the Scythians whose rule extended over a vast geographical area. According to Ctesias, Cyrus was mortally wounded by an Indian in an engagement when the Indians were fighting on the

* Prof. Rogers (R. H. A. P., 64) does not accept this figure, which Ezra and Nehemiah have given, as correct, because it cannot be reconciled with the detailed lists which precede the summary, and thinks the number is not likely to have been so great and was certainly much smaller than the entire number of those who had been in Babylonia. Josephus (J. A. J., Book XI, ch. I) gives the figure 42,462.

† This name reminds us of the name of the ruthless conqueror Timur and is etymologically allied. (Sir J. C. Coyajee's art. "The Pax Achaemenica", J. C. M. V., 55.)

‡ According to the editor of the variorum edition of G. D. F. R. E., (Vol. IV, 365-6), these people were a section of the great Gothic race.

side of the Derbicae, a savage tribe that dwelt near the middle or upper Oxus, and he died three days afterwards and his body was conveyed to Persia by one of his sons. Berossus' account is that Cyrus fell fighting with the Dahae of Parthia. Ctesias mentions, in his *Persica*, that Cambyzes sent the corpse of his father to Persia for burial and carried out the other arrangements that his father had made. Xenophon, however, states that Cyrus had a peaceful end after his return to his native land from his seventh triumphant expedition at an advanced age.

In the midst of the plain of Murghâb,* there stands well



Cyrus's Sepulchre.

preserved to this day a stately sepulchre built on a high marble-like lime-stone substructure which rises in seven tiers of huge stone steps, some eighteen feet high. This is generally believed to be the sepulchre of Cyrus the Great. On one iso-

lated pilaster there is the famous winged figure carved in more than life-size, which has generally been regarded as a portrait of this great king. A cuneiform inscription reads:—*Adam Kuruš Xšâyathiya Hazâmanîsiya* ("I [am] Cyrus the King, the Achaemenid"). As the name of the father is not given, there is a considerable difference of opinion as to whether the sepulchre is that of Cyrus the Great or of some later Cyrus.

Great weight must be given to the emphatic pronouncement of the eminent scholar and traveller in Persia, A. V. W. Jackson, who states that after examination, on three different occasions, both of the site and the building itself, he has become convinced that no doubt should be entertained on the subject, and we should accept the generally current view that it is the authentic tomb of the founder of the Achaemenian dynasty.

* The archaeological researches of Herzfeld have resulted in the identification of the ruins of Mashhad-i-Murghâb as the remains of Pasargadae, the City of Cyrus the Great.]

After a thorough review of the whole case Prof. Rogers (R. H. A. P., 69) is more than ever convinced that there is no adequate reason for doubting that the tomb is really that of Cyrus the Great.

Twice this monument was visited by Sir Percy Sykes, and on each occasion he felt how great was his privilege in seeing the actual tomb of "Cyrus, the King of the World, the Great King." He doubts, indeed, whether there is any single monument which for historical interest to "us Aryans" can surpass the tomb of the founder of the Persian empire, who was buried some 2460 years ago. (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 180.) Moved by similar sentiments, Madame Zanaide A. Ragozin, in her book "Media, Babylonia and Persia," speaks of Cyrus as the first historically approved great and good man of our own race, the Aryan or Indo-European.

The Hebrew prophets named Cyrus Mashiach or the Anointed of the Lord God. His enemy Croesus, whom he conquered, he made his special favourite and an honoured companion and bestowed on him the governorship of Bærene. Another vanquished enemy, Nabu Nahid, King of Babylon, was given by him the satrapy of Carmaniā. He paid good heed to the religious susceptibilities of his conquered subjects. We have seen that he had helped the Israelites most substantially in the re-establishment of their temple in Jerusalem; and an inscription on a baked brick discovered by Loftus in Babylon in 1850 and now in the British Museum shows that he had also helped the Babylonians in re-erecting their temples of Betsāgat and Betziddā. Even that biased writer Theodor Nöldeke (E. B., ed. IX, Vol. XVIII, 567) is obliged to admit that if one could accept without question the judgment of the Persians as recorded by Herodotus, expanded by Xenophon, and repeated by later writers (from Plato downwards), Cyrus must have been the most perfect model of a ruler. Dr. Ferd. Justi says in praise of him that to compare him with a Napoleon or Chengizkhān is as lacking in insight as it is in appropriateness, for although for years he never descended from his chariot of war, his conquering activity did not brutalize him, but when he had subjected his opponent he chivalrously extended to him the hand of friendship; and this generous action Justi emphatically

attributes to the influence of "the religion of Light" which had sprung out of the Iranian mind. (I. I. S., 232.)

Cyrus had manly beauty, and was as generous and kindly as he was brave. He looked upon liberality as a virtue truly royal, nor did he think there was anything great or valuable in riches, but the pleasure of distributing it to others. As strategist and commander he greatly distinguished himself. At the time of battle he took his place with his soldiers and used personally to exhort them to courage, saying, "I am with you and will fight side by side with you".

He had a keen sense of humour. When the Ionian and Aeolian Greeks, who had refused his overtures to join him in his attack on Croesus, came soon after Sardis had fallen to offer their allegiance to him, he replied, "A fisherman wished the fish to dance for him, so he played on the pipe; but the fish kept still. Then he took his net and enclosing a great draught of fishes drew them ashore, whereupon they all began to leap and dance. But the fisherman said, 'O cease your dancing now, since you would not dance when I piped to you.'" When, in the hour of their need, the Greek colonies sent envoys to Sparta to plead for assistance, Sparta refused any help, but despatched to Sardis an ambassador of the name of Lacrines, who arrogantly called upon the great king to desist offering molestation to any city on Greek territory under pain of incurring the hostility of Sparta. The keen-witted king told Lacrines to convey to Sparta his reply that if he kept his health the Lacedaemonians should not have the misfortunes of the Ionians to talk of, but their own.

Cyrus and his successors used to send for their drinking water from the river Choaspes (Āb-Karkha), near Sûsâ. Wherever they travelled they were attended by mule-driven cars, in which this water ready boiled for use and stored in flagons of silver was taken with them from place to place. Evidently these ancient Parsi monarchs knew the hygienic benefit of boiling drinking water.

From three inscriptions found among the clay documents discovered at Babylon by Mr. Rassam, Dr. A. H. Sayce (S. A. E. E., 246) infers that Cyrus, hitherto supposed to be a Persian and a Zoroastrian monotheist, was an Elamite and a polytheist.

His theory is that in all probability the ruler of Western Elam had always been a polytheist and that Zoroastrianism was first made the state religion by Darius Hystaspes, who represented a more genuinely Aryan stock than the collateral family of Cyrus. We can by no means accept this view. Ezra records (ch. VI) that Darius had decreed that the elders of the Jews should be paid from the royal treasury the requisite cost that "they may offer sacrifices of sweet savours unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and of his sons." From this no historian has inferred that Darius was a follower of Judaism. The general consensus of opinion is that Darius was a Persian and a Zoroastrian. In his inscriptions he calls himself an Aryan and a Persian, and evidently regarded as such his predecessors Cyrus and Cambyses, whom he distinctly recognises as members of his family. We hold with Th. Nöldeke (*E. B.*, ed. IX, Vol. XVIII, 566), that Cyrus was no more an adherent of the Babylonian religion, because the priests said he was, than Cambyses and the Roman emperors were worshippers of the Egyptian gods, because Egyptian monuments represent them as doing reverence to the gods exactly in the style of Egyptian kings. That Cyrus did not put down the Babylonian worship, and restored to their original shrines the images which Nabo Nidus had removed from various towns and centred in Babylon, is but a remarkable proof of the magnanimity, tolerant disposition and enlightened vision of this eminent Parsi monarch.

It is a pleasure to note in this connection the view set forth by Rev. Dr. L. H. Mills (*M. Z. P. A. L.*, 357-8), in allusion to Darius's expressions of adoration, thankfulness, and prayer to Ahûrâ Mazdâ, so notable in his inscriptions, that if these sentences are the natural and well-nigh irrepressible expression of one who was keenly actuated by personal emotional susceptibilities as also by a persuasion of the interior and fundamental truth of the Faith which he had always known, and if Cyrus at all approached his successor in these particulars, and we may regard this as highly probable from the facts, then we may also infer that the whole dynasty was in a sense religious, at least presumably as the representative of the State Religion, and at times sincerely

and personally so; and if this be the fact, then the statements of Ezra at least with regard to Cyrus are fully justified when he hazards the expression that his "spirit was stirred by the Lord".

Cyrus and his successors were lovers of art. It is the deliberate and emphatic opinion of the famous author and art critic John Ruskin (R. C. W. O., secs. 54, 66) that good architecture is essentially religious—the production of a faithful and virtuous, not of an infidel and corrupted people, that all good architecture is the expression of national life and character, and is produced by a prevalent and eager national taste, or desire for duty, and that good taste is essentially a moral quality. The first historical period of Persian art begins with Cyrus and his immediate successors, who erected at Persepolis, Sûsâ and Ekbatânâ a series of palaces on a lordly scale such as, in the opinion of no less an authority than Arthur Upham Pope, have scarcely been excelled in the 2500 years since they were begun. Adorned with rich polychrome decoration in tiles, metals and textiles, to say nothing of sculptured reliefs of high quality, these palaces by virtue of their size, their lucid planning and their beautiful workmanship must always be counted, according to the judgment of this authority, among the masterpieces of architecture.



Ruins of the palace of Darius the Great at Persepolis.

The great platform of Persepolis, popularly known as Takht-i-Jamshid ("Jamshid's throne") and Chehel-minâr ("Forty columns"), lies at the base of a rocky row of hills, called Kâh-i-

Rahmat ("Mountain of Mercy"), which rises to the east. It is the foundation upon which stood the palaces of Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes and their successors. There is a series of three tombs hewn in the hill behind the platform, the last being an unfinished one, cut in a rock more than half a mile further to the south and probably commenced by Darius Codomannus, the last of the Achaemenian emperors. Prof. Jackson (J. P. P., 319) expresses in the following touching words the sentiments which stirred his breast as he looked upon these relics of the past at his visit to the locality:—"As we gaze upon this tomb and the others and then cast our eyes toward the ruins of Persepolis we can but think with a heart-pang of Omar Khayyâm's lines:—

They say the lion and the lizard keep

The courts where Jamshid gloried and drank deep.

Here stood the palaces of Darius, there the throne-room of Artaxerxes, yonder the pillared halls of Xerxes, and not far distant the tombs of the kings. But all are in ruins; all are relics of glory past. Yet who knows? Out of the shadow of bygone days, and of the dust of departed ages, out of the ashes of the Simurgh's fire, out of the fragments of shattered Iran, there may arise one whose master-hand will restore the glory of the ancient Persian kingdom, illumine again the pages of Persia's chronicles, recall what was noblest in the Parthian rule and Sâsânian empire, and make splendid once more the land and people of the Lion and the Sun."

Here, on this spot, which so strongly stirs the soul and vividly rekindles the memories of the Iran that was, on 23rd June 1924, very probably for the first time after the long lapse of thirteen centuries from the Arab conquest, the long silent echoes were awakened by the ancient Zoroastrian hymns sung and Jashan ceremony performed by a party of devout Parsi travellers from Bombay, led by the venerable Irano-phil Parsi merchant Mr. Pestanji Dorabji Marker, so well known for his many quiet but substantial charities in Persia and elsewhere.

After digging two years into the black line soil of Persepolis the University of Chicago Archaeologists have uncovered, in 1933, two rich chapters in the story of man's rise from savagery. Under

twenty-six feet of rubbish and masonry from the Persepolis palaces which were fired by Alexander the Great in a drunken debauch, a wealth of magnificent sculpture has been uncovered dating back to Cyrus, which is held as containing the earliest specimens of art ever discovered in Asia. Within two miles of this find there has been unearthed a primitive stone-age village about 5000 years old in a state of preservation said to surpass previous discoveries of the period. (L. W. I. 12-3-33, p. 25.)

Herodotus gives twenty-nine years as the duration of Cyrus's reign. Ctesias, who is followed by Dinor and Trogus Pompeius, gives thirty years.

II. CAMBYSES.

Cyrus left two sons, Kabujiya (Cambyses)* and Bardya (Smerdis)†, by Cassandane, daughter of the Achaemenid Pharnaspes, and three daughters, Atossa, Roxana and Artystone. To Cambyses he had bequeathed the whole empire, exclusive of the Eastern provinces, Bactria, Chorasmia, Parthia, and Carmania, which he had assigned to Smerdis. Cambyses got Smerdis secretly murdered and kept the fact concealed from the people. He then assumed the government of the entire realm.

The subjugation of Phoenicia, Cilicia, and Cyprus occupied Cambyses during the first four years of his rule. Cyprus was a dependency of Egypt and possessed considerable naval strength. Its conquest was a well-thought preliminary to the conquest of Egypt itself.

Egypt was the principal highway of commerce between Europe and India. Cyrus, enraged against King Amasis II because he had combined against him with Croesus, had decided to conquer it, but before he could put his design into execution he had died. Cambyses undertook, in the fifth year of his reign, to carry out his father's design.

* Cambyses (O.P. Kabujiya) is thought to be from *kab*, to praise, and *uji*, a speaker, and its significance according to this is "a bard" (H. Rawlinson). The μ in the Καμβύσης arises from the difficulty which the Greeks have always experienced in expressing the sound of a real B. Hence we have Smerdis and Merdis for Bardiya, Megabyzus, Megastates, Megastides, for Bagabakhshu, Bagadaushta, Bagachitra, etc. (G. Rawlinson).

† The *s* whether at the beginning or end of Persian names is commonly a Greek addition. So Bardy(a)—the vowel being pronounced though not written—is Smerdis, Gaumat(a) becomes Gomates, Vishtasp(a) Hytaspes, etc. (G. S. H., 78.)

Phanes of Halicarnassus, one of the Greek mercenaries in the service of Amasis, having fallen out with that king deserted him and joined Cambyses. At his suggestion, the Persian king placed himself in communication with the Bedouin Sheikhs of the desert, and these kept thousands of camels laden with water-skins ready for the Persian army at various stages along the route of march. The land forces were supported by fleets supplied by the Phoenicians and Ionians.

Psammeticus (Psammēnitos) III, who had succeeded Amasis, had his army strengthened by Greek and Carian mercenaries.

The Egyptians awaited the Persian attack at Pelusium, which was known as the Key of Egypt. When Cambyses arrived at Pelusium, a horridly tragic incident took place. The Greek mercenaries of Psammeticus seized the sons of their former comrade Phanes and slew them over a bowl in the sight of their father and of the Persians, one after the other. Wine and water were poured into the bowl which had caught their blood, and the mixture was passed round for the mercenaries to drink of it. (W. E. S. P. P., 38.) The battle which followed was fought by both parties with great bravery. It ended in the complete defeat of the Egyptian army. Psammeticus fled to his capital Memphis,* and shut himself up, with his troops, in the fortress called the White Wall. Cambyses sent a Persian herald on a Mytilenean ship to demand surrender. When the ship made fast to the quay-wall, a crowd of Egyptians boarded it pell-mell and tore the herald and the crew limb from limb. (C. A. H., Vol. III, 310.) The Persians took Memphis by assault and Psammeticus became a prisoner in their hands (B.C. 524).

Among the many descendants of the former Egyptian ruling houses who proffered their submission to Cambyses and passed into his service was a Suten-rekh (*i.e.*, 'King's grandson'), named Uza-hor-en-pi-ris,† who was a son of the high priest of the goddess Neith and commanded the royal Egyptian fleet. On the statue of this nobleman, known as the Pastophorus of the Vatican, there is an inscription in which he relates that "when the great

* Memphis (Men-nofet) means "The Good Place".

† Renouf, in the tenth volume of R. P., gives the name as Ut'a Hor-resenet. In C. A. H., Vol. IV, 25, the name is given as Uzhor-resenet.

lord of all nations, Kambathet (Cambyzes), came to Egypt,—at that time the people of all lands were with him,—he ruled the land as king in its whole extent. They settled in it, inasmuch as he was a great king of Egypt and the great lord of all lands." (B. E. P., Vol. II, 294-5.)

Cambyzes was initiated into the mysteries of Neith at Saïs. He drove out all foreigners who had built themselves small abodes in the halls and courts of the temple of Neith, and gave command to purify this temple for the performance of the customary rites, and to reinstate its priests and restore its revenues.

In May of the year 525 B.C. he beset himself on the throne of the Pharaohs and received the title of Pharaoh* with the Egyptian throne name Rā-mesuth (*i.e.*, "Born of the Sun") added to his nomen Kambathet, according to the ancient custom of giving two ovals, or royal names, to each king. Henry Brugsch Bey (B. E. P., Vol. II, 290-2) and Zenaide A. Ragozin (R. M. B. P., 353-4) condemn the stories which Herodotus has transmitted of the blasphemous and sacrilegious atrocities in which Cambyzes was said to have indulged even to the desecration of graves and the killing of the sacred Apis-Bull† with his own hand, as later inventions prompted by spite against the conqueror and retailed to foreigners by ignorant or malicious guides. Sayce points out that these stories, short as the interval of time was that separated them from the visit of Herodotus to Egypt, are shown by the monuments themselves to be a fable of the guides, and Tolman and Stevenson also add their testimony that the several Egyptian documents made the account of Herodotus highly improbable.

Donald A. MacKenzie seems inclined to believe that Cambyzes might have sacrificed the bull to Mithra, considering it a pious act. This belief is palpably wrong, inasmuch as in the sculpture in the granite sarcophagus in which the bull said to have been slain by Cambyzes was found, he is represented as

* 'Pharaoh' is the Egyptian Per-āa or "Great House".

† Apis, the sacred bull, was one of the many forms in which the god Osiris was worshipped by the Egyptians. A bull having certain special markings was thought to be a reincarnation of this god, and was brought with great rejoicing to Memphis, regarded as a god, and was the centre of an elaborate cult. (H. H. N., 47.)

praying before the bull, and an inscription mentions that the bull was buried with customary rites in which the king took part.

No temples were desecrated or plundered, nor any towns pillaged; and according to the customary clemency of the Persians who honoured the sons of kings, Cambyses treated his royal captive Psametticus with kindness and due regard to his former exalted rank, and even installed him on the throne as his viceroy. But later when Psametticus attempted a rising he was condemned as a rebel and put to death,* and a Persian, named Aryandes,† was appointed governor.

Cambyses and seven successors of his composed the XXVIIIth dynasty of Pharaohs. These eight kings ruled for an aggregate period of $124\frac{1}{3}$ years as shown in the following table, which is taken from an appendix to Sayce's "Ancient Empires of the East":—

	Regnal years
Cambyses	6
Darius Hystaspes	36
Xerxes	21
Artabanos	$\frac{7}{12}$
Artaxerxes	41
Xerxes II	$\frac{1}{6}$
Sogdianus	$\frac{7}{12}$
Darius, son of Xerxes	19
Total	$124\frac{1}{3}$

The submission of Lybia and the great colonies of Barca and Cyrene followed the fall of Egypt. Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, and the neighbouring islands in the Ægean sea also offered homage to the victorious king.

Within the short space of three decades three of the greatest empires of the ancient world, Lydia, Babylonia and Egypt, had fallen before Persia's might; and the Persian Empire now stretched over an area far exceeding that ruled over by the greatest of the Semite or Egyptian monarchs in the zenith of their ascendancy.

* Ctesias says that he was kept alive in Sôsa.

† Ctesias gives the name of Kombarhens as the first governor.

Herodotus reports as a complete failure an expedition led by the Persian king against Ethiopia. But as a matter of fact it so far succeeded as to secure the southern boundary of Egypt and to establish some degree of Persian authority extending from Elephantine over northern Ethiopia. The success of Cambyses far exceeded in this direction that of the Assyrians in the previous century and Persian authority was established much further south than any previous Asiatic conqueror had done. (C. A. H., Vol. IV, 21-2.)

A force of fifty thousand men despatched from Thebes to conquer the oasis of Ammon was overwhelmed by a sand-storm and perished.

While Cambyses tarried in Egypt, a Magian, by name Gaumata,* who bore a remarkable resemblance to the murdered prince Smerdis, audaciously declared himself to be the latter and usurped the Persian throne, with the help of his brother the Magian Patizeithes, whom Cambyses had left in the charge of his palace and treasures when proceeding on the Egyptian campaign. The populace were ignorant that the real Smerdis had been slain and this man was an impostor.

The pseudo-Smerdis ingratiated himself especially with the people of the provinces by proclaiming a remission of tribute or taxes and military service for a period of three years.

As soon as Cambyses heard of the usurpation, he left Egypt, which great country had become "the obsequious slave of Persia," and started homewards in the spring of B.C. 522. On his way he met with sudden death. There is no certain information as to the place of his death, and whether this monarch, who is represented by the Greeks as a widely passionate man, took his own life, or died from the effects of an accident, or was the victim of some plot. That this last was the case is the verdict of a modern historian, Lincke. (See M. P. E., 671, f.n.)

The following account of this king's death which Madame Ragozin (R. M. B. P., 357-8) gives, is more than plausible and increases our respect and sympathy for him:—"Urged by his counsellors and kinsmen the Achaemenian princes, he

* This word is equivalent to Sansk. *gomat*, Zend *gaumat*, and means "possessing herds." (Rawlinson.)

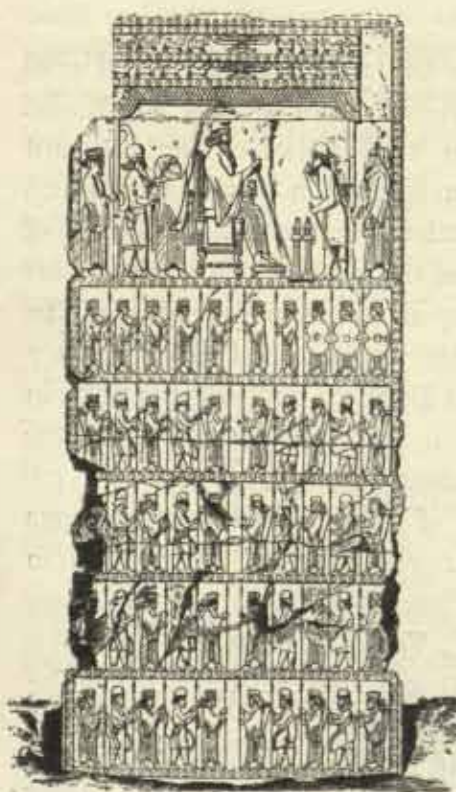
reluctantly commanded the army to set out on their homeward march. But his spirit was broken; he alone knew that the usurper must be an impostor who had in some way found out that Bardiya was dead and took advantage of the people's ignorance of the fact to personate him. He had no hope of retrieving his fortune, for his conscience told him he deserved no better. And he had no child for whose sake to struggle and to hope, so that even should the issue be favourable, the inheritance of Kyros must pass away from his direct line, to the younger branch. True, the Persians were a loyal people and not likely to follow an impostor once unmasked; but how could the wretched king effectively unmask him, save by divulging his own foul deed? Still, the good of the country imperatively demanded that this should be done and he resolved to humble himself and confess; but to survive such a confession was more than his proud spirit could stoop to. Besides, he was bitterly conscious that he should not be missed or mourned: was not the readiness with which his subjects, those of his own race and of the provinces which had obeyed the first call to rebellion, the best proof that he had forfeited their love and confidence, that the *Hvarenô* the 'awful kingly Glory' that will not stay where truth is not, had gone from him? *** Now the liberation of the empire, the restoration of royalty, would best be entrusted to guiltless hands—nothing could prosper in those of the murderer, the 'Mithra deceiver'. So he called together the noblest among the Persians who attended him, told his lamentable story with the dignified simplicity of one who was already not one of the world, and bidding them, especially the Achaemenians, repair the evil that had been done, put an end to his own life."

Rawlinson (R. A. M., Vol. IV, 394-5) rejects the story of the "madness of Cambyses" reported to and believed in by Herodotus as a fiction of the Egyptian priests, who wished it to be thought that their god had in this way punished his impiety. Recent historians, Hutecker and Prashek, admit neither the reality of the illness of Cambyses nor the madness resulting from it, but consider them Egyptian fables invented out of spite. Grote has wronged this great Parsi king by assuming this story of his madness as an established fact. (See M. P. E., 668, f.n.)

As an instance of Cambyses' desire for the impartial administration of justice, we find it recorded that a judge, Sisamnes, was condemned by him to death because he had accepted money to give an unjust judgment.

Darius* Hystaspes and the members of the other six illustrious families who enjoyed the privilege of entering into the king's presence at all times, being convinced of the imposture of the Pseudo-Smerdis, entered into a confederacy and taking advantage of their privilege, approached him in the fortress of Sikayauvatish, near Ekbatānā, and slew him and his guards. Darius, who belonged to the royal Hakhāmni family and was the ablest of the seven confederates, was chosen as king (1st January B.C. 521).

III. DARIUS THE GREAT.



Darius the Great on his throne.

The carved inner side of a doorway with well-preserved sculpture in procession form, in the palace of Darius.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.R.A.S., pointed out, in his Presidential address at the First Bombay Historical Congress (1931), that the value of inscriptions in the reconstruction of Indian history was indeed so great that it might be said without fear of opposition that but for them whole patches of what we now read as Indian history would have been impossible. The same is eminently true in respect of the history of the Achaemenide period; and we are under an immense debt to those indefatigable archaeologists and scholars who have discovered and interpreted the inscriptions of that period and are still labouring in that field.

* The name Daraya-va(h)ush (Darius) is derived from *dar*, hold, and *va(h)u*, wealth, and means "possessing wealth." (T. S. H. E.)

In an inscription known as the Ganj Nâneh ("Treasure Story") carved by him on one of the rocky peaks of Mt. Alvand, south-west of Hamadân, Darius devoutly ascribes to Ahûrâ Mazdâ his acquisition of the kingdom. This inscription is arranged in three columns written respectively in Old Persian, Susian, and Babylonian languages. It says, "A great God is Aûrâ Mazdâ, Who created this earth, Who created yonder heaven, Who created man, Who made Peace for man,* Who made Darius king, the one king of many, the one ruler of many. I am Darius, the Great King, the King of Kings, King of the countries which have many peoples, King of the great earth, even to afar, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian."

Also in the famous Behistûn† inscriptions Darius says, "By the grace of Aûrâ Mazdâ I am king: Aûrâ Mazdâ gave me the kingdom."

These latter inscriptions are the most extensive and most important of the Achaemenian records. In a cleft of Mount Behistûn, on the great caravan road between Baghdâd and Teherân and about 65 miles from Hamadân, these inscriptions are engraved on the steepest surface of the rock at a height of five hundred feet above the level of the plain. They cover a surface of about 150 feet in length by about 100 feet in height. In three languages, Old Persian, Babylonian, and Scythic, they record the mighty achievements of Darius. The carvings are in excellent condition, having, owing to their inaccessibility, escaped the destructive hand of the Arab conquerors.

From the Aramaic version of these Behistûn inscriptions found among the archives of the Jewish colony at Elephantine in Egypt, Huart (H. A. P. C., 102) infers that they cannot be later than B.C. 510. Jackson (C. H. I., Vol. I, 334) assigns them to a period between the years B.C. 520 and 518, with the exception of the fifth column which was added later.

The Venetian envoy Josafat Barbaro was one of the first Europeans, if not the first, to discover the Achaemenian inscriptions at Behistûn at the end of the fifteenth century.

* According to Tolman, "Who created the spirit of man." (T. G. P. I., 140.)

† Sir J. J. Modi derives this name from *Baga*, God, and, *Stana*, place. (M. As. P., Pt. II, 189.)

The first real attempt to decipher the cuneiform text was made by Geo. F. Grotefend, a German schoolmaster, who described his first discovery in the *Literary Gazette* of Gottingen, in the year 1802. By picking out three royal names he ascertained nearly one-third of the Old Persian alphabet.* This pioneer in the field of cuneiform decipherment was followed by Rask, Burnouf, Lassen, Beer and Jacquet with the identification of other characters. (T. G. P. I., 9.)

Sir Robert Ker Porter, drawn up the face of the cliff by means of ropes, climbed half way up, and sketched the central picture; but he mistook the bas-reliefs as portraits of King Shalmeneser and two of his leaders, together with the ten captive tribes of Israel. Major General Sir Henry Rawlinson, formerly British Ambassador at Teheran, scaled the rock in the autumn of 1835, and between that period and 1848 took on cotton cloth, at the risk of life, facsimile copies of all the Behistûn inscriptions and tablets. His memoir on the Persian texts was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1846.

The Behistûn inscriptions proved the key for the decipherment of all cuneiform writing; and thanks to the combined and indefatigable labour of archaeologists and philologists, the long locked up priceless treasures have been unlocked.

In 1906 Messrs. King and Thompson, who were deputed by the authorities of the British Museum for the purpose, proceeded to the locality and carefully and completely copied the Behistûn inscriptions, the translation of which they have since published.

Warner Brothers, who have published a complete translation of the *Shâh-nâmeh*, make the happy conjecture that Darius had these inscriptions engraved in three distinct languages as recognising in the population of his vast empire three distinct races of mankind, and, regarding language as distinctive of race, used it to emphasise that great political fact. In thus distinguishing, observe they, Darius followed a true philological instinct, and his distinctions still largely obtain at the present

* It is remarkable that the first unravelling of cuneiform should have begun in the same year as that of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. (B. K., Vol. 10, 6858.)

said to have been restored by Darius are not meant temples of the Persians or Medes, but of the subject nations. If the pretender had been so rash and foolish as to destroy the fire-temples, he would have wounded the religious susceptibilities of the Persians so sorely as to alienate them entirely from his cause.

The theory that Maspero (M.P.E., 672) advances is that the unity of the empire presupposed the unity of the royal fire, and wherever that fire was burning, another could not be lighted without sacrilege in the eyes of the faithful, and so the pyres that Gaumata desired to extinguish were those which the feudal families had maintained for their separate use in defiance of the law and the measure which abolished them had a political as well as a religious side. This view, for which Maspero has adduced no grounds, cannot be accepted. Even now such Parsi families as can afford to do so maintain at their residences private chapels, called *Ātash-dādgāh*, where fire is kept constantly burning and where they offer their daily prayers.

The day of Gaumata's assassination was dedicated as a festival to be celebrated annually in commemoration of this happy riddance. The Greek writers call this festival *Magophania* or the Massacre of the Magi, and say that on each anniversary of that day a slaughter took place of all Magians who were met with on the street. This is a fiction, one of many in which these writers have indulged either from misinformation or from national prejudice against a nation by whom their countrymen were so often humbled.

Darius's accession to the imperial throne was the signal for the outbreak of formidable revolts in various parts of the empire. In Susiana, Babylonia, Media, Sagartia and Margiana pretenders arose claiming to be members of the former ruling families. In the first two provinces rebellions broke out within a fortnight of the assassination of Gaumata.

Susiana (Uvaja) was the first to revolt at the instigation of Atrina (Atrines), son of Upadarma, who belonged to the ancient royal dynasty whom the successors of Sargon, King of Assyria, had dispossessed. The revolt was put down by a force sent by Darius and the rebel was apprehended and put to death. A second rebellion, which was fostered by a Persian, *Mārtiya*,

son of Chinchikhri, who posed as Unnanish (Immanes), king of the Susians, was put down by the people themselves and he was killed by their leader. A third uprising was put down by the Persian general Gobryas, who captured and slew the leader.

Babylon was seized by Nidintu-Belas, son of Ainara, who gave himself out as Nebuchadrezzar, son of king Nabonidus. Darius proceeded against him in person, and crossed the Tigris, with his army, on floats of skins. He defeated the Babylonians on the 12th January 521 B.C., and again five days afterwards at Zazâna in the vicinity of Babylon. Nidintu-Belas escaped with some cavalry and sheltered himself in Babylon. The city was taken after a blockade and the rebel was executed.

Later, there was a second revolt in Babylonia led by an Armenian, Arakha (Arachus), son of Khaldita (Haldita), who also pretended to be Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabonidus. The king's Parsi general Vindafarnâ (Intaphernes) promptly suppressed the revolt and arrested the pretender, who with his principal adherents was crucified.

One Fravartish (Phraortes), who assumed the personality of Khshatrîta (Sattarrita) and claimed to be a descendant of the famous king Kyaxares, set himself up as king of Media. Three generals, Vidarna (Hydarnes), Dâdarshi (Dadarses), and Vahumisa (Omises), were successively sent against him by Darius; and then, after having established his supremacy in Babylon, he proceeded himself against the rebel. A decisive battle took place near Kundurush, in Media, which ended in the complete discomfiture of Fravartish, who fled, with a few horsemen, to Rhages, but was pursued and taken prisoner. His nose, ears and tongue were cut off, his eyes were put out and he was hanged in the citadel of Ekbatânâ.

A rebellion in Sagartia (the mountains about Arbela, now inhabited by the Kûrds), fomented by Chitratakhma, a native chief who claimed to be of the family of Kyaxares, was quickly suppressed by a Medo-Persian force despatched by Darius under his Median general Takhma-Spâda, and the pretender was crucified at Arbela.

The people of Parthia and Hyrcania, who had declared allegiance to Fravartish, were defeated at Vispa(h)uzati in

Parthia on 25th March 520 B.C. by Vishtâspa, the father of Darius and satrap of those provinces, and again at Patigrabanâ on 28th August, with the aid of reinforcements sent by the king from Rhagae.

In Margiana (the district of Merv), the people had set up a native Frâda (Phraates, modern Ferhâd), as their chief. This rebellion was crushed by Dadrshish, the Parsi satrap of Bactria, after a single battle (14th January 519).

While Darius was engaged in suppressing the risings in Babylonia, Armenia, Media and the neighbouring districts, a second false Smerdis arose, and gathering large armies took possession of Yutiya, in Pârs, and became king in Pârs. This man was a native of Târavâ (modern Târûm, in Kermân) and his real name was Vahyazdâta. He was defeated for the first time at Rakha in Pârs on 13th May 520, and again near Mount Praga on 2nd September, by a Medo-Persian force under Artavardiya, and was impaled, with his foremost followers, in the town of Huvâdaichaya.

A revolt in Arachosia (a part of western Afghânistân) was fostered by Vahyazdâta, by whom an army was sent against the loyal Parsi satrap Vivâna (Vibanus). Two battles were fought, the first at Kâpishkânish (medieval Qiqân) on 2nd February 519 and the second at Gandutawa (modern Gandawa) on 27th March. The rebels received their final defeat at the fortress of Arschâda, and their leader was seized and executed.

A revolt among the Sacae of the Tigris, led by a chief named Skunkha, was quelled by Darius in person.

Oroetes, satrap of Phrygia, Lydia and Ionia, who, during these disorders, aimed at independent power, was put to death by his Persian bodyguard, acting on a secret warrant sent by the Great King with his special emissary Bagæus, son of Artontes (about B.C. 519).

For seven years Darius had to employ his best energy to stamp out such widespread and formidable rebellions. The fortitude, activity, skill and judgment displayed by him in quelling them mark him out as a born leader of men. He fought nineteen battles and seized nine pretenders who aimed to be kings.

He caused copies of the Behistûn inscription to be made and despatched to the different provinces, so that his exploits may become known to the people everywhere. A fragment of a copy of the Babylonian version was discovered by Dr. Koldwey at Babylon.

The Behistûn bas-reliefs show nine rebel leaders tied by



Darius and the nine captive kings.

the neck with a rope, with their arms chained behind their backs. The name of each of them and the nature of his pretension are engraved above his figure, and the Great King is depicted in a standing posture, his left arm supported on his bow and his right raised in an attitude of admonition. Rostovtzeff (*R. H. A. W.*, Vol. I, 117) makes a mistake in describing these rebels as being led towards the king as a sacrifice to Ahurâ Mazdâ. The doctrine of Zoroaster admits of no human sacrifices, nor even of animal sacrifices, to Ahurâ Mazdâ.

Behind the king are shown standing two attendants, who are probably his quiver-bearer and chamberlain Aspachanâh and his spear-bearer Gaubarûva. His left is planted on a prostrate figure, an inscription under which mentions that "This is Gaumata, the Magian; he lied, thus he said, I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus, I am the king." The nine bound rebels are Atrina, Nidintu Belas, Mârtiya, Fravartish, Chitratakhma, Frâda, Vahyazdâta, Arakha, and Skunkha the Sacae or Scyth, who is marked by his high-pointed cap.

Above the king's head is a winged figure, which Justi, Sykes, Weissbach and Jackson understand to be that of Ahurâ Mazdâ and Rostovtzeff describes as the holy symbol of Ahurâ Mazdâ. The Revd. Charles Forster (*F. M. A. B. P.*, 201-204) puts

forward a curious explanation of it. According to him the figure taken for Ormazd is the stone mason who executed the engravings, his car of sunbeams is the mason's crate, and the zodiac in his left hand a tambourine or cymbal, upon which he is beating with his right, in accompaniment to his voice, with which, commemorating the completion of his great work, he is singing vociferously the burden of the contents of the inscriptions.

The winged figure is neither the image of Ahûrâ Mazdâ nor of the mason who carved the inscriptions. Herodotus says that the Persians had no images of God and considered the use of them a folly. Parsi tradition also knows no image of God. The winged figure is the *Fravashi** or *Frôhar* of the king, his heavenly reflex, his spiritual prototype. According to the Zend Avesta *Fravashis* are the protecting and the guiding spirits of men. Every human being has his *Fravashi*. Every human being is imperfect, and the goal of every one is his *Fravashî*, or his personal realization of perfection. We see from Yashts 13 and 23 that even Ahûrâ Mazdâ has his *Fravashî*. Here *Fravashi* means the concept or idea which Ahûrâ Mazdâ had thought out and took shape as what we know as His creation.

Darius despatched Democedes on a cruise from Sidon to Europe. The latter sailed as far as Crotona in Magna Graecia, and secured for the Great King a knowledge of the climate, productions and wealth of the Greek nations to the west. Further, Darius had the northern shores of the Black Sea examined by Arirammes, satrap of Cappadocia, who sailed with a fleet of thirty penteconters.

In or about B.C. 516 he took out an expedition against the Scythians of Southern Russia, which expedition is of special interest as it was the first historic invasion of Europe by an Asiatic power.

Who were these Scythians? Dr. E. H. Minns (C. A. H., Vol. III, 194) points out that for the ordinary Greek a Scyth was anybody from the steppe region, just as for the Persian any nomad was a Saka. The two words may be the same, but Minns

* *Fravashi* according to Geldner (E. B., ed. IX, Vol. XXIV, 823) means Confession of Faith and when personified comes to be regarded as a protecting spirit. But its correct derivation is *vahsh*, which means to grow, to increase, to advance, to promote, to prosper.

does not suppose this to be very likely and thinks that Scyth and Saka are each probably a tribal name spread to a whole people. He and other authorities have pronounced that these people were of the Mongolian or Turanian family. But for reasons mainly based on archaeological and religious considerations, Rostovtzeff (*R. I. G. R.*, 60) is entirely at one with those who believe the Scythians to have been of Iranian extraction, and says that the Scythian tribes of Southern Russia were undoubtedly Iranians, nearly akin to the Medes and Persians, but belonging to another branch of the stock.

Historians have attempted various explanations of Darius's motive for the campaign against the Scythians. Grote repeats the far-fetched assertion of Herodotus that it was undertaken in revenge for the Scythian invasions which preceded the fall of the Assyrian empire, and calls it an insane expedition. But as Dr. Mahaffy (*H. N.*, 393) points out, so sane a monarch as Darius must have had some clear and definite policy. Rostovtzeff also observes that the Persian monarchs never acted at random. They were excellent strategists, and each campaign was rigorously thought out and carefully prepared. In all probability, the object of the expedition was to drive back from the Danube the Scythians who had established their empire firmly on the north of the Black Sea and to prevent them from extending their sway to the Balkan Peninsula. It was not Darius's intention to subjugate the Scythian empire; and Nöldeke is wrong to assign the mere desire to conquer an unknown country as the motive of the expedition.

The Persian army, which, according to the customary exaggeration of Herodotus, consisted of seven hundred thousand men, crossed the Bosphorus by a bridge of boats constructed by a Samian engineer, Mandrocles, who was very liberally rewarded. The Ionians, Æolians and Hellespontians supplied the fleet, which, according to Herodotus, consisted of 600 ships. Dr. M. Cary points out that as the fleet was exclusively drawn from the Greek subjects it cannot have numbered more than 200-300 sail, and that from the nature of the work in hand it may be concluded that the army did not exceed one-tenth of the traditional total.

The Great King erected upon the shores of Bosphorus a

a couple of pillars of white marble, whereon were engraved, in Greek characters upon one and in Persian characters upon the other, the names of all the nations which composed his army.

While passing through Thrace,* the Getae, a war-like tribe whom Herodotus describes as the noblest and most just of the Thracians tribes, were subjugated, and the submission of other Thracian tribes were received.

The Danube† was passed by a bridge of boats built by the tyrants of the Ionian cities.

The Scythians eluded close combat with the Persian army. As it advanced they retired, destroying the crops and driving off their herds. If Herodotus is to be believed, the campaign ended in an ignominious retreat of the Persians, in the course of which considerable numbers perished owing to lack of supplies, sickness and the desultory attacks of the Scythian hordes. Evidently this account of the father of European history is unreliable, because in the Behistûn inscriptions Scythia is enumerated among the conquests of Darius.

After this time, the conversion of Thrace into a Persian province went on quickly and steadily, with no hindrance from without, which fact, as Rostovtzeff (*R. H. A. W.*, Vol. I, 253) points out, shows that on the whole the Great King had achieved the object of his expedition. Sayce (*S. A. E. E.*, 253) says that the Persian army swept the steppes of Southern Russia, and henceforward the empire was safe on that side.

Bury (*B. H. G.*, 241), also, says that this European expedition of Darius was a distinct success which might fearlessly be set beside the Egyptian expedition of Cambyzes; and he, further makes the shrewd observation that Greek imagination, inspired by Greek prejudice, has changed a reasonable and successful enterprise into an insane and disastrous expedition and the fiction was taken for history until the other day.

* The 'Thrace' of Herodotus must nearly have comprehended the present limits of Roumelia, Bulgaria, Servia, Moldavia and Wallachia. (*G. S. H.*, 96.)

† This name is a corruption of the word *Dânû-âb*, which means the River of the *Dânûs* (Vedic *Dānavas*). The *Parvardin* and *Ābân Yashts* allude to a Turanian tribe of the name of *Dânû*. These people in their migrations settled finally in Denmark, which country is named after them, as also are the rivers *Dneiper*, *Dneister*, and *Don*.

There is no doubt that Darius returned with the bulk of his army intact, since on his way to Sardis he was able to detach a considerable force in Europe, under the command of Megabyzus (Baghabaksh) to complete the conquest of Thrace and to open up the road westwards.

Megabyzus brought under subjugation the entire region between the Propontis (the Sea of Marmora), and demanded and received from Amyntas, the King of Macedon, earth and water, the usual tokens of vassalage (B.C. 514). Dr. Cary (C. A. H., Vol. IV, 214) mentions that Megabyzus failed to reduce Macedonia and the envoys whom he sent to demand submission were murdered by the Crown Prince Alexander, which affront remained unpunished. Herodotus relates that not long afterwards the Persians made strict search for their lost embassy, but Alexander, with much wisdom, hushed up the business, bribing those sent on the errand, partly with money and partly with the gift of his own sister Gygæa in marriage to Bubares, a Persian, the chief leader of the expedition which came in search of the lost men. Whether the story of Herodotus be a fiction or not, the fact remains that the Macedonian king had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Darius.

Hûtan, another of the captains of Darius, subdued Byzantium, Chalcedon, Antandrus and Lamponium, and, with the naval aid of the Lesbians, reduced (B.C. 505) the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, which were inhabited by the Pelasgi, a people of cruel and piratical character, who practised the rite of human sacrifices to their great goddess.

Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus, instigated Miletus and other Ionian cities to throw off the Persian yoke and declare themselves independent. The Æolian and Dorian settlements as well as Cyprus joined the movement, and Aristagoras sought also aid from European Greece. Sparta refused help, but Athens and Eretria (in Eubœa) respectively sent twenty and five ships to the assistance of the insurgents. In the spring of B.C. 499 the confederates made a sudden attack on Sardis and captured and pillaged it. In the mêlée the town was accidentally burnt. The insurgents could not take the citadel,

and had to retreat. They were overtaken at Ephesus by the Persian troops under Artabanus and were routed and destroyed.

When Darius received the news of the burning of his western capital, Sardis, by the Ionians, aided principally by the Athenians, he was much wroth and asked, "The Athenians! Who are they?" On being informed on the point, he called for his bow and placing an arrow on the string, shot it high into the air, and exclaimed, "Oh Supreme God! grant me that I avenge myself on the Athenians." He commanded an attendant that thrice every day, as he sat at his meals, he should tell him, "Sire, remember the Athenians." This story appears to be a fiction similar to the many with which Herodotus has embellished his "History" for the delectation of his audience.

In B.C. 496 a naval fight took place off Lade, which was then a small island near Miletus, but is now a hill some miles inland. The Persians succeeded in completely defeating the combined Ionian fleet of 353 galleys. Miletus, the cradle of the revolt, was taken two years later and destroyed; and the bulk of its people were transported to Ampé at the mouth of the Tigris. At this period Miletus was the leading city of Ionia, a most important centre of Greek trade, and the most advanced of the Greek cities in intellectual activity. Its destruction was an incalculable loss to Greek civilization. Grote compares the excitement created in the Greek world by the fate of Miletus to the thrill of horror which ran through Protestant Europe on the news of the sack of Magdeburg by Tilly in the Thirty Years' War.

Caria was subdued, Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos, and the Greek cities of Chersonesus and Propontis were reduced, and the Ionian revolt was completely stamped out, soon after which event Artaphernes, satrap of Sardis, acting under the orders of Darius, inaugurated two important administrative measures, which while they illustrate the conciliatory policy of the Persian rulers also depict their desire to promote the peaceful progress of the conquered territories. The satrap summoned the representatives of the Ionian cities to a council and got them to make mutual agreements providing the setting up of courts for the settlement

of disputes, whether public or private, between the States, and for the discontinuance of forcible reprisals. Thus the Parsis have been the forerunners of the League of Nations, which after the Great European War has been established (A.D. 1920) for the promotion of International Peace and Security, and of the Hague Court of International Justice.

The other beneficial measure of administration which Artaphernes inaugurated was a better distribution of the tribute after a new survey and assessment.

In these measures Grundy notices the peculiar enlightenment of of the Persia of that age in contrast with other Oriental monarchies.

Another wise measure that Darius adopted was to send down his son-in-law Mardonius to Ionia as his viceroy. This princely viceroy sent a special mission to the Ionian and Hellespontine cities for ridding them of their tyrants and permitting them to set up democratic councils, subject to the condition of an annual tribute to the imperial government. Rawlinson commends the wisdom of the Persian sovereign in ordering this liberal and far-sighted measure, which was excellently calculated to preserve the fidelity of the Greek population and prevent any renewal of disturbance; and Grundy (G. G. P. W., 3) points out the fact that with regard to intellectual development these very cities seem to have been first in the field and to have been infinitely more prominent under Persian than under Athenian rule.

During the Ionian trouble, Thrace and Macedonia had discarded the Persian sovereignty and declared themselves independent. A Persian army reconquered Thrace; Thasos, which possessed gold and silver mines was annexed; and Alexander, King of Macedon, was compelled to renew the treaty which his father Amyntas had made acknowledging Persian supremacy and agreeing to pay an annual tribute.

While doubling the cape near Mount Athos the Persian fleet encountered a terrible storm, which shattered a great portion of it, so for the time being the invasion of European Greece was abandoned, and Mardonius withdrew with his army into Asia (B.C. 493).

Two years later a second expedition was sent out under

the command of the Median Datis and Darius's nephew Artaphernes. Its declared object was to punish Athens and Eretria for their part in the Ionian revolt. It was also a purpose of the expedition to place Athens once again under the tyrant Hippias, who on being expelled by the Athenians had taken shelter in the Persian court.

Before launching the expedition, Darius sent out heralds to the Grecian cities demanding in the king's name the tribute of a little earth and a little water as symbols of submission. In the market place of each state it was proclaimed that Darius, lord of all men from the rising to the setting sun, required earth and water to be delivered to his heralds in token of their submission. Many submitted and delivered this token. Athens and Sparta not only returned an indignant refusal, but disgraced themselves by outrage and violence against the persons of the heralds contrary to the law of nations. In the former city these men were thrown into the Barathron, in the latter in a well, and bidden to get there the earth and water they wished to carry to the king. Contrast with this barbarous conduct of the Greeks the magnanimity displayed by Xerxes, the successor of Darius, on the occasion when the Spartans, smitten in conscience for their flagrant breach of a sacred privilege and convinced, in consequence of a number of ill omens, that Sparta would never prosper until they had atoned for the murder, sent two well-born and wealthy citizens, Sperthias and Bulis, to the Persian court to give satisfaction to the king with their own lives for the sacrilegious murder of the heralds. Xerxes dismissed the two men without doing them any harm, remarking that he would not acquit the Spartans by imitating their impiety. Here might be mentioned another noteworthy instance of this Parsi monarch's high-mindedness. One of the measures adopted by the Council of the Greeks which had been formed to take the necessary steps to resist the projected Persian invasion was the despatch of spies into Asia (about B.C. 481). These spies were seized at Sardis and would have been hanged, which is the ordinary fate such men, but were saved from that fate by the mercy and wisdom of Xerxes, who thought it would be instructive for them to see what they wanted to see,

and advantageous to him if they reported what they had seen to those who had sent them as spies.

There is no trustworthy information as to the number of the forces under Datis and Artaphernes. Herodotus reports the number of the warships at 600 triremes, but gives no figures for the army. Later classical writers give fanciful numbers. Justin gives 600,000, Plato and Lysias 500,000, Plutarch and Valerius Maximus 300,000, and Cornelius Nepos 210,000.

Having regard to the slight resistance to be expected, Munro is justified in considering the estimate of 600 triremes as highly improbable, and the figures of the classical writers as to the number of the army as all absurd. His estimate of infantry is 25,000 men and of calvary about 1,000. Prof. Rogers calculates that there may have been 15,000 men, scarcely more when one considers the possible capacity of the ships. (R. H. A. P., 131.)

The Persian fleet sailed from Samos with the object of attacking Naxos before any other state. The inhabitants of Naxos fled, but were pursued and many were captured.

As the Persians approached, the men of Delos were seized with fright and abandoning their cities fled to Tenos. But the Persians spared Delos on account of its sanctuary, and Datis sent word to the fugitives that he had sense enough, even if the Great King had not so expressly ordered, to spare the country which was reputed as the birth-place of Apollo and Diana. The Delians were guaranteed the non-violation of their persons and properties and asked to return and once more inhabit their island. Datis likewise offered on the altar 300 talents' weight of frankincense. As a reason for such considerate action Rawlinson (R. H., Vol. III, 391) conjectures that the Persians may have thought it prudent to identify Apollo and Diana with the Sun and Moon, objects of reverence to themselves.

Proceeding from Delos, the Persians touched at other ports, taking troops and hostages from it. Karystos, in South Eubœa, refusing to furnish hostages and bear arms against Athens and Eretria, was invested and the country round was wasted until at

length the people surrendered and agreed to do what was required of them.

On or about 10th September 491 B.C., according to Munro's calculation, Artaphernes disembarked the troops of his division and the whole of the cavalry at Tamynæ, Chœrææ, and Aegilia, three places in the Eretrian territory. The Eretrians did not sally forth and offer battle, but ensconced themselves in their fortress, which was stormed and taken. All the temples in the town were put to flame in avengement of the burning of Sardis and the people were taken to Sûsâ as captives. Darius had a righteous indignation against the Eretrians, who without provocation had taken part in the sack and destruction of Sûsâ. Yet this Parsi monarch was so magnanimous that when these Eretrians were brought to him as captives, he offered them no molestation and settled them on the royal domain at Ardericca, about 26 miles from Sûsâ.

Guided by the advice of the tyrant Hippias, the Persian division under Datis landed at Marathon, which lies along the bay of the same name on the north-eastern coast of Attica. Hippias had pointed it out as the most suitable ground in Attica for cavalry movement, and one quite close to Eretria where the other general, Artaphernes, was engaged.

On getting the news that the Persians had landed at Marathon, the Athenian army marched there and stood on the defensive. It was under ten strategi, one of whom was Miltiades, who while Prince of the Chersonese had seen service in the Persian armies. Herodotus furnishes no figures of the Athenian force, but later writers give 9,000 or 10,000 Athenians, besides 1,000 Plateans.

On the supposition that the total infantry shipped from Asia was 25,000 and that 10,000 of them with the whole of the cavalry were in Eubœa—enough to deal with Eretria—Munro estimates the force under Datis at Marathon at 15,000 infantry. (C. A. H., Vol. IV, 242-3.)

In a lecture delivered by Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice early in 1932 before a keenly interested meeting of the Historical Conference held at Bedford College, he reconstructed

the battle of Marathon. Why, he asked, were the Athenians sixty miles* from Athens? Why did they attack before the arrival of reinforcements which were on the way? Why were the Persians at Marathon at all? As Sir Frederick sees the military situation, the Persian fleet carried 25,000 men. Their first object was to take the comparatively small town of Eretria, on the opposite coast to the plain of Marathon. About 9,000 men, according to Sir Frederick, were sent on that expedition and the remainder about 16,000, were landed at Marathon, with the object of preventing the Athenians marching across the isthmus and bringing by sea or land relief to the beleaguered town. That the Greeks suddenly attacked after both armies had faced one another for days was due, Sir Frederick believes, to the Greeks in their camp receiving news of the sack of Eretria, for in such circumstances the Greek onset had behind it a good military reason—it was best to engage the Persians before they could be rejoined by the victorious 9,000 from Eretria and re-embark for an attack on the city of Athens. Munro also holds that it was the sailing of the Persian ships from Eretria that determined the day of the battle; the critical moment had come, the Athenians must strike instantly or never. Chamberlain (C. F. N. C., Vol. I, 66) writes:—"Herodotus tells us with the greatest tranquillity how Miltiades forced on the battle of Marathon by calling the attention of the commander-in-chief to the fact that the Athenian troops were inclined to go over to the Persians, and urging him to attack as soon as possible, that there might not be time to put this 'evil design' into execution; half an hour later, and the 'heroes of Marathon' would have marched with the Persians against Athens."

Sir Frederick showed photographs of the Plain of Marathon to demonstrate the improbability of the long-held idea that the Persians fought with their backs to the sea. They were probably drawn up with one flank on the sea and the other on the hills. They could then retreat towards the best anchorage for their ships. His view is that such a front could be held by 16,000 men in the formation of the time, and the whole could have been carried in four hundred ships.

* Rawlinson (R. H., Vol. III, 406) mentions that Marathon is 26 miles from Athens by the common route.

The Polemarch or War-Archon Callimachus commanded the right wing of the Greek army. The Plataeans formed the extreme left. The centre was commanded by Themistocles and Aristides.

The Athenians charged the Persians at the double and fought in a manner worthy of being recorded. Herodotus tells us that they were the first of the Greeks who introduced the custom of charging the enemy at a run and were likewise the first who dared to look upon the Median (Persian) garb and to face men clad in that fashion. Until that time the very name of the Medes (Persians) had been a terror to the Greeks.

The fight was obstinate, but was of short duration from first to last, 'a morning's work before luncheon' as Munro puts it. The Persians and the Sacae, who had their place in the centre, defeated the Athenian centre. But on the two wings the Athenians and the Plataeans were victorious. Instead of pursuing the fugitives they wheeled inwards and fell upon the victorious Persian centre and routed it. The latter rushed on to the coast. The Greeks chased them and tried to seize and burn the ships which were ranged in line along the shore. The defence here was both vigorous and successful, and this part of the battle terminated to the advantage of the Persians. Here fell the Polemarch Callimachus and Stesilaus, one of the strategi. (G. H. G., Vol. IV, 300; G. G. P. W., 190.)

This battle was fought probably on 21st September 491 B.C. Herodotus puts the Greek loss at 192 and the Persian loss at 6,400 men. Unfortunately no Persian record of this campaign is preserved. So, our sole authorities are the classical writers, who, out of national vanity, have given phantastic accounts of this battle, so much so that Pausanias puts the number of the Persians slain at the enormous figure of three hundred thousand; and he and Plutarch gravely give out that Theseus, a legendary warrior-king of Athens, was seen descending from the heavens and fighting on the Greek side.

The Athenians commemorated this victory by placing olive leaves on the helmet of Athena on their coins.

Looking back on the little campaign, Munro credits the generals of Darius with skilful strategy. Their one miscalculation was that the Asiatic troops could withstand the Greek charge; and even so, says he, the battle might have had a different issue, if Datis had been able to restrain his successful centre. The triumph of the Greeks was due to the intelligent use of tactics, discipline and armament. (C. A. H., Vol. IV, 252.)

Misled, evidently, by the exaggerated account of the classical writers, Sir Edward Creasy includes the battle of Marathon among the fifteen decisive battles of the world. Another writer, Edgar Sanderson (S. O. W. H., 86), emphasizes that even as an event in English history, it is more important than the battle of Hastings, for had the issue of that day been different, the Britons and Saxons might still have been wandering in the woods. Max Müller expresses his opinion, one which is so often quoted, that "if the battles of Marathon and Salamis had been lost and Greece had succumbed to Persia, the State religion of the Empire of Cyrus, which was the worship of Hormazd, might have become the religion of the entire civilized world. The edicts of the King—the King of Kings—were sent to India, to Greece, to Scythia, and to Egypt, and if by the grace of Ahûrâ Mazdâ Darius had crushed the liberty of Greece, the purer faith of Zoroaster might easily have superseded the Olympian fables."

We can assert with confidence that if the world, civilized or uncivilized, had accepted the religion of Persia, it would have done so of its own free will and accord and from a conviction of its merits. The Achaemenides were most tolerant masters, and never forced their national religion, the worship of Ahûrâ Mazdâ, at the point of the spear, on any of the numerous alien races under their rule. On the contrary, they gave substantial aid in the construction or restoration of the temples of alien races, and, as a rule, never showed irreverence towards the gods of those races.

Nöldeke (E. B., IX ed., Vol. XVIII, 571) remarks that by the victory at Marathon, which was the first great victory of the Greeks over the Persians in the open field, Athens had rendered immortal service to Europe in the cause of civilization. Creasy (C. D. B., W., 20) observes that had Persia beaten Athens

at Marathon, she could have found no obstacle to prevent Darius, the chosen servant of Hormazd, from advancing his sway over all the known races of mankind, and the infant energies of Europe would have been trodden out beneath universal conquest, and the history of the world, like the history of Asia, have become a mere record of the rise and fall of despotic dynasties, of the incursions of barbarous hordes, and of the mental and political prostration of millions beneath the diadem, the tiara, and the sword. He further remarks that the day of Marathon is the critical epoch in the history of the two nations: it broke for ever the spell of Persian invincibility, which had previously paralysed men's minds: it generated among the Greeks the spirit which beat back Xerxes and afterwards led on Xenophon, Agesilaus and Alexander, in terrible retaliation through their Asiatic campaigns: it secured for mankind the intellectual treasures of Athens, the growth of free institutions, the liberal enlightenment of the western world, and the gradual ascendancy for many ages of the great principles of European civilization.

In like manner Grundy sings the pæan of the "glorious" Greek triumph. "Marathon," writes he (G. G. P. W., 194), "was sufficiently glorious to the victors to render any exaggeration of the success attained superfluous. For the first time in history the Greek had beaten the Persian on his own element, the land. The army of a little state, possessed of no military reputation worth speaking of, had defeated a superior force of the conquerors of a continent. The Greek had shown himself able to face the best soldiers of the age; and the consciousness of this fact, permeating through the whole of the Hellenic world in Europe, gave the Greek confidence may, even rendered him all but callous and careless,—in face of the danger which threatened him ten years later."

All these clever rhetorical flourishes must be taken *cum grano salis*. Procopius of Cæsaria, known as the historian of Justinian, has well said, in his *De Bello Persico* (I, 3-4), that while cleverness is appropriate to rhetoric, and inventiveness to posterity, truth alone is appropriate to history. Inasmuch as,

in the words of King Naushirvân's minister Bûzarzemeher, a knowledge of history aids man to form a proper opinion because an acquaintance with ancient events is like an impartial witness giving a true account of things, it is essential that a historian should not observe events through coloured glasses, nor describe, comment or enlarge upon them with a biassed mind.

Modern history will not be searched in vain for instances in which great powers in their campaigns against comparatively insignificant states have been worsted. Did not Great Britain with her overwhelming resources in men, money and munition meet with disasters in her campaigns against the Sikhs, the Afghans, the Zulus and the Boers, though she did come out triumphant in the end? No state undertaking an invasion or entering on a war expects or should expect to be invariably and uniformly successful in each and every skirmish, battle and siege it has to engage in the course of it.

Richardson, the author of the first comprehensive Persian Arabic into English Dictionary, was among the first to warn us as to the unvarnished character of the Greek accounts of the Persian wars, and to point out how the Grecian writers' elegance of taste, harmony of language, and fine arrangement of ideas have captivated the imagination, misled the judgment, and stamped with the dignified title of history, the amusing excursions of fanciful romance. He notices that as the later writers, Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch, are often in complete opposition to the earlier historians, and complain of the repugnances with which they are everywhere perplexed, nothing can more strongly point to a fundamental error. In his judgment, the Grecian states, with regard to the Persians, were too far removed from that degree of importance which could hold them up as objects of such high ambition or of such mighty resentment. Till the reign of Philip of Macedon, they are hardly mentioned by the Persian writers, but as tributaries to the Persian empire. Richardson's verdict is that the famous invasions were simply the movements of the governors of Asia Minor to regulate or enforce a tribute which the Greeks might frequently be willing to neglect. His view is that Marathon, Salamis, and other celebrated battles

may indeed have been real events ; but " numerous as the sands on the shore " is an idea which, in all times had been annexed to defeated armies, and the Grecian writers, to dignify their country, may have turned the hyperbole into historic fact, and swelled the *Thousands* of the *Persian Satrap* into the *Millions* of the *Persian King*. Possibly some of those events, he thinks, might have been the mere descent of pirates or private adventurers, either with a view to plunder or retaliate some similar expedition of the Greeks, who appear very early to have been a race of freebooters extremely troublesome to the surrounding coasts. J. R. Hale (H. F. S. F., 3) tells us that the Greek, like the Norseman, began his career on the sea with piracy, and there were periods when it was no offence to ask a sea-faring man " Are you a private, sir ? "

Subjecting Herodotus's account of the battle of Marathon to a critical scrutiny Le Comte de Gobineau, in his *Histoire des Perses*, comes definitely to the conclusion that this was no pitched battle, but a mere skirmish and nothing more (*une échauffourée et rien de plus*), and that the Greeks have exaggerated the number of the Persian troops. This French author is grieved that Greece triumphed over Persia at Marathon and says that Persia under the Achaemenian Darius gave much that was good to Greece and the ancients. He says, " all that which the Greeks learnt, everthing serious which Plato taught, all that which the archaic schools produced in the way of masterpieces, had, at the time of Darius, its home and its prototype in Western Asia. But what the Romans never knew and never practised was the systematic kindness shown in governing the people, which had become the rule since Cyrus, and to which Darius showed himself so invariably faithful. Not only were the subjects treated with particular care, but even the rebels met with an indulgence as extended as circumstances permitted."

Lord Redesdale fully accepts the opinion of Houston Steward Chamberlain that this ' glorious victory ' was in reality an unimportant skirmish in which the Greeks had rather the worst than the best of it (C. F. N. C., 63). Mahaffy, an authority on Greek history, also describes it as a very unimportant skirmish

(ib., 63 f. n.); and Edwin Bevan speaks of it as a petty affair, a scrap between two small bodies of men in a field, over in an afternoon (B. W. G. R. 35). Sir Percy Sykes, disposed as he is to regard this battle as a superb achievement of the Athenians, admits that to Darius it was of no consequence at all, being nothing more than a regrettable check which need have no effect upon his policy (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 193). As a matter of fact, we see in the next reign Xerxes seizing Athens and burning it. It is little to be doubted that if Darius had been spared a few years longer he would have successfully achieved whatever his object was in invading Greece, as to which Maspero's view (M. P. E., 696), is that it was not the mere caprice of a despot which brought upon the Greek world the scourge of the Persian war, but the imperious necessity of security, which obliges well-organized empires to subjugate in turn all the tribes and cities which cause constant trouble on its frontiers, and Darius, who was already ruler of a good third of the Hellenic world, from Trebizond to Barca, saw no other means of keeping what he already possessed, and of putting a stop to the incessant formation of rebellion in his own territories, than to conquer the mother country as he had conquered the colonies, and to reduce to subjection the whole of European Hellas.

In spite of advancing years, the king was eager to prosecute the war, and set to preparing for a renewed invasion of Greece, and the suppression of a rebellion which had broken out in Egypt, led by one Khababesha, who claimed descent from the royal family of Psammeticus. It was a lucky thing for Greece that the contemplated invasion was delayed first by the Egyptian rebellion, then by the death of Darius, and lastly by the time taken by his successor to start the expedition. During the interval Athens greatly increased her strength by improving and strengthening her navy, for which purpose the shrewd statesman Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to employ the proceeds of the silver mines of Laureion instead of dividing them among themselves.

Egypt, with Cyrene, Barca and Lower Nubia, formed the sixth Persian satrapy. Darius treated his subjects with great consideration. He helped them in building their temple in the

Great Oasis of El Khârgéh, at Hibis, and reconstructing other sanctuaries. Henry Brugsch-Bey, the author of "A History of Egypt under the Pharaohs", on his visit to the place in February 1875 found this temple in a pretty good state of preservation. The sides of various halls and chambers as well as the outer walls he found covered with the names of Darius in the Egyptian form of Nthariuash. Darius II (with the name Mi-amun-Râ) as well as Darius I (with the shield Setetu-Râ*) seems to have taken part in the building and ornamentation of the temple.

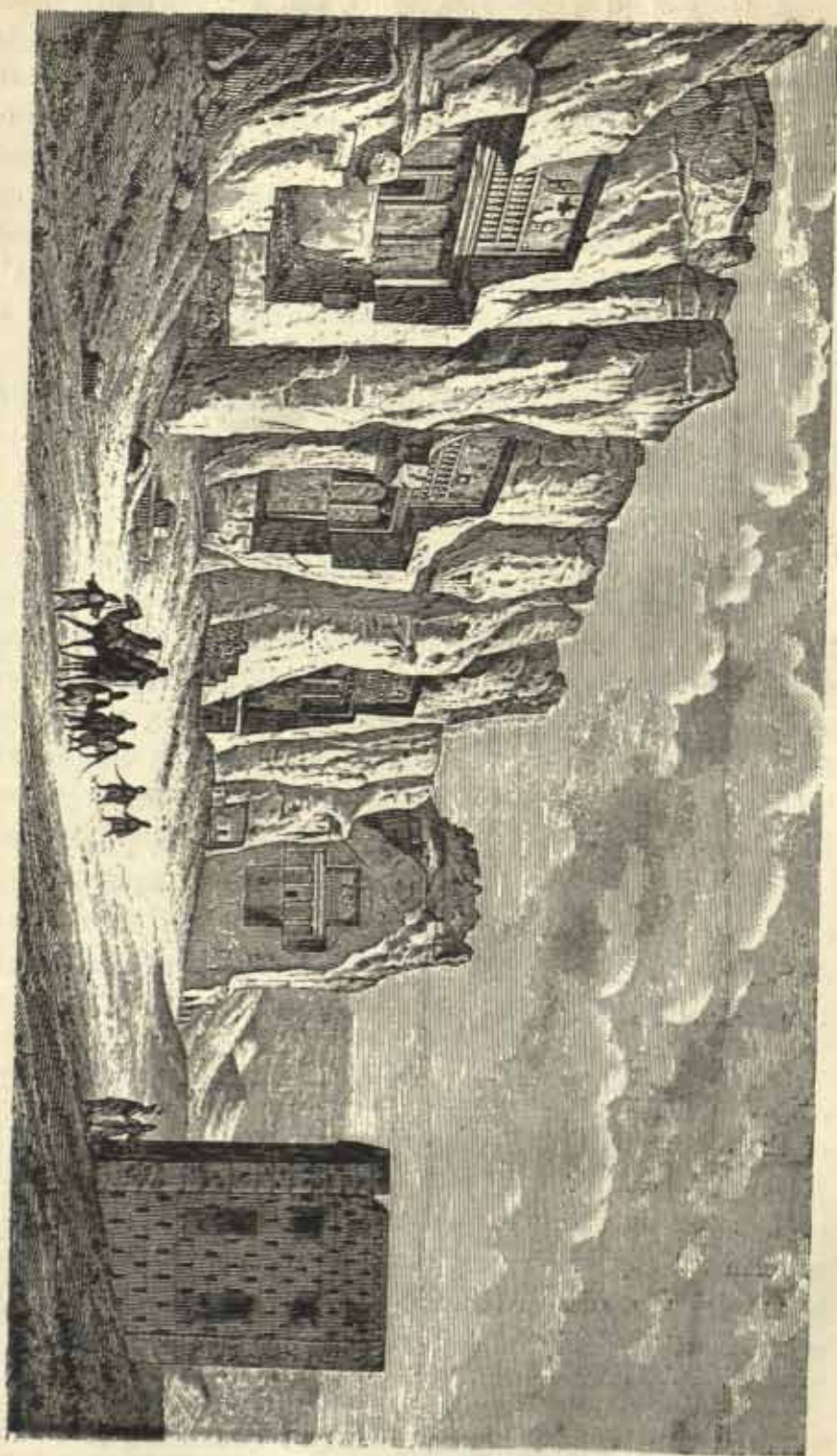
Dr. E. A. Wallis-Budge says in his history of Egypt under the Saïtes, Persians, and Ptolemies, that the reason why Darius I built the temple in the Oasis will probably be never known, but the hymn, part monotheistic and part pantheistic, which he caused to be inscribed upon its walls seems to suggest that it was not placed there merely as a hymn of praise, but as a proof that he wished the Egyptians to understand that the views which were expressed in it concerning their god Amen-Râ were identical with those which he held about his own deity Aurâmazdâ. Be this as it may, Dr. Wallis-Budge considers the temple as a lasting proof of the wisdom and judgment of one of the greatest kings of Egypt.

The Egyptian Uzahor-resenet mentions in his inscription at Sais, the seat of the Egyptian dynasty which Xerxes had overthrown, that Darius had commanded him to re-establish the temple-school there.

Under the system introduced by Persian engineers of irrigation by means of underground conduits beneath the beds of the desert-wadis the country enjoyed considerable prosperity. Rogers (R. H. A. P., 120) points out that this was the beginning of a movement which has shown the way to modern methods of artesian wells by which a sufficient water supply is now obtained to support a population of about 8,000 in our time, with 60,000 palm trees, producing dates, and irrigated lands growing rice, barley, and wheat.

Historians are agreed that Egypt had little to complain of

* This name means "Râ hath begotten him."



Naksh-i-Rustam with Fire-Temple (7)

under the Persian rule. On the accession of Darius serious rebellions had broken out in various parts of the Persian empire; but Egypt, prosperous and contented, had remained loyal. Its revolt under Khababesha, therefore, can be attributed with certainty only to the machinations of the Hellenes, who, fearing another invasion of Hellas by the Persians which they would not have been able to resist, resorted to this means to keep the Great King's attention diverted elsewhere.

But before he could mature his plans for a third invasion of Greece and the suppression of the Egyptian revolt, this illustrious great Parsi king passed away at the age of 64, after a reign of 36 years and five years after Marathon.

About five miles north of Persepolis is the burial vault of Darius, as well as those of Xerxes, Artaxerxes and Darius II. The necropolis rock is an irregular cliff extending from west to east about 500 feet long and varying from 800 feet to 200 feet in height at its western end. (Tolman's art. "The grave of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam," J. M. J. V., 167.)

Gibbon's aphorism about kings in general that their power is most effective in destruction cannot apply to Darius the Great, who was great both in the arts of war and peace. As Principal H. G. Rawlinson observes the character of the struggle between Persia and Greece has proved to Westerns an obstacle to a proper appreciation of the virtues of Darius. To them it has always appeared as the conflict between Light and Darkness, Freedom and Despotism. But as time went on, Mr. Rawlinson justly points out, even Athenians began to realise their mistake. Tired with the noisy instability of democracy, writers like Xenophon turned regretfully to Ancient Persia for a better and more enduring model. To Xenophon Cyrus is the model king, far surpassing Pericles and Alcibiades and the demagogues of his own land; and in his eyes the young Persian nobleman of those days was the model of every known virtue. (Intro., P. R. R. D., 7.)

With a view to promote commerce, Darius founded a number of harbours on the coast of Persia. He reconstructed and much enlarged a great canal which in the seventh century before Christ

Necho of Egypt had attempted to construct to link up the Mediterranean and Red Seas; and his ships sailed from the Nile* to the Suez. This canal led to a considerable increase in the development of trade between Egypt and Persia, and greatly augmented the prosperity of the former country. Stelæ were erected by Darius at different places in Egypt to commemorate his achievement of cutting this canal, several of which have been discovered near the modern Suez. On one of them, found near the village of Chalouf, Darius says: "Ormazd is a great God; He has created the Heaven; He has created this Earth; He has created Man; He has given to man good principle (*siatish*); He has made Darius king; He has given to king Darius a great empire. I am Darius, great king, king of kings, king of these countries, king of this vast land, who commands afar and near, son of Hystaspes of the Achimeneses. Darius the king says: I am a Parsi; (as a) Persian I govern Egypt. I have commanded to dig this canal, starting from the Nile; it is the name of the river which runs in Egypt up to the sea which starts from Persia. Thus the canal has been dug here" (M. As. P., pt. II, 192.)

This canal was open till the time of the Roman occupation of Egypt, but was latterly silted.

Darius constructed at Penkela a fleet and sent it under his Greek admiral Scylax of Carianda on his famous voyage, known as the Periplux of Scylax, down and along the shore of the ocean to the Red Sea. All the villages of the Indus and its affluents now known as the Punjab, together with Sind, as well as the auriferous hill-country of Kâfiristân and Kashmir and Dardistân on the Indus were brought under Persian sway (c. B.C. 510). His Indian domains yielded to Darius a large quantity of gold as tribute. As the permanent results of contact with such an empire as that of Darius Sir Richard Temple (H. N., ch. III) enumerates the establishment of a trade between India and the West, the introduction of a syllabic alphabet, and the acquirement of a knowledge of the methods by which imperial

* The origin of the name Nile is not to be sought in the old Egyptian language. Its probable derivation is from the Semitic word *nahar* or *nahal* signifying a river. (B. E. P., Vol. I, 14.)

government becomes possible that sank deeply into the minds of native Indian rulers, as is shown by subsequent events.

Persia's enlightened policy furnished wide opportunities for the furtherance of trade and the economic development of the vast and various countries over which her sovereignty extended. The subject races had freedom to expand their trade and industry. There was no exploitation anywhere for the exclusive benefit of the ruling nation. This policy stands out in bold contrast to that which the Romans are known to have pursued in respect of their Eastern provinces and vassal states, as an instance of which might be mentioned the case of Lazistân, which was a dependency of Rome. These people were so weary of the oppression and exactions of the Romans, that although they were Christians like the latter they sent an embassy to Khûsrau I (Naushirvân), the Zoroastrian king of Persia, beseeching him to accept their submission and relieve them from the oppressive Roman yoke. The Roman commandant had reduced the native Lazi king Gubarzes to a pageant of royalty and created for himself a monopoly of salt, corn and other necessities which he compelled the people to purchase from none but himself.

In pursuance of the express tenets of the Zoroastrian religion, systematic encouragement was given to agriculture and waste lands were brought under the plough. The *Vendidad* declares that the earth rejoices at him who cultivates well grain, grass and fruit trees and irrigates land which is dry and drains that which is overhumid, and that the person who cultivates grain cultivates Truth and furthers the Mazdayasnân religion itself. The *Saddar* mentions that it is necessary to maintain much respect for agriculturists and to keep trouble and strife far from them. These precepts were to a great extent practised under the Persian monarchs. The aphorism of King Ardeshir Papekân, the founder of the Sâsânian dynasty, is well known:—"There can be no power without an army, no army without money, no money without agriculture and no agriculture without justice and moderation."

In the district of Herat, Darius established a great water-basin for the purpose of facilitating the cultivation of the steppe.

He appears to have well followed the injunctions laid down in Baga Nask, one of the 21 original nasks, that one should repair the dwellings of the agricultural peasants, repair a rugged road, build bridges over rivers, conduct the waters of a river or an aqueduct or brook into channels for irrigational purposes, populate desolate places, and do other things which would conduce to the long-lasting comfort and advantage of mankind.

Darius has earned laurels as a great warrior, and still more lasting fame as a statesman and administrator. Justi distinguishes him as the first statesman in history. (Art. "Sovereignty of the Persians," I. I. S., 245.) Of all the Persian princes Rawlinson considers him as the only one who can be called many-sided. He was organiser, general, statesman, administrator, builder, patron of art and literature, all in one. (R. A. M., Vol. IV, 452). He was brave, energetic, prudent and of exceptionally high character. He was greatly attached to his friends and generous towards conquered foes. His inscriptions bear full evidence to his utter hatred of the lie and his great faith in Ahûrâ Mazdâ and to his profound love for and pride in his country and countrymen. Æschylus, the founder of Greek tragedy, who fought against the Persians at Marathon and shared the exasperation of the Athenians against them, expresses, in his *Persæ*, very high respect for this great Parsi prince. To such a judge Nöldeke naturally attaches great weight. (E. B., ed. ix, Vol. XVIII, 571.) Sir Percy Sykes ranks him very high amongst the greatest Aryans of history. (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 194).

From 506 to 479 B.C., when the Persian empire was at its zenith, its boundaries were as follows:—in the north, the Jaxartes, the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus Mountain, the Euxine, and the Danube; in the south, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, Arabia, and the Nubian Desert in Africa; in the east, the Indus and the Sutlej, and the forests of Tibet; in the west, the Sirtis in the north of Tripoli in Africa, the Ægean Sea, and the provinces of Macedonia and Paoinia to the west of the Strymon. Its area extended over twenty-two million square miles or more than half the extent of modern Europe. It exceeded the area of any other ancient empire and was almost double of the total combined area

of the four great empires of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and Lydia.*

Seven great rivers, the Jaxartes, the Oxus, the Danube, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Nile and the Indus, and numerous other lesser rivers contributed to the fertility and productiveness of the regions under Persian rule. "The two richest grain tracts of the ancient world, the best pasture regions, the districts which produced the most valuable horses, the most abundant of gold fields, were included within the limits of the empire, which may be looked upon as self-supporting, containing within it all that man in these days required, not only for his necessities, but even for his most cherished luxuries." (R. A. M., Vol. IV, 41.)

We have noticed before that Cyrus, the Lord's anointed, had permitted such of the exiled Jews as wished to return to their fatherland, Palestine, and rebuild Jerusalem, and had given them the most generous monetary and other help for the purpose. When the adversaries† of Judah and Benjamin heard that the children of the captivity were building the Temple, they sought to establish a friendly intercourse with them.

They came to Zerubbabel‡ and to the chief of the fathers and said to them, Let us build with you for we seek your God as ye do and we do sacrifice unto him. The Jews, who are a particularly exclusive people, treated them as aliens on account of their impure descent and refused to acquiesce in their request. Then the people of the land slackened the hands of the people of Judah and troubled them in building and hired counsellors

* The boundaries, area and population of modern Persia are as under :—

Boundaries :—Bounded on the north by the Caspian Sea, on the north-east by Turkestan, on the east by Afghanistan and Baluchistan, on the south by the Persian Gulf, and on the west and north-west by Iraq, Turkey and Russia. *Area* :—Greatest length about 800 miles and greatest width about the same. Total area about 600,000 square miles. *Population* :—About 12,000,000.

† Prof. Rehatzek mentions that the work of rebuilding the Temple was commenced in B.C. 585, but the people, who now consisted of a mixed race, had established a mongrel religion, partly Jehovistic and partly polytheist, and the emigrants from Babylon belonged predominantly if not exclusively to the tribes of Judah, Levi and Benjamin; there was a considerable difference in religion as well as in nationality among the newly arrived emigrants and the people of Samaria, so that they were called the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin. (M. M. P., 209-210.)

‡ The name means "seed of Babylon". Josephus mentions that Zerubbabel had friendship with Darius and was a member of his bodyguard.

against them and the building of the temple was for a time interrupted. The fact appears to be that the usurpation of Gaûmata had checked for a time the carrying out of the decree of Cyrus for the re-erection of the Temple, the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin having been able to persuade the usurper to issue a counter-order and make the Jews cease the work. Darius gave the order for the work of the restoration of the Temple to be resumed, and directed the Persian governor beyond the river to give forthwith to the elders of the Jews all expenses out of the "the king's goods, even of the tribute beyond the river". (Ezra VI. 8.)

The oracles of Greece at Delphi and other places were scrupulously treated, and we have noticed how Darius had assisted the Egyptians in building a temple in the Great Oasis and in rebuilding a number of their sanctuaries.

The great Achaemenian kings allowed their subjects to keep their religion, their laws, their language, and their local peculiarities in their social and economic life. The good work of Darius for the improvement of Egypt's national laws obtained for him a place among their national law-givers by the side of Menes, Asykhis, Bocchoris, and Sabaco. The Egyptians deified him in his life and worshipped him on his death as an Egyptian king. "Each nation under the Persians was allowed to pursue its own characteristic bent, the Phoenicians carrying on their mercantile enterprises as before; the Egyptians still retaining their system of castes; the Jews attached to the Mosaic institutions; the Babylonians growing corn and weaving carpets; and the various nations of Asia Minor following their respective modes of activity, subject to those interruptions which resulted from the circumstance that their part of Asia was the most exposed to the attacks of the Greeks." (A. H. C. E., 168.)

These well authenticated facts are sufficient in themselves to repudiate the view which the Very Rev. W. R. Inge, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, has put forward (U. H. W., Vol. 4, 2090) that the attempt of Darius and Xerxes to subjugate the Hellenes was in part a religious crusade.

In the Behistûn inscription we have Darius's own word

that his rule was based on righteousness. "For this reason," says he, "Ahûrâ Mazdâ brought me aid and the other celestial powers (𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹. *aniyâha bagâha*) which are, because I was not wicked, not a liar (𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹. *draujanah*), not a wrong doer, neither I nor my family. I ruled in accordance with the Law (𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹. *âbashtâm*)*, nor made I my power an oppression to those who were just and righteous; the man who helped my house, him who should be well esteemed I esteemed; the man who would destroy it, him who should deserve punishment, I punished." To his successor he gives the advice:—"O thou who mayst be king in the future, protect thyself strongly from the Lie, whatever man shall be a liar and a deceiver, him who deserves to be punished, punish, if thus thou shalt think 'may my country be secure'," and again, "O thou who shalt be king in the future, whatever man shall be a deceiver or a wrong doer be not a friend to these; punish them with severe punishment."†

In column III of the same inscription he solemnly avers, "May I die Mazdaean,‡ as this is true. I never uttered a lie in all my life"; and at the end of his inscription at Naksh-i-Rûstam he invokes Ahûrâ Mazdâ to protect him, his house, and his land from evil, and exhorts:—"O man! what is the commandment of Aûrâ Mazdâ, may it not seem to thee repugnant (opposed to the good). Forsake not the right path. Do not sin."

The Achaemenid monarchs attributed their sovereignty and

* The amended reading is 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹. *arshâ*, "rectitude" (J. K. O. L., No. 19, p. 152, note; see also J. Z. S., 154). Oppert says that the Persian text of the inscription affords us the true origin of the word Avesta; it is 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹.𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹. *Abastâ*, the Divine Law, and is explained by the Assyrian *kînat*, the laws. (R. P., O. S., Vol. VII, 107.)

† It is worth noting here the words of the American missionary, the late Dr. E. Stanley Jones, who said, in a lecture delivered on the 8th December 1931, before the Y. M. C. A., Bombay, that no liar could be a patriot and no patriot could be a liar, and every man that lied stabbed his motherland.

‡ Oppert (R. P., Vol. VII, 106) observes that the Median *ankirîne Ormazdra* proves that the only possible way to read the two Persian letters wanting is *Auramazda* (*ya a*) *tiy aiy*, "May I die a Mazdean," and not "Ormazd be my witness", as others presumed. Tolman, in his *Lexicon*, suggests the reading:—*Auramazd* (*am upâca*) *riaiy aiy* ("I turn to appeal to Ahûrâ Mazdâ"). Bartholomae suggests:—"*Auramazda* (*d va*) *riyaiy*" ("May Ahûrâ Mazdâ be my witness").

power as derived from Ahûrâ Mazdâ's good favour and accomplished with His aid. Darius declares in the Behistûn inscription, "By the grace of Aûrâ Mazdâ I am king. Aûrâ Mazdâ gave me the kingdom." In a baked clay tablet inscription concerning the foundation of the palace of Sûsâ in about B.C. 517-16 he says, "Aûrâ Mazdâ, Who is the great God over gods, it is He Who has created me, it is He Who has made me king, it is He Who has given me this great kingdom with handsome men and good horses. With the protection of Aûrâ Mazdâ when my father Hystaspes and my grandfather Arsama were still living, Aûrâ Mazdâ made me king on this earth, Aûrâ Mazdâ granted me on this whole earth horses and excellent men, and established me as king on this earth. (From that time upto date), I have accomplished the service of Aûrâ Mazdâ. Aûrâ Mazdâ is my powerful support, and what He orders me to do is performed and realized by my hand. All that I do, I do with the protection of Aûrâ Mazdâ." (Dr. Unvala's art. "Inscriptions at Susa", J. K. O. I., No. 17, p. 81). Revd. Dr. Mills (M. Z. P. A. I., 356-7) points out that the inscriptions of Darius contain the most ample expressions of sentimental confidence in the Deity of any writings, ancient or modern.

There is a passage in the fourth column of the Behistûn inscription which runs thus:—*Tuvam kê hya aparam imâm dipi(m) patiparsâhy tya manâ kartam varnavatâm thuvam mâtya (duru) iyâhy.* King and Thompson (K. T. S. I. D., 67) render it:—"Whosoever shall read this inscription hereafter, let that which I have done be believed; thou shalt not hold it to be lies." Dewhurst (art. "Miscellaneous Iranian Notes," I. I. S., 174) gives a more correct version:—"O thou whosoever shalt read this inscription hereafter, let that which has been done by me convince thee, beware of holding it to be lies." This, he says, brings out the exact sense of "*varnavatâm*" and of "*mâtya*".

H. R. Hall (H. A. H. E., 576) expresses his opinion that the Persian monarchs were inspired with high and noble ideas by the religion of Zoroaster, and the like of Cyrus and Darius had hardly been seen since the days of the great Egyptian Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty who intelligent as they were,

and far more humane than the Assyrians, fell far short of the Persians in virtue.

In R. H. A. W., Vol. I, 172, the Russian historian Rostovtzeff clearly brings out the important fact that during the Persian empire many other religions, at first merely local and national, became spiritualized and moralized, broke loose from their local origins, and went forth beyond the limits of a single kingdom and a single nation; within the Persian monarchy, not only was the state religion spiritualized by the reforms of Zoroaster, but other worships lived and grew, offshoots of the ancient Eastern beliefs which deified the powers of nature; thus the cult of the Sun, common to all Semitic peoples, the Anatolian cult of the Great Mother, the Egyptian cult of Osiris and Isis—all these became more refined, worked out more precisely their main ideas, concentrated on one of them, and endeavoured to make as many converts as possible, without regard to their race or political connexions: their chief dogma becomes by degrees the union of man with God.

The Parsi inheritors of the traditions of these eminent Persian monarchs may well take pride that their empire by bringing about the spiritualization of all men's beliefs and ideals has wrought a lasting benefit to mankind.

The Persians were the first Aryan people to think out and achieve political unity. A number of measures taken by the Great Kings give clear indication of the fact that they looked upon their empire as an indivisible whole. Rostovtzeff (*ib.*, 152-3) points out the introduction of a uniform coinage and the construction of great military roads, piercing the kingdom from end to end, as among the most convincing of these measures.

The Persian empire founded by Cyrus and consolidated by Darius was the first of its size to be seen on earth and comprised the most diverse nationalities and languages. (H. A. P. C., 73.) A trilingual inscription, engraved upon gold and silver plates, discovered in the vicinity of Hamadân in or about 1922, but not made known until three½ years later when Dr. Said Khan Kurdistani of Teherân supplied to Dr. Cowley a photo of the gold tablet, runs thus:—"Darius, the great king, king of kings, king

of the lands, son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian. Darius the king says: This kingship that I hold from Scythia which is beyond Sogdiana to Kush (Ethiopia), from India to Sardis, which Aûrâmazdâ gave (me) who is the greatest of the gods. May Aûrâmazdâ protect me and my household." (R. H. A. P., 103.) Dr. Unvala points out that this inscription shows that after B. C. 518 Darius conquered the Scyths of Transogdiana, who are not mentioned in the inscriptions of Naksh-i-Rûstam, from which we know only that he had conquered the Amyrgish Scyths, the Scyths wearing pointed helmets, and the Scyths living on the other side of the sea, *i.e.*, the Bosphorus and the Black Sea. (Art. "Two New Historical documents of the great Achaemenian king Darius Hystaspes," J. K. O. L., No. 10, p. 2.)

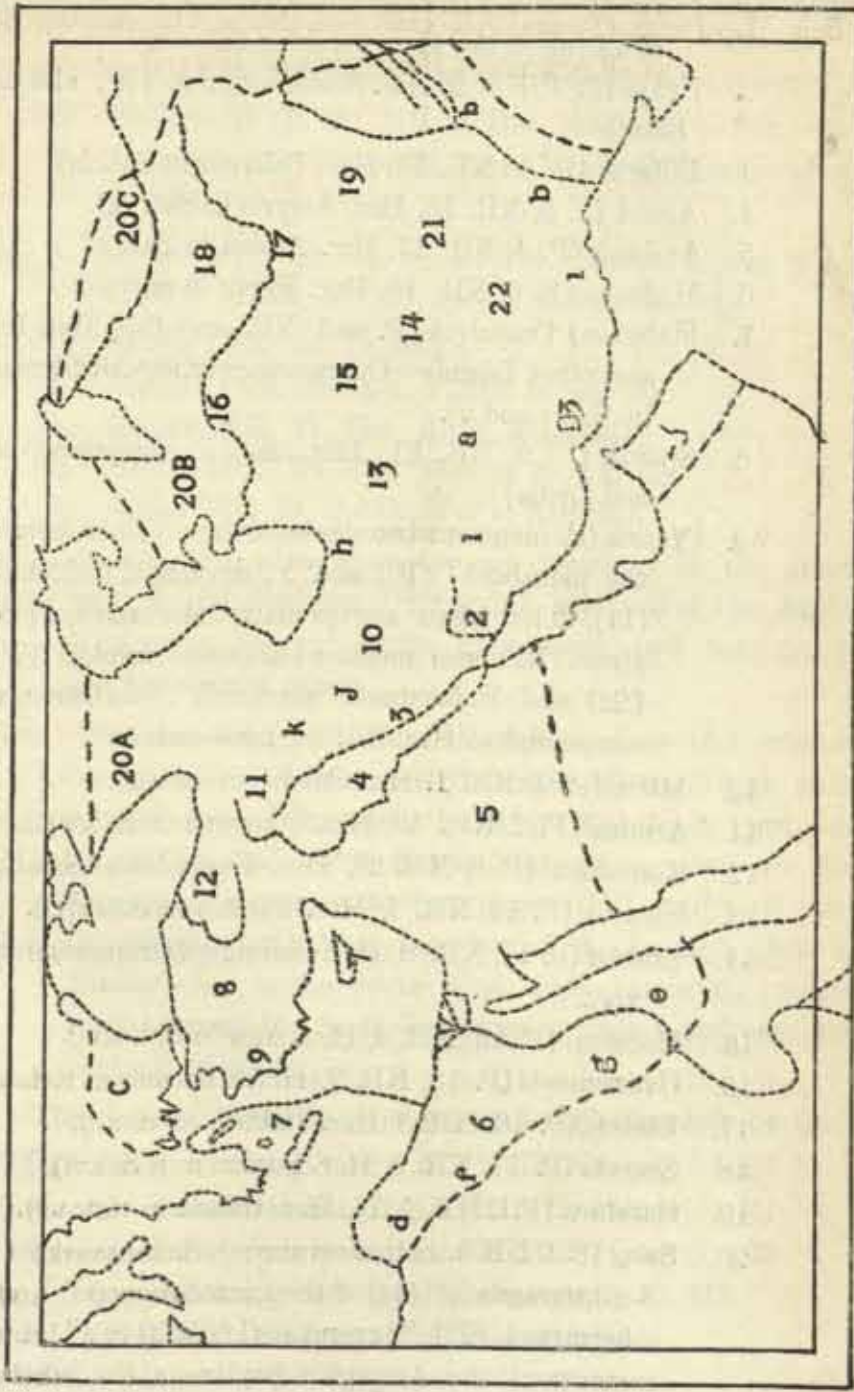
Darius divided the empire into a number of satrapies. Media, Susiana, Babylonia, and Assyria formed separate governments. Syria and Palestine were included in the Arabian satrapy. The Phoenicians and Cypriotes, as well as the Cyrenaeans and for a short time Crete and the Cyclades, were associated with Egypt. Ionia comprised the continental Greeks, the Carians and the Lycians. Sparda comprised Phrygia and Mysia, with the capital at Daskylion. Cappadocia and Armenia comprised the rest of Asia Minor to the borders of Assyria. (H. H. A. M., 578.)

The countries and peoples ruled over by Darius are enumerated in his inscriptions at Behistûn, Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rûstam. India is not mentioned in the first inscription, but is in the other two. The present tendency of scholarly opinion is to assign the Indus conquest to about B.C. 518. (C.H.I., Vol. I, 335.) According to Vincent A. Smith (S. E. H. I., 3rd ed., 38), the Indian satrapy of Darius must have comprised the course of the Indus from Kalâbâgh to the sea, including the whole of Sind, and perhaps included a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus. The Indian conquest brought great wealth into Persia, and facilitated a regular trade by means of coasting vessels between the mouths of the Indus and the Persian Gulf.

The archaeological remains at Taxila and at Patliputra, the

THE EMPIRE OF DARIUS THE GREAT.*

(N.B.—The numbers in the map correspond to the 23 lands mentioned in the Behistun Inscription. The Persepolis and the Naks-i Rostam also mention the names of the lands over which Darius held sway. These are indicated in the list in brackets. The Hamadan Gold Plate gives the boundaries; these as also the Satrapies of Herodotus are also given.)



* For this map and the Hamadan Inscription the author is indebted to Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala:

- Beh. 1. Pārsa (P. and NR. both take this as the starting point of all conquests. Her. Persis in Sat. viii).
2. Uvaja (P. 1, NR. 2, Her. Susiana in Sat. viii; also called Elam).
3. Bābiruś (P. 3, NR. 15, Her. Babylon in Sat. ix).
4. Aθura (P. 5, NR. 16, Her. Assyria in Sat. ix).
5. Arabāya (P. 4, NR. 17, Her. Arabia in Sat. v).
6. Mudrāya (P. 6, NR. 18, Her. Egypt in Sat. vi).
7. (dahyāva) Drayahyā (P. and NR. omit this, Her. Ionian and other Islands—Cyprus etc.—in the Mediterranean in Sat. i and v).
8. Sparda (P. 9, NR. 21, Her. Sat. ii, comprising Mysia and Lydia).
9. Yauna (P. mentions two classes of these: Y. ūśkahyā, "of the mainland" (10) and Y. drayahyā, "of the sea" (11). The latter are probably the same as No. 7 above. NR. also mentions these as twofold: Yauna (22) and Y. takabarā, "sea-faring". So these would correspond to Her. Sat. i—Ionia—and v).
10. Māda (P. 2, NR. 1, Her. Media in Sat. x).
11. Armina (P. 7, NR. 19, Her. Armenia in Sat. xiii).
12. Katpatuka (P. 8, NR. 20, Her. Kappadokia in Sat. iii).
13. Parṣava (P. 13, NR. 3, Her. Parthia in Sat. xvi).
14. Zranka (P. 14, NR. 8, Her. Zarangia (Drangiana) in Sat. xiv).
15. Haraiva (P. 15, NR. 4, Her. Aria in Sat. xvi).
16. Uvārazmiya (P. 18, NR. 7, Her. Chorasmia in Sat. xvi).
17. Bāxtriś (P. 16, NR. 5, Her. Baktria in Sat. xii).
18. Suguda (P. 17, NR. 6, Her. Sogdiana in Sat. xvi).
19. Gandāra (P. 21, NR. 11, Her. Gandara in Sat. vii).
20. Saka (P. 22, NR. mentions three: S. haumavarkā (13), S. tigrāzauda (14) "the pointed-capped" and S. taradrayā (23) "beyond the (Black) Sea". Her. also mentions the Amyrgian Scythians, the "orthokoru-

banti" (pointed-capped) Scythians and the Scythians beyond the Black Sea. They are in Sat. xii and xv).

21. *ṭataguš* (P. 19, NR. 10, Her. Sattagydia in Sat. vii).
22. *Harauvatiš* (P. 20, NR. 9, Her. Arachosia in Sat. xiv).
23. *Maka* (P. 23, NR. omits, Her. Makae (Makran) in Sat. xiv).

- Per. a. *Asagarta* (P. 12, NR. omits, Her. Sagartia in Sat. xiv).
 b. *Hinduš* (P. 20, NR. 12, Her. India in Sat. xx).

Nakš. R. c. *Skudra* (NR. 24, Thrace).

- d. *Puntyā* (NR. 26, Her. Puntia in Sat. vi).
- e. *Kušiā* (NR. 27, Her. Kush, Ethiopia).
- f. *Macyā* (NR. 28, Her. Maxyes in Sat. vi).
- g. *Karkā* (NR. 29, the Oasis of el Kharga).

Her. mentions four other Satrapies not contained in the above list: Sat. xi *Varkāna* (Hyrcania), Sat. xvii of the Asiatic Ethiopians, Sat. xviii of the Matienians, and Sat. xix of the Moschi and others.

Ham. The Hamadan Gold Plate Inscription gives the extreme boundaries of the Empire of Darius as follows: "from Saka which is beyond Suguda as far as the Kuš, from Hinduš as far as Sparda." The Sakas "beyond Suguda" are the Amyrgian (*haumavarkā*) Scythians of NR., and their country was the North-East boundary of the Empire. Kuš or Ethiopia lay to the South-West, India (including modern Sindh) formed the South-East corner, while Sparda was the North-West corner.

The dates of these Inscriptions may approximately be fixed as follows:

Behistun—circa B.C. 519.

Persepolis—circa B.C. 516.

Hamadan—between B.C. 518 and B.C. 515.

Nakš-i Rostam—circa B.C. 486-485.

THE HAMADAN INSCRIPTION.

This was first brought to notice by Dr. J. M. Unwala after its discovery at Hamadan in the year 1926. It is engraved on one side of a gold and silver tablet 7.5 in. square. The date is certainly after the conquest of Sindh and may be fixed with tolerable certainty at about B.C. 516, or more accurately we may put it as between the end of 518 and the end of 515. The Inscription is trilingual having altogether 23 lines—8 in Old Persian, 7 in Elamitic and 8 in Babylonian.

- [illegible]

lion pillar at Sarnath near Benares, the double-daric coins found in the land of the Five Rivers, the use of stones in the early Indian architecture instead of wood and mortar, the old-world royal roads traced in the country, the Maurian caves at Gaya, and the plan of Asoka to propagate his ethical doctrines by means of inscriptions on the sides of hills—these, says Mr. M. F. Pithawala (P. R. R. D., 40), will ever, like the Behistûn Rock, bear testimony to the conquest of the Punjab and Sind by the Parsi king, to the service the ancient Zoroastrians have rendered to India, and to the debt Indian culture at least to some extent owes to the Persian civilization several centuries ago.

In the Naksh-i-Rûstam inscription the following list of Darius's achievements is enumerated:—Media, Susiana, Parthia, Aria (Herat), Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Zarangia (Drangiana), Arachosia, Sattagydia (in the Helmund basin), Gandaria,* India, those Cimmerians who are called the Humurga, those other Cimmerians (Tigra khauda) who wear gloves on their hands,† Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparda,‡ Ionia, those Cimmerians who dwell beyond the sea (Saka tyaiy taradarya), those Ionians (Takabavâ, the Eretrians) who wear helmets on their heads,§ the Budians, the Cossœans, the Maxyans (on the straits of Hormuz), and the Karkans.¶

Cyrus built himself a town, with a palace, in the district of Pasargadæ. Darius made a new capital deeper in the centre of the country and named it Pârsâ (Persepolis). But as the district of Persis was too remote to be the administrative seat of a world-empire, Sûsâ situated some 200 miles south of Ekbatânâ, 225 east of Babylon, and nearly 300 north-west of Persepolis, was

* The valley of the Kabul (*Cephen*) was occupied by Indian tribes, especially by the Gandarians; and the Sattagydae there resident were presumably also of Indian origin. (E. B., ed. XI, Vol. XXI, 203.)

† The pointed-capped Scythians (Tolman).

‡ "In 'Sparda', the older scholars saw a reference to Sparta; others have connected it with Shepharad, and with Lycia, but the general weight of recent opinion is in favour of Lassen's suggestion that 'Sparda' is Sardis, the chief city of Lydia." (K. T. S. I. D., XXIX.)

§ The shield wearing Ionians (Tolman).

¶ Herzfeld identifies Karka with Carthage, but Unvala considers this a mistake, and says that by Karka is probably meant Caria, or a country occupied by the Carians. Caria became a Persian province in B.C. 545. (U. A. P. I. A., 40.)

made the political metropolis. The other capital towns were Babylon and Ekbatānā. The kings chiefly spent the winter in Babylon and the summer in Ekbatānā.

The head of each satrapy was called a Kshtrapavan (satrap). There were satraps before, but Darius determined their rights and duties. The satrap was the governor-general and his powers were of the widest in civil administration. He was also the highest judicial authority in his province. Besides him, there were in each satrapy the military commandant (*Karanos*) and the chancellor or secretary of state. The three were independent of one another, and communicated direct with the court, so that they acted as checks upon one another. In each province there was a council of Persians, with whom the satrap was bound to debate all matters of importance.

Inspectors selected from the royal family or other men of the noblest rank, and known as the King's Eyes, were sent out every year, accompanied by a company of soldiers to investigate and punish abuses of power and to report on the satraps and other officials. Other men of a high rank, known as the King's Ears, were entrusted with the secret duty of keeping the king informed of whatever was transpiring even in the remotest part of the widely-flung empire.

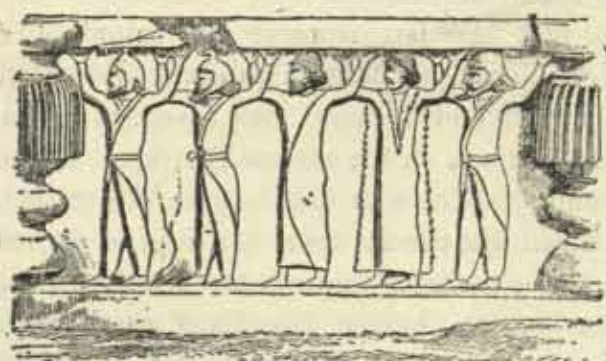
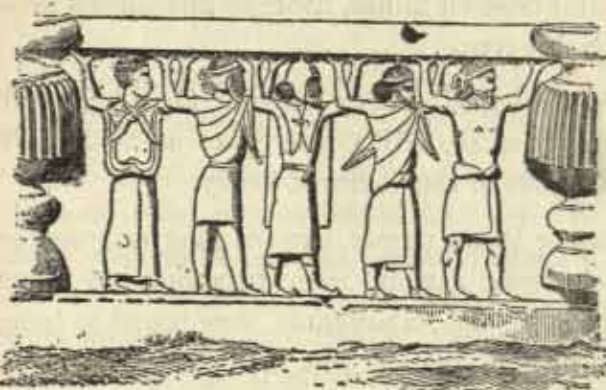
The system devised by Darius for checking and controlling the satraps Rawlinson praises as probably the best that has ever yet been brought into operation.

The satraps were responsible for keeping their provinces guarded against foreign invasion and for furnishing military contingents when the king was at war.

Within his satrapy, the satrap controlled the finances and collected the taxes and tributes. Every part of the empire had been surveyed, and the lands appraised according to their productive capacity. A fixed sum was laid down as the amount of tribute to be paid in perpetuity. The payments were made either in cash or in kind or in both.

Egypt, with the dependencies of Cyrenaica and Barca, paid 700 talents and supplied the army of occupation with 120,000 measures of corn, worth 610 talents; and the fisheries of Lake

Moeris in the Fayum supplied 240 talents for the queen's private purse. The nome or political division comprising the Ionians, Carians and Lycians paid 400 talents of silver; and that comprising



Carvings at Persepolis, showing different nations conquered by Darius (note the figure of a negro looking first from left).

the Mysians, Lydians and some other peoples paid 500 talents. Phrygia, Paphlagonia and the Hellespont paid 300 talents. Media supplied 100,000 sheep, 4,000 mules, and 3,000 Nisæan horses, and Armenia 30,000 colts and 10,000 fowls. Cilicia gave 500 talents and 360 white horses. Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus paid 350 talents of silver.

Babylonia paid 1000 silver talents

and supplied 500 youthful eunuchs; Arachosia, with its dependencies Gedrosia and Gandara, gave 170 silver talents. The Indian division, which appears to have included the Western Punjab and the Indus valley, paid a tribute larger than that of any other satrapy, namely, 360 talents of gold dust (equivalent to over a million pounds sterling) and a number of hunting dogs for the king's palace. This statement of Herodotus regarding the amount of tribute obtained from the Indian division is astonishing. But Dr. Edward J. Thomas (art. "Zoroastrian Influence on Early Buddhism," *M. M. V.*, 280-1) considers it quite credible, since there was in this region a people and a civilization important enough to explain the great amount of tribute mentioned by Herodotus. Every three years Ethiopia

made a payment of gold, elephant tusks, ebony and five children; and the Colchians supplied 100 boys and 100 girls every five years.

Tolls or sluices and dues on mines, fisheries and forests were other sources of imperial revenue.

Grote calculates the total money tribute at £4,254,000, Maspero and Huart put it at £4,000,000 and Sykes at £3,311,997—equivalent to £26,000,000 in the values of to-day.

The people of Pârs or Persia proper, like the Magyar grandees in Hungary previously, were exempt from taxation, but when the king passed through it, the inhabitants were bound to bring him gifts according to their means. A poor man could bring even a little milk or cheese or a handful of vegetables or of flour.

Darius was the first Persian monarch to introduce a uniform gold and silver coinage. His gold coin was the purest coin that ever was struck and became "the sovereign of the ancient trading world". It bore on the obverse the figure of the king as an archer bending his bow with one knee on the ground. The term Daric by which the Greeks knew this coin is derived from *Δαρεῖοι σιαῖώρες*. The name of the coin has nothing to do with the name of the king as Clement Huart and some others have understood. In Persian the name of the coin is *zariq*, meaning a gold-piece. The coining of gold was the prerogative of the king. Silver could be coined by the satraps, generals, independent communities, and dynasts.

Darius may truly be distinguished as the father of *svarâj* (local self-government). In Egypt the district princes ruled as of old. Many tributary provinces, such as Cilicia and the Phœnician and Ionian cities, were allowed to be administered by their own native princes. The Jews of Jerusalem enjoyed considerable political liberty under their own leaders.

The Persian rule was mild, and the subject races enjoyed the benefit of being under a powerful central government that could effectively protect them from the aggression of other nations and also assured to them the rights and privileges as well as the burdens and responsibilities of members of a common state.

Seven great houses had the precedence of all other nobility. They were known as the Seven Princes or Seven Counsellors, and sate next to the king at public festivals. Their advice was taken in all important matters of state, and they enjoyed the privilege of demanding admission to the king's presence at any time and could approach him without the formality of being previously announced by the court usher.

As said before, Darius declares in his Behistûn inscription that he ruled in accordance with the Law (*âbashtâ*: or, as some read the word, *arshtâ*, which means 'rectitude'). In this connection we may mention that there were law books in Persia from ancient times. One of the three divisions, namely, the Dâtic, of the 21 original Avesta Nasks, included the law books. These law books were not like the codes of Greece and Rome, but contained a collection of legal principles on which justice was administered.* Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana writes in the Introduction to Vol. XV of his and his father's monumental work, the transliteration and translation of the Dinkard:— "Surveying Book VIII (of the Dinkard), as a whole, the reader cannot but be impressed by the high, social, religious and legal institutions in vogue among the ancient Iranians of the times when these Nasks were written. These people were completely free from the idolatrous and superstitious customs of their neighbours who surrounded them on all sides, and gloried in their pure Mazdayasnân Revelation consciously and earnestly shunning evil in all its forms. The high priest appears to have been vested with great powers in all matters social, religious and legal; and great respect must have been paid to his decisions in all disputes referred to him. The Dâtic Nasks on Law classify various crimes with great exactitude, and attempt at enunciating the law of Evidence and of Procedure, which at once testifies the high stage of civilization attained by the then Iranians."

Arbitration, release of accused on bail, and representation by a pleader,—all these which are supposed to be modern institutions, were in vogue in Iran. As regards judgeships, a woman or a

* See Mr. J. C. Tarapore's monograph on Law in Ancient Iran in I. I. S., in which an excellent summary of the ancient Persian Law is given.

minor who was conversant with law was recognised over and above an adult who was unfamiliar with it. A *pâtaکشâzan* or *shâhzan* wife, that is, one who had married her husband with her parent's consent, was entitled to legally conduct the plaint of her husband.

Darius abolished private vengeance and converted it into state vengeance in conformity with the idea of the state as the minister of justice. B. W. Leist points out that it is something great that at a time so early the principle which the Romans reached only slowly and with a halting movement found expression, *viz.*, that in public as in private affairs, no one should practise revenge for himself or redress for himself, but that the state by its judicial courts should be the preserver of justice. (See Justi's monograph on the Sovereignty of the Persians, I. I. S., 247.)

The king's bodyguard consisted of 2000 horsemen and 2000 foot-soldiers, recruited from Persians and Medes and probably from Susians also. Their lances were about seven feet long and were ornamented below with gold or silver apples, whence they were known to the Greeks by the name of Melophoroi. They also bore bows and arrows. Next to them, were the 10,000 Immortals, formed into ten battalions of a thousand each, the first of which bore lances adorned with pomegranates. Their Persian name was *Amârtyanâm Sapâdâ*, meaning Immortal Soldiers. The probable reason for their being so named is this that as soon as one of them died he was replaced so that the number of ten thousand remained constant. Their commandant was known to the Greeks as Chiliarch.

The standing army consisted of these royal guards and the garrisons of forts and strongholds. The chiefs of the citadels of the cities were called *argapats*. In the time of war levies were raised. The subject races equally with the ruling people were bound to military service. The army commanders were selected principally, though not exclusively, from Iranians. Of the eight generals named in the Behistûn inscription six are Persians, one a Mede, and one an Armenian. Medes, Babylonians, Lydians, Jews and Greeks were frequently appointed to the

highest military and administrative posts. A general review of the troops took place throughout the empire every year. The king personally conducted the review of the troops in the neighbourhood of the capitals. In remote provinces the review was held in the king's name by persons deputed by him.

The kings were always attended by a number of wise men, principal among whom were the Head Priests, and consultation with them was frequent.

The royal banquets were on an imposing scale, as many as a thousand oxen, sheep and other animals being slaughtered daily for the service of the palace. The dainties for the royal table were brought from the most distant parts of the empire: the bread which the king ate was made from the wheat of Æolia, the salt which he used was brought from the neighbourhood of the temple of Ammon in Africa, the wine which he drank came from Chalybon in Syria. (A. H. C.E., 160-1.) As already mentioned, the drinking water was fetched from the Choaspes.

To Herodotus a Persian grandee was fully as cultured a man as, and in many respects, a more thorough gentleman than the best of the Greeks. (See Sir Arnold T. Wilson's art. in the *Asiatic Review* reproduced in *K. I. H.*, 23-6-29.) The Greeks confessed that the Persian kingdom was great and mighty through the zeal and good fortune with which all obeyed the commands of the Great King even more than through the excellent qualities and policy of the State authority. (Justi's monograph "The Sovereignty of the Persians," *I. I. S.*, 246.)

Xenophon (*Cyropædia*, VII, 5) refers to ancient Persian bravery as proverbial. Darius himself has immortalized the achievements of his soldiery in the inscription at Naksh-i-Rûstam in the following eloquent terms:—"Look well at those statues which support my throne, and if thou dost recognize them, then it will be known to thee that the spear of the Persian reaches far. Then it will be known to thee that the men of Persia far beyond their own country wars are wont to wage." (H. F. Talbot's translation, *R. P.*, Vol. V.)

Such were the patriotism and loyalty of the soldiery that in war the safety of the king's person was their first thought.

The sentiments of the ancient Persians towards their kings Firdausi has well expressed in the following couplets:—

چنان دان که شاهی و پیغمبری دو گوهر بود در يك انكشتری
ازین دو يكی را همی بشکني روان و خرد را بی افکني

("Know this that kingship and the office of a prophet are like unto two gems in one ring. If thou breakest one of them, thou destroyest thy soul and wisdom.")

The martial spirit and splendid patriotism of the Persians can be said to be the natural outcome of their religious doctrines. Burnouf (*Etudes sur la Langue et les Textes Zends*, p. 81) observes correctly that the character at once martial and religious, which appears with such heroic traits in most of the Yashts, could not have been without influence on the masculine discipline under which, if we may believe classic antiquity, the monarchy established by Cyrus rose to grandeur. The Zoroastrian doctrine insists upon the followers of the faith to resist and destroy all that is evil and injurious to man and to respect and honour all that is good and beneficial. In the *Afringhân Gahâmbâr* the reciter puts up a prayer as follows:—"I pray in my blessings that he (the province-governor) may conquer in victorious battles every malicious foe, and each malignant, profane in thoughts, and words and actions, that he may indeed be constantly victorious in his own religious thoughts, and words, and deeds, and unvarying in the smiting of every foe and of every *daeva*-worshipper, and that he may, as he proceeds, be well rewarded and of good repute, possessing a far-foreseeing preparation of the soul. And I pray with blessings thus: Live thou long and blessed be thou, 'hail' to thee: live for the aid of holy men, and for the crushing of the evil."

Allusion may be made in this place to one other important element which has contributed to make the Persians a physically and mentally gifted people, and that is the climate of their native country. Mr. Arthur U. Pope points out this fact clearly in his "Introduction to Persian Art" (pp. 216-7). He writes:—"There can be no question but that the climate of Persia with the exhilarating atmosphere and brilliant sun has left its mark.

Recent researches in the action of sunshine have shown that it is a factor of primary importance in maintaining physical and mental vigour and of all the natural endowments of which Iran can boast, from time immemorial it has been the gorgeous sunshine which has perhaps been the most precious. Every traveller in the land becomes poetical in its contemplation."

The soldiers were equipped with the bow, spear, and dagger and carried a light buckler made of osiers. They wore a long tunic falling to the ankles, with wide hanging sleeves which covered the arms to the wrists. The tunic was adorned with a rich border and rosettes. They wore laced boots of soft yellow leather, gold bangles on their wrists, and a cap surrounded by a twisted fillet. (H. A. P. C., 98.)

It was the custom of the Persians to march at sunrise. In connection with the march of Darius Codomannus, Curtius Rufus (quoted by Mr. M. Franklin in his art. "Magi in Classical Latin writers", D. H. M. V., 526-7) says (Hist. Alex. 3, 3, 8):—"The signal was given by the trumpet from the king's tent on which there blazed an image of the sun enclosed in a crystal so dazzling that it could be seen throughout the camp. Their order on the march was as follows:—The fire which they call holy and eternal was carried on silver altars; next came the Magi singing the songs of their countries."

The army was accompanied by doctors and veterinary surgeons, whose work was to give prompt relief to the wounded and the disabled. After the battle, hot bath was given to each soldier and the relaxation of the body was regarded necessary.

As to the training in horsemanship and the use of arms, the fact is to be remembered that from the earliest times the Persians had to maintain an almost continual fight with the Tartars and the Huns, who were in the habit of making inroads again and again into Iranian territories. The Pehelwans (warrior-chiefs) of old were not knights-errant roaming in quest of adventures or entering lists and jousts to find favour in the eyes of their lady-loves; but still they were as chivalrous as any of the Knights of King Arthur's Round Table.

At the age of 15 the Persian boy was considered to have attained majority and became liable to military service from that time till he reached the age of 50.

The most distinguished youth were educated under the monarch's eye, practised their exercises at the gate of his palace, and were severely trained up to the habits of temperance and obedience in their long and laborious parties of hunting. The training which they received was an object of admiration to the Greeks. Similar institutions were set up by the satraps in their districts.

The boys were made to rise early and were drilled in batches of fifty. They were inured to heat, cold and rain, and taught to cross rivers without getting their arms wetted. In the morning they learnt the art of defending their country, and learnt agriculture in the evening. While in these ways they became hardy and their bodies became sound as stone, their moral and religious education was at the same time well looked after.

The military training of the royal princes commenced at the age of seven. At the age of fourteen they were put under four instructors,—one a wise priest to train them in religious and political matters, one to impart moral instruction, one to advise them to abstain from lust, avarice and other evil passions, and one to instruct them in valour and fortitude.

In the matter of the education and the training of their children the first aim of the Iranian parents was to make them worthy and useful members of Society,* and to implant in their souls the highest principles of conducting life. The Persian youth, writes Xenophon in the *Cyropædia*, go to school to learn righteousness, as ours go to school to learn the rudiments of reading, writing and reckoning.

Mr. Carter points out that a study of two writers, Herodotus and Xenophon, reveals that two Greeks, two of the wisest and

* In the *Ātaah Nyāish* (Yaana LXII, 5) the Zoroastrian parent prays for the grant to him of a child that has innate wisdom, that would rule well and participate in the deliberations of the *Anjuman* (public assembly), that is well-grown and respectable, that relieves the distress of others, that is strong and advances the good of his house, his family, his town, and his country, and that of the government of the country.

most travelled men of the ancient world, from a real experience of contemporary conditions, approved of the Persian ethics, and what cannot be doubted is that to the ancient Persians Truth and Religion were one. (See art. "European appreciation of Poure-Davoud's work," K. I. H., 14-7-1929.) In the following words, which Justi quotes and Prof. A. Hoffmann Kutschke repeats, Count de Gobineau indicates the moral superiority of the ancient Iranians over the people of the God of the Bible:—"The God of the Bible is surely great and sublime; but His people compared with those people whom one hears here instructing (the Iranians in the Vendidad III. 2, 6-10; III. 25-27, etc.) are very low; and one understands the special earnestness and the kind of wonder with which Herodotus talked about old, and even at the time he lived, almost dead Persians who held bravery and truthfulness high above everything else. Even the Grecians of old never accustomed us to such a language." (See Hoffman-Kutschke's monograph "Iranica", D. H. M. V., 568.) Justi likewise remarks:—"Through many witnesses above reproach it has been satisfactorily ascertained that the handshake was the safest security among the old Persians * * * The same thing is true of the Persians, and it is well enough known of the present day Parsis that their handshake to a businessman has the security of an oath." (Ib., 567.)

In his admirable treatise on *Naturstudium und Christentum*, the German Professor F. Bettex pays a fitting compliment to the ancient Iranian system of education in the following emphatic words:—"It is an alarming fact that in spite of compulsory schools, the latest educational system and newest methods, the number of juvenile offenders has increased in Germany fifty-one per cent. during one decade. In Australia matters are worse. These are results which no fine phrases about progress at pedagogic congresses can solve: in this department, more than in any other, the maxim holds: 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' The chief question is not what we teach our boys and girls, but what they grow up to be; not what they know, but what they are. The catalogue of the double stars renders no man honest; to be acquainted with the laws of physics is no warrant of truthfulness; nor does applied mechanics ensure

to a man an affectionate or humble disposition. In place of brand new theories, recent systems, and psychological and sentimental addresses and resolutions, let modern education give us scholars, who, like the youth of ancient Persia, 'fear heaven, revere their parents, and speak the truth,' and we will believe in it."

The construction of high roads for rapidity of communication from end to end of the empire was initiated by Cyrus and Cambyses and extended by Darius. The most important of them was a royal road from Sûsâ to Sardis, a distance of 1500 miles. On these roads forts and guards were maintained for the safety of travellers and traders, and hostelries and caravanserais for their comfort. The existence of these roads and the safety of travel, combined with the introduction of a common coinage for the whole empire, made the exchange of commodities extremely easy and stimulated production which contributed to the increasing prosperity of all parts of the empire.

A postal service was inaugurated, postal stations being established at intervals of about four *pharsangs* (1 *pharsang* = $3\frac{1}{3}$ miles). There were one hundred and eleven such stations between Sûsâ and Sardis and were held by troops. Disregardful of storm, cold or heat, the king's courier rode night or day without stoppage from one stage to the next, where he delivered his post to another courier, who was ready with his horse saddled and bridled, to take it on to another stage. Rivers and streams were crossed by means of bridges or swift boats. The couriers rode 'swifter than the crane', so that a despatch from Sûsâ could be delivered at Sardis within five or six days. This system of mounted posts, the first in the world, was known as 'angareion'. Such a system was introduced into France by Louis XI in 1470, and by Edward IV into England in 1481, that is, Europe was twenty centuries behind Persia in this matter. The orders to the provincial heads were inscribed on skins (*diphtherai*) and sealed with the royal seal. The court journals and records were also written on skins. For literary and commercial purposes a cursive style of writing was employed. The cuneiform characters were suited only for inscriptions.

Old Persian was the language of the court and nobility. Dr. G. Buchanan Gray says (*C. A. H.*, Vol. IV, 202) that whether or not the Achaemenides and their subjects employed the Aramaic alphabet for writing Persian otherwise than monumentally there is at present no evidence to determine, but subsequently the Aramaic alphabet was so used, and from it the Pahlavi alphabet is derived. He mentions also that under the Persian empire Aramaic was used in India, and as it became in Persia the source of the Pahlavi, so did it in India of the Kharoshthi alphabet.* From Dr. W. E. Barnes† we learn that Aramaic was spoken over the greater part of Western Asia as far as Babylon and in the commercial cities of Egypt as far south as Assouan: it was the language of diplomacy and commerce, and it is probable that the Jews in Babylon, in Mesopotamia and in parts of Syria understood it better than their own sacred tongue. Some of Lord Jesus Christ's own words are recorded in Aramaic,—*Talitha cumi* (Mark V, 41), *Ephphatha* (Mark VII, 34), *Sabachthani* (Matt. XXVII, 46).

An inscription of Darius, in the Greek language, which was found in 1886 at Deirmenjik in Magnesia, reveals both Darius's solicitude for the improvement of cultivation (quite a Zoroastrian sentiment) and his religious tolerance towards his non-Zoroastrian subjects. It is addressed to the Greek Godatas, a satrap of Asia Minor, and says:—"The king of kings, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to his slave Godatas says thus:—I learn that thou dost not obey my commands in all respects. In that thou cultivatest my land by transplanting the fruits (of the country) beyond the Euphrates to the lower parts of Asia, I commend thy purpose, and by reason of this there shall be laid up for thee great favour in the king's house. But in that thou settest at naught my policy towards the gods, I will give thee, if thou dost not change, a proof of my wronged feelings, for thou didst exact

* Herzfeld (*H. P.*, 78) mentions that it was by order of Darius that for the first time parchment was introduced as writing material into the Achaemenian offices replacing the clay tablets, Aramaic script as the official script replacing the cuneiform, and Old Persian as the official language replacing Aramaic. That was the moment of the creation of Pahlavi.

† "The Second Book of the Kings" in the revised version with Introduction and Notes by W. E. Barnes, D.D., p. XXXIX.

a payment from the sacred gardens of Apollo and didst command them to dig unhallowed ground, not knowing the mind of my forefathers towards the god, who had told the Persians the whole truth." (B. S. H. C., 162.)

The remarkable tolerance of the Achaemenides towards the peoples of other faiths was in no way due to their want of favour for the national religion, but was at once the outcome of their political wisdom and the logical consequence of the liberal character of the Iranian religion. The munificence and generosity of these Iranian sovereigns towards Greek, Egyptian and other temples stands out in glorious contrast to that of their Greek successors, who were known for robbing temples. Antiochus the Great robbed the temple of Aine at Ekbatānā. Antiochus Epiphanes made it almost the business of his life to plunder Syrian, Elymæan and Jewish temples, and even Pyrrhus was not above plundering temples. (See Sir J. C. Coyajee's art. "The Pax Achæmenica," J. C. M. V., 59).

In his *History of the Ancient World* (Vol. I, p. 126) Rostovtzeff expresses the view that it is probable that Persia owed to Darius Hystaspes her new religion, the religion of the notable prophet and reformer Zoroaster. This is a mistake. Zoroaster's religion was propagated a long time before the Achaemenian period.

The greatest of the structures erected by Darius was at Persepolis. He had chosen, writes Prof. Rogers (R. H. A. P., 140), a site splendidly suitable for notable and majestic building, but so vast as to dwarf into insignificance anything less grand than man's greatest efforts. The platform stretches from north-west to south-west 1523 feet and has a breadth of 920 feet. On it Darius built two structures, his winter palace, and an audience room, known as the Hall of a Hundred Columns.

The diligent and learned archaeologist of the Government of India, the late Dr. Spooner, has unearthed at Kumrahar, near Patna, the palace and other buildings of the Mauryan king Chandragupta, grandfather of the famous Emperor Asoka, which appear to be planned after this palace of Darius.

At Naksh-i-Rûstam there are four sepulchres hewn in the

face of a rocky cliff, which are understood to be tombs belonging to Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I and Darius II. The third sepulchre to the right, near the point where the cliff makes the sharp angle, has been positively identified as the tomb of Darius.

About the practice of depositing the remains of the Achaemenians in tombs, Prof. Herzfeld wrote to Sir J. J. Modi from Shiraz on 24th April 1932 as follows:—"It is well known that the Achaemenides themselves were buried in their rock-cut tombs and even that their bodies had, originally, been, if not embalmed, at any rate preserved somehow. I do not need to speak to you about the contradiction to later Zoroastrian customs implied therein. The explanation, or better one way out of the difficulty, has been that for the kings an anomaly might be supposed. Against that thought militates the fact that the tombs contain a rather large number of places, hence the anomaly must be extended to the whole royal family. The other way was, according to Herodotus, only the Magi exposed the dead bodies in dakhmehs. Now we have discovered in the immediate neighbourhood of Persepolis a number, as far as ten or twelve tombs, that must be regarded, according to the type and workmanship, as belonging to the Achaemenian period, and at the same time as tombs of private persons. Hence it appears, already now, as sure that Herodotus' words must be taken in their literal meaning and that during the Achaemenian period burial in the earth was still the general custom among the Zoroastrians. We have found at the same time a very large number of true *astodâns* of the Arsacidan and mainly the Sasanian period. Hence, apparently, the custom, prevailing to the present day, spread after the Achaemenian period, from its original restriction to the Magi, into general use, and I feel rather sure, for instance, that the famous cave at Shâpûr is the place where the body of that great king had been exposed."

IV. XERXES.

On the death of Darius, Khshayarsha* (Xerxes), Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, ascended the imperial throne. He was

* Sir H. Rawlinson derives the name from *khshaya*, a king, and *arsha*, venerable. Tolman and Stevenson derive it from *khshya*, a ruler, and *arshan*, male.

born in the purple, his mother Atossa being a lineal descendant of King Cyrus. For this reason Darius had nominated him as his successor in preference to his eldest son Artabazanes, whose mother was the daughter of a nobleman, namely, Gobryas, one of the six confederates who had co-operated with Darius in the removal of the usurper Gaumata. While examining one of the palace sites in Persepolis, Herzfeld has discovered an important trilingual inscription in which Xerxes writes that he was not the normal heir to the throne, but his father had none the less nominated him to this position. (See K. I. H., 7-2-1932.)

Xerxes was 34 years of age, very beautiful in person, and in stature taller than all his subjects. In the book of Esther it is said that he reigned from India even upto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces.

In the second year of his reign he took an army to Egypt to crush the rebellion of Khababesha, who had usurped the government of that country. Khababesha was defeated and Xerxes appointed his own brother Hakhâmanish as satrap (B.C. 484 or 483). The fate of Khababesha is not known.

The people of Babylonia revolted and chose one Shammashirba as their king. Their independence was of short duration. After a few months' siege the Persian satrap Megabyzus reduced the city. The famous temple of Bel-Merodach was seized and its treasures conveyed to Persia.

Xerxes began to push his preparations for the long projected invasion of Hellas. At first he was disinclined to undertake this enterprise. But at length the persuasions of Mardonius and the instigation of the exiled tyrant Hippias and other Greek traitors at his court prevailed.

A fleet of 1207 triremes, including 150 furnished by the Cypriots, with crews averaging 200 men, and 3,000 thirty-oared and fifty-oared ships and transports, was collected from the maritime states. Persians, Medes and Sakaes served as marines (epibetae) on board the vessels. The satraps furnished considerable bodies of troops from the provinces. Herodotus mentions no less than fifty different nations from whom the expeditionary

force was formed. Following the "delightfully graphic" account of Herodotus, Huart gives the following description of the composition of the grand army, "the greatest expedition the world has known".

"At the head came the Persians and Medes, armed with the lance, bow and sword, as were the Cyssians and Hyrcanians, the Assyrians wearing bronze helmets followed and after them came the Bactrians, Arians and Parthians with their javelins and pikes, and the Sacae with their pointed caps and their axes, the cotton-clad Indians, the Ethiopians of Africa, with painted bodies, armed with long bows and flint-headed arrows, the Ethiopians of Asia (perhaps the negroid population of Makran), who wore extraordinary helmets made of horses' heads, and yet others, down to the inhabitants of the islands in the Persian Gulf. These were the infantry. Besides them were the men fighting from chariots, as there had been in the Egyptian and Assyrian armies. These were chiefly Persians and Medes, but there were also Sagartians from the country about Arbela, armed with lassos, Indians on vehicles drawn by wild asses, Bactrians, Caspians, Libyans, and Arabs on their dromedaries or one-humped camels. Each division was commanded by a Persian, and Mardonius was commander-in-chief."

Forty-six nations furnished the foot-soldiers, who were marshalled in 29 bodies under 29 brigadier-generals above whom were six generals-in-chief.

As to the Sacae mentioned above George C. Swayne makes an observation which is worth quoting. He writes:—"Some connect the Sacae with the Saxon, others also with the Sikhs of Northern India. It would indeed be strange if it were discovered that the English were pitted against their cousins at Sobraon, Chillianwallah, and Gujerat and recovered India through their aid afterwards, and that some of their ancestors were those who fought best on the losing side at Marathon and Plataea." (G. S. H., 87.)

A double line of bridge was built over the strait between Abydos and Sestos. One line was supported on 360, the other on

314 vessels, anchored head and stern with their keels in the direction of the current. Before this bridge could be actually used for transport, it was completely ruined by a storm. Herodotus narrates that for this catastrophe the Great King wreaked his wrath not only on the principal engineers who were responsible for the work by beheading them, but also on the waters of the strait which he commanded to be scourged with 300 lashes and branded with irons and further punished by a set of fetters let down into them. It is further told that the scourgers while punishing the waters addressed to them the following arrogant words:—"Thou bitter water, this is the penalty which our master inflicts upon thee, because thou hast wronged him though he had never wronged thee. King Xerxes *will* cross thee, whether thou wilt or not, but thou deservest not sacrifice from any man, because thou art a treacherous river of (useless) salt water."

Is it believable that Xerxes was so bereft of common sense as not to see that by such fatuous and futile outburst of wrath and display of vindictiveness he would be making himself an object of contempt and ridicule both to his own Persians and to the numerous Phoenicians, Egyptians, Greeks, and peoples of other subject nations who were employed on the works? We can ascribe this ridiculous story, as many others equally fanciful and fictitious, to the habit of the father of European history to lend dramatic interest to his narrative more in the manner of an epic poet or fiction writer than of a sober and faithful historian, with the view as much of amusing and interesting his audience as of bringing into ridicule the hereditary enemies of Hellas, the Persians. It is amusing to find Grote and other English historians giving credence to this palpably absurd story respecting Xerxes, even though they have noticed want of reality in many of the narrations of this ancient writer of Halicarnassus.

We might here note that in the ancient Zoroastrian nask *Dûbâsrûjîd* it was laid down among the directions to be observed on the day of battle that on that day the *Yazishna* ritual was to be performed, the holy Avesta was to be recited during fighting, the water which was nearest to the place of battle

was to be consecrated, and *Zaothra* or consecrated water was to be brought. (D. D. S., Vol. XVI, 9.)

A new double bridge was constructed with elaborate care under the direction of Harpalus, a Greek. It was so solidly built that men, horses and vehicles could pass with as much comfort and facility as they could move on shore. It was a wonder of early military engineering, and the making of it, says J. H. Hale (H. F. S. F., 5), would tax the resources of the best army of to-day.

Another double bridge was thrown across the Strymon and the Persian engineers Bubares and Artachaeus carried out the stupendous work of cutting a canal, about a mile and a half long, and of such width as to allow two triremes to pass through rowed abreast, through the isthmus which connects the promontory of Athos with the mainland of Chalkidike, so as to avoid the dangerous Greek coast where a storm had shattered a Persian fleet on the former expedition. In this canal 300 daries were found in 1839, and Prof. Rogers informs us that one may still see faint signs of a line of ponds from 2 to 8 feet deep and 60 to 90 feet wide. The road was put in order. The 'King's way,' in Thrace, remained an object of veneration to the natives for generations to come. (C. A. H., Vol. IV, 269.) Large magazines stored with great quantities of provisions were set up at suitable stations along the intended line of march from the Hellespont to the Gulf of Strymon.

Herodotus has surpassed himself in his exaggeration of the strength of the grand army. He gives the numbers of foot soldiers and mounted troops at the huge totals, respectively, of 1,700,000 and 100,000 (including twenty thousand who rode in chariots or on camels), and the number of sailors and marines at the large figure of 510,000. With the addition of the reinforcements in Europe in the march from Doriscus to Thermopylae, Herodotus brings up the full total of the expeditionary army to the staggering figure of 5,283,220 men.

Modern historians refuse to accept these figures. Grote dismisses them as unwarrantable and incredible. Grundy finds it impossible to draw any conclusion from the statements

made, and though he hesitates to express any conjecture as to the possible maximum of the land force, as no evidence on the point can be said to exist, he estimates the number of the troops employed on the land at more than half a million. Bury computes the land forces at 300,000. In view of the reliance the Persians placed on numbers and the size of the empire, Sykes assumes that the land and sea forces combined, inclusive of followers, aggregated perhaps two millions. Rawlinson conjectures that the Persian army could scarcely have exceeded a million combatants. Dalbrück attributes to Xerxes an army of no more than 65,000 to 75,000 fighting men. (G. G. P. W., 210, f. n.)

Grundy (Ib. 538) points out that leaving out of consideration the difficulties to be overcome before the huge mixed force was collected at Sardis, the organization which enabled this great army to be brought without accident or without a hitch of any kind over the eight hundred miles of difficult country which separated its base from Middle Greece must have been the outcome of a highly effective and highly elaborated system evolved by a people whose experience was indeed large and long, but who must also have been gifted with that very high form of mental capacity which is able to carry out a great work of this nature. Munro (C. A. H., Vol. IV, 269) draws attention to the noteworthy fact that Xerxes with titanic might ignored the divinely ordered constitution of the world; his army marched across the sea, and his navy sailed through the dry land. But, says this historian, the organization of the supplies for the expedition, although we hear less of it, was a greater feat.

From a marble throne erected on a hill near Abydos Xerxes watched the magnificent panorama of his huge land force, with all their varied arms, accoutrements, and dresses, crossing the pontoons, and his ships sailing in the strait. There is a story that at first the soul of Xerxes exulted at the thought that all these myriads were his subjects, led on by himself to a great enterprise, but the next moment he burst into tears. Artaxerxes, who stood near him, asked, "What is it that thus affects the Great King of the nations? and why is the lord of men sad?" "Ah," said Xerxes, "it burst upon my mind that of all those

myriads who now swarm beneath me, not one will be alive a hundred years hence!" (A. H. C. E., 165.) At the first moment of sunrise, the king, it is related, poured a libation into the sea from a goblet, offering prayers to Helios that he might achieve the conquest of Europe. Evidently, the king had the *yazishna* ceremony performed in accordance with the injunctions laid down in Dúbāsrūjid nask to which allusion has been made above.

The crossing was effected in seven days and seven nights. At Doriscus, at the mouth of the Hebrus, the fleet and army were counted.

The story told by Herodotus that at the crossing of the Strymon, near the place called the Nine Roads, Xerxes sacrificed nine youths and virgins is a palpable fiction. The Zoroastrian religion, and for the matter of that the pre-Zoroastrian religion, absolutely forbade human sacrifices. Prof. Sayce has drawn up a severe indictment against Herodotus and denounced his history as not only untrustworthy but unveracious. The net result of Oriental research, says this renowned Egyptologist and Assyriologist, in its bearing on Herodotus, is to show that the greater part of what he professes to tell us of Egypt, Babylonia and Persia is really a collection of 'märchen', popular stories, current among the Greek loungers and half-caste dragomans on the skirts of the Persian empire. (See K. S. A. P. H., 91.)

All the Greek states, with the exception of Athens and Sparta and probably their allies, acknowledged their submission to Xerxes, sending envoys to him bearing earth and water as the tokens of submission.

Seven thousand Greeks, including 300 Spartans under the command of Leonidas, held the Pass of Thermopylae,* between the hills and the sea, the idea being to arrest the progress of the invaders at some northerly point which could be held against enormous odds. A squadron of 271 vessels stationed itself near the promontory of Artemisium in the island of Eubœa and protected the right flank of the pass against a diversion of the grand fleet. (M. P. E., 718.)

* Thermopylae means the Hot Gates and was so called because in this place were a number of springs of warm mineral water, salt and sulphurous, which were used for the sick to bathe in.

The Medes and Cyssians, and then the Immortals charged the Greeks, but their personal bravery, great as it was, was of little avail against the superior arms and heavy armour of the Greeks. The attack on the second day proved equally futile. At last by means of Ephialtes, a Malian, Xerxes learnt the existence of the rough mountain path of the Anopæa over the mountains, descending in the rear of Thermopylae. He ordered Hydarnes to proceed with the Immortals along the path by night and at dawn take the Greeks in the rear. The thousand Phocians who had been posted to guard this tract pusillanimously betook themselves to flight without offering resistance. When this news reached Thermopylae, many of the Greeks in the pass retreated. There remained about three thousand and four hundred men, who, led by Leonidas, fought valiantly until every one of them perished. Four hundred Thebans who had previously surrendered themselves to the Persians were saved (B.C. 480).

Some verses of the hymn which the poet Simonides, who survived the Persian wars, wrote in honour of the Spartans who fell at Marathon are preserved:—"Renowned was their fortune and fair their fate. Their tomb is an altar; instead of laments they have remembrance, instead of pity, praise. Their shroud is such as neither decay nor the victory of time will touch, for they were brave men and their graveyard took the Glory of Hellas for its inmate. To this Leonidas, the king of Sparta, bears witness who has left a great memorial of valour and eternal glory." (C. A. H., Vol. IV, 506.)

The same poet also composed the inscriptions that were engraved upon the pillars that were set up in the pass to commemorate this great action. One was outside the wall, where most of the fighting had been, and ran as follows:—

Here did four thousand men from Pelops' land
Against three hundred myriads bravely stand.

In honour of the Spartans was another column—

Go, traveller to Sparta tell
That here, obeying her, we fell.

The Persian loss of men in the Pass was greater than that of the Greeks. But the advantage which Xerxes gained was

prodigious and the terror of the Greeks immense. (G. H. G., Vol. III, 450.) Central Greece now lay at the mercy of the invaders. The Thebans, the Phocaeans, the Locrians offered their submission to the Parsi king and appealed to his clemency. (M. P. E., 719.)

Xerxes destroyed Plataea and Thespiæ, and penetrated into Attica by the gorges of the Cithæron.

The Greek fleet, which was assembled at Artemisium to co-operate with the land force, retreated after two engagements with the Persian fleet.

A six days' march brought the king to Athens. At the advice of Themistocles, its inhabitants had evacuated the city and removed themselves to Træzen, Ægina and Salamis. A number of men who, acting upon the literal meaning of the mysterious message of the Delphic oracle that the Athenians must make themselves wooden walls, had built up wooden barriers on the hill of the Acropolis, made a brief resistance to the Persians and were all put to the sword. The citadel was burnt, together with the temple of Athena. The burning of the temple was not a deed of religious bigotry, but of avengement for the burning of Sardis, for we find that Xerxes was so tolerant of the alien rites and religions that he ordered the Athenian exiles who were in his camp to go up to the Acropolis and sacrifice to Athena according to their usual rites. Cicero says (*De Republica*, 3. 9. 14) that Xerxes ordered the temples of Greece to be burned because he thought that it was wrong for the gods whose home is this whole universe to be confined and imprisoned by walls.

The Greek fleet after retreating from Artemisium had taken up its station at Salamis, where it received reinforcements, which brought up its number to 380 triremes.

The capture of Athens and the advance of the Persian fleet to Phalerum caused consternation in the Greek fleet. Several contingents insisted on a retreat from Salamis to the Isthmus of Corinth. Themistocles was in despair. He knew that if the fleet once quitted Salamis, it would break up and the several allies would sail back to their own ports. To stop this disastrous contingency, he resorted to a cunning plan. He sent

his sons' pedagogue, Sicinnus, to Phalerum to tell Xerxes that the Greeks were so terrified that they meant to slip away out of the straits under cover of the night and now was the opportunity to destroy them. The object of the wily Athenian was to get Xerxes to divide his forces and give the Greeks a chance of defeating them in detail.

Acting on this information Xerxes despatched a squadron of 200 ships to close the western passage between Salamis and Megara, and the main fleet left Phalerum and took up station for the battle in three lines on each side of the rocky island of Psyttaleia.*

Shortly before the battle commenced, while Themistocles was offering sacrifices on the deck of his galley three noble Persian youths were brought to him. A soothsayer directed that they should be slaughtered in honour of Dionysus, and Themistocles suffered this horrible act to be done. (H.H.N., 386.)

The Persian fleet charged the allied Greek fleet (23rd September 480 B.C.). The Persians fought with their wonted bravery and in the beginning scored some success. But soon the tide of success turned in favour of the Greeks. The Persian vessels, owing to their large number and being arranged in a triple line, got entangled in the narrow fairways and rent each other with their beaks. Many vessels were thus destroyed and several others were sunk by the Greeks.

Several prominent Persians were killed, among whom was Ariabignes, a brother of the king and commander of the Ionian fleet. Among those who distinguished themselves on the Persian side was Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, a Greek fighting against Greeks.

Half the Persian ships were saved and retreated to Phalerum.

The classicists surpass the Greeks themselves in their laudation of the Greek achievement. The latter never fancied, as these classicists do, that their victory at Salamis had dealt a mortal blow to the Persians.

* Munro identifies Psyttaleia with the modern Lypsoakutali. (C. A. H., Vol. IV, 308.)

Byron, in his poem "*The Isles of Greece*," refers to Salamis in words that are often quoted :—

A king sat on the rocky brow,
Which looks on sea-born Salamis,
And ships by thousands lay below
And men in nations, all were his !
He counted them at break of day—
And when the sun set, where were they ?

The Greek victory cannot be ascribed either to the bravery of the Greeks or to the superiority of their naval tactics. It was more the result of a happy accident than of a well-conceived or well-concerted plan. The Greek leaders would have preferred avoiding the conflict and would have fled, but for the artifice of Themistocles which induced the Persians to hem them in. (V. P. A., 56.)

Xerxes summoned a council of war and on the advice of Mardonius decided to return to Asia, leaving sufficient troops with that general for the subjugation of Hellas next year.

Most western writers have portrayed Xerxes as a coward who at the defeat of his fleet at Salamis was seized with consternation and sought personal safety in a hasty flight to Sardis regardless of Persian honour and prestige. The monarch who personally conducted an expedition to Egypt and conquered that country could not have been a coward. There must have been some urgent and cogent reasons for Mardonius's advice that he should return to Persia. Munro (C. A. H., Vol. IV, 313) suggests the following as the likely reasons, namely, (1) the king had lost confidence in his navy, now defeated, demoralized, disorganized and dangerously Hellenic in composition; (2) the winter was at hand; (3) his supplies were running low; (4) there was no longer any hope of a speedy solution of the strategical problem; (5) perhaps news of the trouble in Babylon disquieted him; (6) he had accomplished enough to make a good show, and Mardonius could complete the conquest in a second campaign. One should not lose sight of the fact that an Oriental monarch cannot remain long away from his own country, without giving occasion for intrigues at home and insurrections in the provinces. Tarn

mentions that there was a fresh revolt of Babylon where Shamasherba had assumed the crown with the title of King of Babylon and King of the Lands and that Xerxes' return to Sardis after Salamis was due to this revolt. From Sardis he could keep touch both with Babylon and Mardonius. The revolt of Babylon was easily suppressed and the city's remaining fortifications were demolished. (Ib., Vol. VI, 1.)

A few days after Salamis the king began to withdraw his army through Boeotia, and proceeded through Siris and Abdera to the Hellespont. This was no precipitate flight, since 45 days were spent on the march.

Of the terror which possessed the Greeks after this battle we have the following refreshing description in Gobineau's *Histoire des Perses* (ii, 208);—"It was when the last battalions of the rear-guard of Xerxes had disappeared in the direction of Boeotia and when the whole fleet had departed that the Greeks took stock of themselves and of what they had just done and of what they could express their opinion upon,—all of which their poetry has so happily placed on record. Nevertheless it was necessary that the allies should ascertain that the enemy fleet had not been detained at Phalerum before they could dare to make any movement. Not knowing where the fleet was going they waited like doomed persons. They finally hazarded to come out of the bay of Salamis, and risked themselves as far as the heights of Andros. This is what they later called having pursued the Persians! They took care, however, not to be too near them, and striking again the road, each went to his respective country."

Gobineau characterises Greek history as the most elaborate fiction of the most artistic of nations (*La plus élaborée des fictions du plus artiste des peuples*).

Mardonius took up his winter quarters in Thessaly. Artabazus who with his corps had accompanied Xerxes on his homeward march returned to Chalcidice.

In B.C. 479 Mardonius marched through Boeotia into Attica and retook Athens in June of that year. The Athenians had once more to flee with their families to Salamis.

On 27th August, on the outskirts of Cithæron, near Plataea, a hundred and eight thousand Greeks under the general command of Pausanias confronted the Persians and won a decisive victory. Mardonius accompanied by his special guard, one thousand strong, displayed great gallantry and pressed the Greeks hard. But he fell by a rock hurled by Alcimnestus, the Plataean commander, and the Immortals were cut to pieces round his dead body. Herodotus speaks in the highest terms of the bravery displayed by the Persian soldiers in this battle. According to him, out of the large force of Mardonius only 3000 escaped alive, while the Greeks lost 159 men only. Plutarch puts the Greek loss at 1360.

The Greeks had such wholesome terror of the Persians that they would not think of carrying the war to the Asiatic coast. But when envoys came from the Samians inviting their fleet to Samos, promising a revolt in Ionia, their fear was dispelled and they decided to take the offensive.

The Persians had beached their ships at Scolopæis under the south slopes of Mount Mycale, and built there a fort of stones and stakes to protect them.

The Greek allies sailing to Asia disembarked at a long distance from the Persian position without any opposition. The Persians awaited the Greek attack behind a hedge of their wicker shields. The Greeks pressed through the hedge and overpowered them. The Samians, Ionians, Æolians and other Hellenes, who predominated in that division of the Persian army, deserted and fought against the Persians on the side of the allies. The Miletans also turned traitorous and misguided the fugitives and delivered them to their pursuers or slew them outright. The Persians alone fought stubbornly and grouped in small bands kept up an obstinate resistance, "with all the bravery of a great reputation,—the Old Guard of this Asiatic Waterloo." The Persians lost two generals, Mardonius and Tigranes, in this battle. On the Greek side, the Sicyonians lost their general Perilaus.

Munro says that the accounts of this battle given by Herodotus and Diodorus both leave uncomfortable doubts, and he asks, "How and where between the sea and river did the Greeks land

unopposed? What was the number engaged on either side, 5,000 or 25,000? Was Mycale a big battle or a hasty raid designed to liberate the Hellenes of the eastern continent at large or merely to destroy the enemy's last fleet in the Ægean before his army could come down from Sardis?" (C. A. H., Vol. IV, 344.)

The Spartans and other Peloponnesians went back to Greece, leaving the Athenians and their allies to conduct the siege of the important fort of Sestos, which was the key of the Straits. The garrison offered a stubborn defence, but at length, being famished for want of provisions and reduced to eating their bed-straps, one night they climbed down the wall on the landward side and abandoned the place (B.C. 478). The fugitives were pursued and overtaken at Ægospotami. The Athenian commander had the brutality to order the Persian commander Artayactes to be nailed alive to a board and his son to be stoned to death before his eyes.

It speaks volumes for the magnanimous disposition of the Persians of that period that Themistocles, who was the creator of the Athenian Navy and had sacrificed three noble Persian youths to god Dionysus just before the battle of Salamis, and craftily brought about the destruction of the Persian fleet in that battle, when, later, he was prosecuted by his own Athenians and banished, sought protection from the Persian king,* who received him kindly in his court at Sûsâ and presented him with the sum of two hundred talents, saying that he had earned the price which the Persians had placed on his head by delivering himself voluntarily into their power. (H. H. N., 407.)†

Whatever the results of the individual battles or of the war as a whole one fact stands out clear that throughout this campaign the native Persians and Medes distinguished themselves by their gallantry and loyalty. Benjamin (B.P., 107) observes that no

* Historians are divided as to whether the king who received Themistocles was Xerxes or his son Artaxerxes.

† "Alcibiades changing colour like a chameleon, Solon forsaking his life's work and going over to Pisistratus, Themistocles haggling over the price for which he should betray Athens before Salamis, and living at the court of Artaxerxes as the declared enemy of Greece, despised by the Persians as a wily Greek snake, this and others are sickening pictures which Chamberlain draws of the Hellene when viewed as a man apart from his poetry and his art." (Lord Redesdale's *Introdn.*, C. F. N. C., Vol. I, p. XVI.)

braver men than the Persian generals existed, and if victory be the invariable reward of courage, then the valiant hosts they led deserved to conquer. What, then, were the causes of the ill success of the campaign? The first and foremost cause assigned is the rugged nature of the country which did not permit of the Persians using to advantage their most formidable arm, the cavalry. The other causes mentioned are the remoteness of the country of invasion from the Persian base, the Greek superiority in respect of panoply, and the fact that the Greeks fought with the strength of despair for freedom's sake. The treachery of the Greek mercenaries in the army of the Great king, as, for instance, at Mycale, was another element which contributed to the Persian ill-success.

By the failure of the campaign Persia lost all her provinces in Europe and the islands of the Propontis and the Ægean, and Macedonia, Pæonia and Thrace recovered their independence.

After twelve years of petty operations, the Athenians, led by Cymon, son of Miltiades, sailed to the coasts of Asia Minor, and, according to the Greek reports, restored liberty to the Greek cities of Asia Minor expelling the Persian garrisons. Proceeding as far as the mouth of the Eurymedon, where the Persian admiral lay waiting, they defeated and destroyed a Phœnician* fleet of 340 vessels, and landed a force which gained a victory over the Persian army encamped along the shore. Then setting off with all speed towards Cyprus, they captured another Phœnician squadron of eighty ships which was on its way to succour the fleet at Eurymedon. Plutarch's opinion of Cimon is that if, though slothful and a drunkard, he could capture so many towns and gain so many victories, certainly if he had been sober and minded his business, there had been no Grecian commander, either before or after him, that could have surpassed him for exploits. (D. P. C., Vol. II, 195.)

In B.C. 466 ended the disastrous reign of Xerxes, which had lasted twenty years. His licentiousness had made him many

* "The Phœnicians were the English of the Ancient World. They were the sailors and traders who ventured into unfamiliar waters beyond the Mediterranean, and who carried the beautiful merchandise of the East to the vast corners of the known world, even sailing to Cornwall for the tin that was mined there. All their coastal cities were built with harbours and docks, warehouses and factories." (C. B. L. P., Vol. I, 344.)

enemies among his courtiers, two of whom Artabanus, captain of the guard, and Aspamithres, prefect of the palace, got up a conspiracy and murdered him in his sleeping apartment.

The Greek writers make him out as a prince at once violent and feeble, fickle, and licentious. With him, says Rawlinson, commenced the corruption of the Court—the fatal evil, which almost universally weakens and destroys Oriental dynasties. But Josephus, the Jewish historian who flourished in the first century A.D., records this of him that as he inherited his father's kingdom, he inherited also his piety towards God and honour of Him, for he followed his father's example in all matters relating to Divine Worship and was exceedingly friendly to the Jews. (See G. Payn-Quackenbos' monograph on the Religion of Xerxes, D. H. M. V., 297.)

Sir G. Maspero's judgment of Xerxes is that he was naturally averse to the war, without individual energy and destitute of military genius, so that he allowed himself to be beaten where, had he possessed anything of the instincts of a commander, he would have been able to crush his adversary with the sheer weight of his ships and battalions. Even after Salamis, even after Platæa and Mycæ, the resources of Hellas, split up as it was into fifty different republics, could hardly bear comparison with those of all Asia concentrated in the hands of one man; and so, says Maspero, Xerxes must have triumphed in the end had he persevered in his undertaking and utilized the inexhaustible amount of fresh material with which his empire could have furnished him. (M. P. E., 726.)

On the great platform at Persepolis Xerxes constructed the propylæa, two masses of work, guarded back and front by colossal winged bulls with human faces and beards, standing 15 feet high. They formed a gateway through which marched the envoys of the rulers of various lands conveying gifts to the King of Kings. Behind it was the superb audience chamber, the roof of which was supported by seventy-two columns. Further south was his superb palace, the ruins of which still stand bearing evidence of its original grandeur.

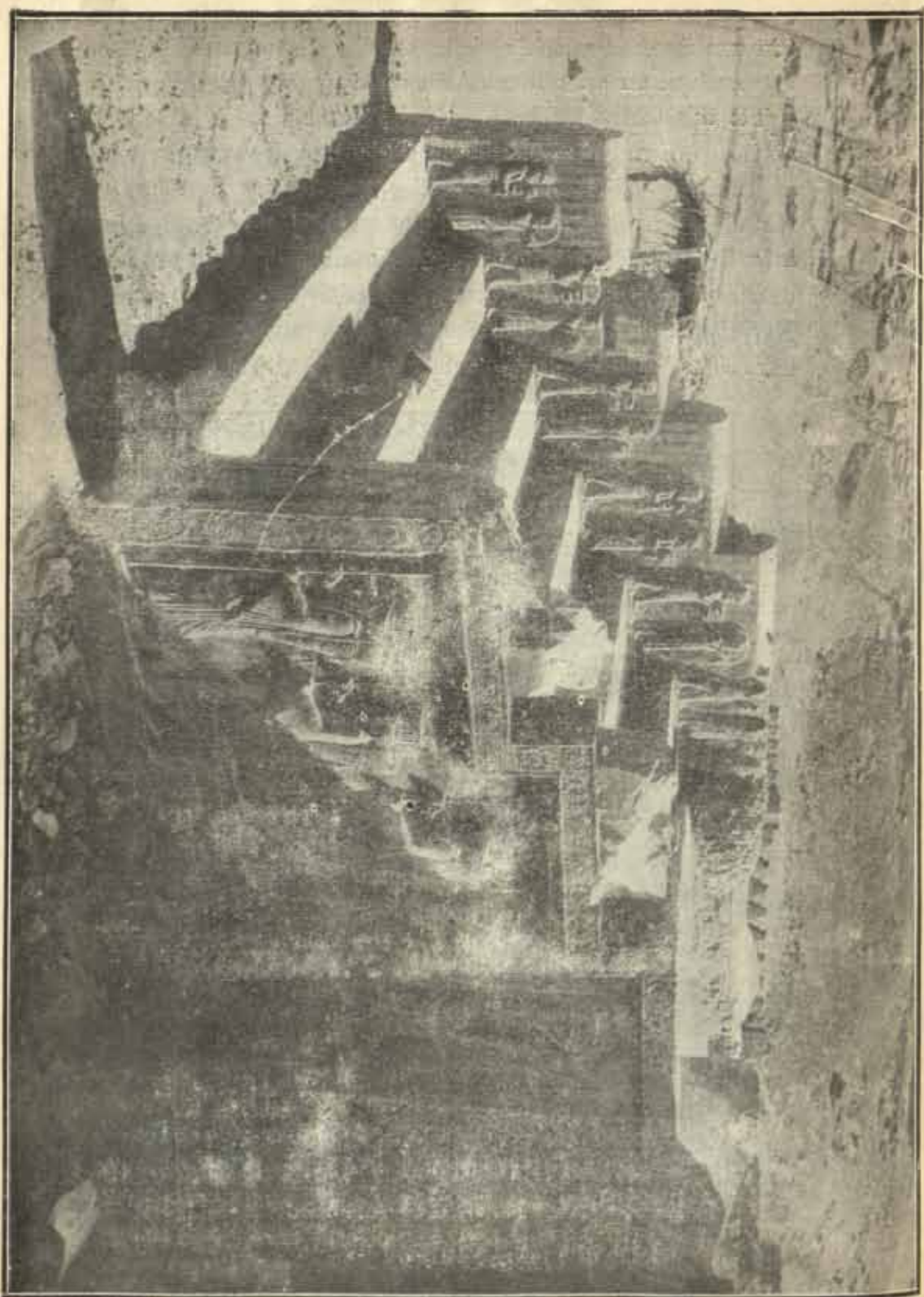
It has often been said that the great Achaemenian architect-

ture was the creature solely of the court and that it died without issue. Such an art critic as Arthur Upham Pope (P. I. P. A., 19) points this out as a fallacy. He says that there was affirmed at this period a sense of scale and grandeur that was never lost, a feeling for polychrome decoration, which was developed by the Sāsānians and reached its fulfilment in mediæval Persia, as well as an ideal of rationality and clarity, which if it was never comparable with that of Greece is certainly superior to that of Egyptian, Chinese, or Indian architecture, and which qualities have controlled Persian architecture until recent times.



Bearers of Tribute to Persia

(Relief sculpture from the stairway at Persepolis discovered in 1933.)



Excellent relief sculpture decorating part of the main stairways of the Palace at Persepolis unearthed in 1938.

The same authority mentions that Persia's most brilliant achievement in the field of architecture, one quite beyond competition, was in the perfection of methods and styles of surface decoration. The great Achaemenian palaces were aglow with rich colour and from that time on, the wall was regarded as a commanding opportunity for beautiful enrichment. (Ib. 37.)

In an inscription upon each one of the four pillars of the entrances to his palace at Persepolis Xerxes says :—"By the grace of Ahûrâ Mazdâ this colonnade (for the representatives) of all countries I made; much also (that is) beautiful (was) done throughout Persia which I did and which my father did; whatever work seems beautiful, all that we did by the grace of Ahûrâ Mazdâ." (Tolman's translation, see P. R. R. D., 38.)

V. ARTAXERXES.

Xerxes left three sons, Darius (Dârâ), Hystaspes (Vishtâspa) and Artaxerxes (Artakhshatra, Ardeshir). At the time of the king's death, Hystaspes was in Bactria as satrap. Artaxerxes, known as Longimanus, because his right hand was longer than his left, being led by Artabanus to believe that the assassination of Xerxes was the act of his brother Darius, consented to the murder of the latter, and ascended the throne (B.C. 466 or 465). Hystaspes claimed the throne and he was supported by the Bactrians. But in two bloody battles he was defeated by the royal army (B.C. 462), and nothing more was heard of him. According to Dr. Tarn (C. A. H., Vol. VI, p. 2) Artabanus reigned seven months, was recognized in Egypt, and defeated Xerxes' second son Hystaspes, but was outwitted by Artaxerxes, who bided his time, allowed Artabanus to remove those who stood between him and the throne, and then turned on the usurper and defeated and killed him.

Egypt, led by Amyrtaeus and Ienharou (Inarus), son of the Lybian Psametticus, raised a revolt. The Athenians sent a fleet of 200 triremes to support the rebels. At Papremis, in the Delta, the Persian army was attacked by the Egyptians and Athenians and sustained a defeat, the governor Achaemenes being slain (B.C. 459). The allies then assailed Memphis and took it, but the Persians held

the citadel, known as the White Fort. Megabyxus, who was sent by the king with an army to suppress the rebellion, defeated the allies in a great battle, and the citadel of Memphis was relieved.

The Athenian contingent fled to the large island of Prosopis, a portion of the delta completely surrounded by two branch streams of the Nile. Megabyxus by turning aside an arm of the river caused the waterways of the island to become dry, whereby the Athenian ships were stranded. The Persians assaulted and captured the whole fleet. The bulk of the Athenians perished. Some six thousand survivors capitulated and were removed to Sûsâ. Soon after a reinforcement of fifty Greek triremes, which had sailed into the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, was surrounded by the Phoenician fleet, and the greater part of the vessels destroyed.

Sykes (S. H. P., ed. 3rd, Vol. I, 215) comments that looked at from the military point of view, this campaign shows that even large bodies of Greek troops were not necessarily able to defeat the armies of Persia and makes it probable that had Artaxerxes been a man of character, the Greek colonies in Asia Minor would again have become subject to Persia, and the independence of Hellas would have been seriously menaced.

The rule of Artaxerxes brought peace and prosperity to Egypt, and this monarch proved himself equal to some of the very best of its native kings of earlier days. (See R. H. A. P., 177.)

To retrieve the loss to her arms in Egypt, Athens despatched 200 triremes under the command of Cimon, the victor of the Eurymedon, to the Eastern Mediterranean. Cimon sailed to Cyprus and laid siege to Citium. Here he was seized with an illness to which he succumbed and his fleet, pressed for want of provisions, raised the siege and retreated. Near the Cyprian Salamis, it came in collision with a fleet of Cilician and Phoenician galleys, which it defeated and landing the sailors on shore gained a victory also on land. Taking advantage of this fortuitous success Athens sent Callias, son of Hipponicus, on an embassy to the Persian court to negotiate terms of peace.

A treaty was entered into in B.C. 449, by which according to Plutarch's account (Life of Cimon, XIII, 4, 5), Artaxerxes

agreed to keep away from the Hellenic sea-coast as far as a horse could travel in a day and was not to sail west of the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles (commanding the entrance to the Bosphorus) with ships of war.

The very improbable story of this peace, so derogatory to the honour of the King of Kings appears to have been invented in after-times, within less than a century after the death of Cimon, to enhance that commander's military renown. Bishop Thirlwall (T. H. G., Vol. III, 37-8) distrusts it and says that the mere silence of Thucydides on so important a transaction would be enough to render the whole account extremely suspicious. Plutarch himself mentions that Callisthenes denies that the barbarian made any such terms. Dr. Louis H. Grey mentions that the authenticity of the treaty is highly doubtful (M. M. V., 138.)

Megabyxus, satrap of Syria, revolted, but Artaxerxes accepted his submission on his own terms, and readmitted him into his friendship.

Artaxerxes I Longimanus died in B.C. 425 or 424 after a reign of 41 years.

According to the Old Testament it was in the reign of this king that Ezra, a patriotic scribe of priestly lineage, led a second colony of Babylonian Jews back to Jerusalem.* In B.C. 458 he set out from Babylon with a band of six thousand exiles, among whom were many of the priesthood, and came to Palestine having the law of God in his hand and armed with the following *firman* from the Great king:—

"Artaxerxes, King of kings, unto Ezra the priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven, perfect peace and at such a time. I make a decree, that all they of the people of Israel, and of his priests and Levites, in my realm, which are minded of their own free will to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee.
* * * * And to carry the silver and gold, which the king and his counsellors have freely offered unto the God of Israel, whose habitation is in Jerusalem. And all the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of Babylon,

* Josephus puts this event in the reign of Xerxes.

with the free will offering of the people, and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of their God which is in Jerusalem. * * * * And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou shalt have occasion to bestow, bestow it out of the king's treasure house. And I, even I Artaxerxes the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river, that whatever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily."

During the reign of this king the Jewish religion was definitely established and sanctioned by law in Jerusalem. The king's cup-bearer and favourite Nehemiah ben Hekkelejah was made Tirshatha or governor of Judæa. By dint of incredible exertions he repaired the ruins of Jerusalem within the brief space of fifty-two days. In co-operation with Ezra he also restored the national institutions.

Whilst bewailing the enormous iniquities of the Hebrews of Jerusalem, Ezra offers the following tribute of gratitude to the Parsi kings :—" We were bondmen ; yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia, to give us a reviving, to set up the house of our God and to repair the desolations thereof, and to give us a wall in Judah and in Jerusalem."

Prof. Rogers (R. H. A. P., 188) is perfectly right in his assertion that there is no sound reason for believing that the favour shown to Nehemiah and the Jews was in any special way significant of the attitude of the Persians to this one people. The following interesting observations of his are the outcome of a correct judgment :—" Much has sometimes been made of the analogies between Zoroastrianism and Judaism, and the inference drawn that this accounts for the favour shown to the Jews. The resemblances are to be admitted, but far too much has been made of them. It is much more probable that the Persians treated the Jews well because they treated well all their subject peoples. We know the history of the Jews as we do not know the life of any other people in the empire save the Greeks. If we knew others so well, we should find that a settled policy of consideration for other peoples and races existed and found express-

ion whenever circumstances would permit. If nations rebelled, the strong arm was ready to reduce them, and the story of the war would find mention, but many must have been the examples of the contrary method, when there was no question of force, but only of the exercise of the ordinary functions of government and the ways of peace."

VI. XERXES II.

Artaxerxes I was followed on the throne by his son Xerxes II, who, after a reign of forty-five days, was murdered when he was drunk in a festival by his half-brother Sogdianus.

VII. SOGDIANUS.

The reign of Sogdianus lasted for a little over six months when he was in his turn put to death by another brother, Ochus (Vahuka), satrap of Hyrcania, who ascended the throne under the name of Darius II (B.C. 424 or 423). The Greeks gave him the sobriquet of Nothos in reference to his being one of the seventeen illegitimate sons of Artaxerxes.

VIII. DARIUS OCHUS.

Ochus had married the infamous Parysatis,* who had her hand in every plot in the palace. According to Ctesias she was his step-sister, and according to Deinon his aunt.

His reign of nineteen years was characterized by constant rebellions, which, however, were all put down chiefly with the employment of gold, and the leaders were executed.

Powerful armaments sent by Athens against Syracuse had met most disastrous ends (B.C. 413). She had lost the best part of her fleet and the choicest of her citizens. Not merely was the Athenian empire wholly lost, but Athens herself was defenceless. The Persian king took advantage of her disaster, and sent orders to his satraps Tissaphernes (Cheher-khoreh) and Pharnabazus (Khoreh-Bâzû) to exact the overdue tribute from the cities of Asia Minor.

* Oppert derives this name from *paru* (Sansk. *paru*), much, and *shiti*, land, earth, thus meaning 'she who has much land'. Some writers consider it identical with the modern Persian 'Parizâd', which means "Fairy-born." But its true derivation is from Av. *Para-Ishiti*, which means 'Much beloved'.

Between Tissaphernes, on behalf of himself and the Great King and Chalkideus, for Sparta and her allies, a treaty was concluded (B.C. 412), which Grote describes as a monstrous stipulation dishonourable and disadvantageous to the Greeks. It was worded as follows :—

The Lacedemonians and their allies have concluded an alliance with the king and Tissaphernes on the following terms :—

(1) Whatsoever territories and cities the King holds or the forefathers of the King held shall belong to the King; and from these cities whatever money or anything else came in for the Athenians shall be stopped by the King and the Lacedemonians and their allies acting in common, to the end that the Athenians shall receive neither money nor anything else.

(2) And the war against the Athenians shall be waged in common by the King and the Lacedemonians and their allies, and an end of the war against the Athenians is not to be made except with the consent of both parties, the King as well as the Lacedemonians and their allies.

(3) If any revolt from the King, they shall be enemies to both the Lacedemonians and their allies; and if any revolt from the Lacedemonians and their allies, they shall be enemies to the King in like manner.

In the same year another compact of treaty and friendship was entered into by the Lacedemonians and their allies on the one hand and King Darius and his sons and Tissaphernes on the following terms :—

(1) Whatsoever territory and cities belong to King Darius or belonged to his father or their ancestors, against these shall neither the Lacedemonians nor their allies go either for war or to do any harm; nor shall either the Lacedemonians or their allies exact tribute from these cities. Nor shall King Darius or those over whom the King rules go against the Lacedemonians or their allies for war or to do any harm.

(2) If the Lacedemonians or their allies have need of anything from the King or the King from the Lacedemonians or their allies, whatever they shall persuade one another to do, this shall be right for them to do.

(3) The war against the Athenians and their allies both parties shall wage in common, and if they make peace, both shall make it in common.

(4) Whatsoever forces shall be in the territory of the King, on the summons of the King, shall be maintained at the expense of the King.

(5) If any of the cities that have entered into this compact with the King shall go against the country of the King, the rest shall strive to prevent this and aid the King to the extent of their power; and if any of those who inhabit the King's territory or any territory over which the King has dominion shall go against the territory of the Lacedemonians or of their allies, the King shall strive to prevent this and give aid to the extent of his power.

Later on, Tissaphernes subdued the towns along the coast and the only places that remained to the Athenians in Ionia and Caria in the beginning of B.C. 411 were the ports of Halicarnassus and Notium and the islands of Cos, Samos and Lesbos.

In the thirteenth year of Darius's reign, while Alexippidas was ephor at Lacedemon, a revised convention was concluded in the plain of the Meander by the Lacedemonians and their allies with Tissaphernes, Hieramenes, and the sons of Pharnaces respecting the King's affairs and those of the Lacedemonians and their allies. In this instrument, the terms whereof were as under, nothing was stipulated as to any territory except the continent of Asia; but Grote (G. H. G., Vol. V, 374) points out that, by a diplomatic finesse, the terms implied that this was not *all* the territory which he was entitled to claim.

(1) The King's country, as much of it as was in Asia, shall be the King's; and concerning his own country the King shall determine as he pleases.

(2) The Lacedemonians and their allies shall not go against the country of the King to do any harm, nor the King against that of the Lacedemonians or their allies to do any harm. If any of the Lacedemonians or their allies shall go with harmful intent against the country of the King, the Lacedemonians and their allies shall prevent it; and if any from the King's country shall go with harmful intent against the Lacedemonians or their allies, the King shall prevent it.

(3) Maintenance for the ships now present shall be provided by Tissaphernes according to the compact until the King's ships shall come: and the Lacedemonians and their allies, after the King's

ships arrive, shall be at liberty to maintain their own ships if they so wish. If, however, they desire to receive maintenance from Tissaphernes, he shall furnish it, but the Lacedemonians and their allies, when the war ends, shall pay back to Tissaphernes whatever money they have received.

(4) And when the ships of the King arrive, the ships of the Lacedemonians and their allies and those of the King shall wage war in common, according as it may seem best to Tissaphernes and to the Lacedemonians and their allies. And if they wish to end the war with the Athenians, it shall be ended on the same footing for both.

As the Samaritans were excluded by the Jews from religious fellowship, they had organized an ecclesiastical system of their own, making the five books of Moses the standard of their faith and ritual, and rejecting all the other books of the Old Testament. They had also determined to have a national temple of their own, rivalling that of Jerusalem. In the reign of Darius II a temple was accordingly raised by them on Mount Gerizim, in the vicinity of Samaria, under the auspices of Sanballat, governor of Samaria under the Persians.

Darius died in B.C. 404. He had the mortification of seeing in his last days the loss of the Egyptian satrapy through a revolt headed by Amyrtæus II, who made himself a king. He is described as a monarch both weak and wicked, too much under the guidance of his wife Parysatis, who was a cruel and malignant woman. However, in the matter of nominating his successor he did not yield to her and appointed his eldest son Arsaces (Ashk) as heir to the throne, and not her favourite son Cyrus (Kúrûsh), whom she wanted to be so nominated.

IX. ARTAXERXES II.

On his enthronement Arsaces assumed the name of Artakhshir II (Artaxerxes II).^{*} The Greeks gave him the sobriquet of Mnemon, on account of his wonderful memory.

In his satrapy of Asia Minor prince Cyrus was secretly

^{*} Throne-names, or names appropriated to royalty, were in use among the Persians as among other Eastern nations. To the class of royal names belongs the name Artaxerxes. (E. B., ed. IX, Vol. II, 640.)

maturing his plans for wresting the crown from his brother, as he believed himself to be the rightful successor of his father as born after the latter's accession to the throne. Collecting an army of a hundred thousand Asiatics and thirteen thousand Greeks, he marched to Babylon. Artaxerxes confronted him at Cunaxa, about 50 miles from Babylon, with an immense army. The Greeks of Cyrus moved forward with quickened pace and singing the pæan, and routed the left division of the royal army. But Cyrus being slain, the campaign, which was a mere quarrel between the two brothers, ceased to have an object. His Asiatic soldiers retreated northwards and broke up. The Greeks transported their camp to the Tigris, which they crossed by a bridge laid upon thirty-seven pontoons. Proceeding to Opis they passed on to the Lesser Zab, and after five days' further march arrived at the Greater Zab. Clearchus and his four generals and twenty company commanders were enticed into the tent of Tissaphernes and arrested, and were transported to Babylon and beheaded. Cheirisophus and Xenophon took charge of the leaderless men and persevering through all obstacles brought them to the Greek maritime city of Trapezus (Trebizond) on the coast of the Euxine. This retreat, which occupied about one year, is known as the Retreat of the Ten Thousand and has few parallels in the history of the world. Xenophon has described it himself in his *Anabasis* in his inimitable style.

European historians record it as an important result of the famous Retreat of the Greeks through the heart of the Persian empire that it revealed to the Greeks the weak condition into which the empire of Cyrus and Darius had fallen through the inefficiency of some of the later kings. But in this connection the following pertinent observations of Dr. Tarn in Chapter I of *C. A. H.*, Vol. VI, deserve attention :—

"Cyrus' expedition has often been regarded as a prelude of Alexander's, a view which Arrian emphasized when he took Xenophon's title, *Anabasis*, for his own book, and outdid the list of superlatives applied by Xenophon to Cyrus with his own more eloquent list, in eulogy of Alexander. Cyrus to Xenophon was as much the king by natural right

as Alexander to Aristotle: the forces of nature do homage to both. But the prelude must not be taken to mean too much. The march of the Ten Thousand, though a great feat of courage and endurance, was unfortunately useful to Isocrates' propaganda against Persia; and Isocrates, to prove his contention that Persians were cowards (one figures Alexander smiling over the *Panegyricus*), drew a picture which has coloured much of literature since—a picture of 6000 men, the scum of Greece, defeating the whole strength of Asia, till Artaxerxes in despair betook himself to treachery, preferring to face the gods rather than the Greeks, and even so failed, and the 6000 returned home in greater security than many a friendly embassy. It is barely even the conventional half-truth. Cyrus marched almost the whole time through friendly territory or desert; he was defeated by an army quite unrepresentative of Persia's strength; only about half of the Greeks got back to Byzantium; and Xenophon, very honestly, records their fear of the cavalry of a single satrap. As the Greeks on their retreat were never attacked in earnest by a Persian army, that retreat no more proved Persia helpless than the destruction of the great Athenian expedition to the Delta had proved her invincible. Cyrus made men feel that Persia had become *accessible*; but her real weakness, the fact that her land system could not produce infantry capable of facing Greek hoplites, had long been known. From the military point of view, the position as between Greek infantry and Persian cavalry in Asia was, at best, indecisive; and the one lesson taught by Cyrus' expedition was that no one need hope to conquer Persia without a cavalry force very different from any which Greece had yet envisaged. That was the lesson which Alexander was to apply."

Cyrus possessed considerable activity and bravery and a strong will. Xenophon describes him as the kingliest and the most worthy to rule of all the Persians who have ruled since the elder Cyrus, according to the concurrent testimony of all who are reputed to have known him. (R. H. A. P., 212.) Grote estimates his ability as superior even to Cyrus the Great.

It is unprofitable to start conjectures as to what might have been. Still the Parsis cannot but bemoan that fate should have decreed that Artaxerxes should survive and Cyrus,

who had the ability to restore the rudely shaken Parsi empire to its primitive glory and power, should fall on the field.

As Sparta had helped Cyrus with a body of hoplites, there was now a rupture between her and Persia.

Athens made alliance with Persia and the combined Athenian and Persian fleets commanded by Pharnabazus, with his Athenian admiral Conon, defeated the Spartan fleet under Peisander at Cnidus (B.C. 394). More than half the Spartan ships were taken or destroyed. The two victorious commanders sailed from one port to another in the Ægean sea to expel the Lacedæmonian harmosts and put an end to the empire of Sparta. In 393 descents were made upon the coast of the Peloponnesus and the island of Cythera was seized. The appearance of a Persian satrap with a Persian fleet as master of the Peloponnesian sea and the Saronic Gulf was a phenomenon astounding to the Greek eyes and a melancholy proof, as Grote points out, of the degree to which Pan-Hellenic patriotism had been stifled by the Peloponnesian War and the Spartan empire. (G. H. G., Vol. VI, 471.)

The fortifications of Piræus and the Long Walls connecting Athens with that port were rebuilt with Persian money.

Sparta was in a consternation and sued for peace with Persia, sending Antalkidas, an artful and dexterous man of winning ways, as envoy for this purpose. She offered to abandon to the Great King all the Greek cities in Asia requiring nothing more than absolute autonomy for all the islands and the Greek cities in general. The first negotiations came to nothing. Eventually, in B.C. 387, after Antalkidas had spent some time at Sûsâ, agreement was reached, not by a treaty but by the following edict of the Great King, which was brought down, along with Antalkidas, by Tiribazus, the satrap of Western Armenia, who later was put in charge of the army :—

“King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia and the inlands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus shall belong to him. He thinks it just also to leave all the other Hellenic cities autonomous—both small and great—except Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros, which are to belong to Athens, as they did originally. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, I will make

war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, by land as well as by sea, with ships and with money."

This royal *firman* Tiribazus read out to the envoys of the Greek cities, whom he had summoned into his presence at Sardis for the purpose, after showing to them the Great King's seal. All the states yielded to the King's threat and subscribed to the Peace, which is known as the Peace of Antalkidas and also by the more appropriate name of the King's Peace. It was inscribed on stone tablets, which were placed as permanent records in the temples of the Greek cities, as well as in the Olympian, Puthian and other common sanctuaries. The goal which Xerxes I had failed to obtain was now secured. The will of the Great King was law in Greece. As Grote observes (G. H. G., Vol. VII, 3), while this peace or convention, which on the very face of it was a peremptory mandate, was to the Persian monarch a glorious trophy, to all Pan-Hellenic patriots it was the deepest disgrace and insult. This was a great blow to Hellenic pride, but the Persian rule was far from burdensome, and the Greek cities in Asia Minor accepted it without demur or regret, since it promised them liberty of internal administration and great commercial advantages, which they did not enjoy under the paramountcy of either Athens or Sparta.

Evagoras, who was a scion of the family of Teucer, to which the throne of Salamis, in the island of Cyprus, belonged of immemorial right, by a bold coup seized the throne, displacing the Phœnician usurper Abdemon. He made the complete Hellenization of Cyprus the object of his life, and from B.C. 391 stood in open hostility to Persia. He made an alliance with Athens, who sent two small squadrons to his aid (B.C. 389 and 387). From Achoris (Hakar), king of Egypt, he got lavish gifts of corn as well as munitions of war, ships and money, and from Hekatomnus, who had succeeded Tissaphernes in the satrapy of Caria, he received a secret present of money. He rapidly made himself master of nearly the whole island, and sailing across to Phœnicia, stormed and took Tyre and extended his revolt to Cilicia and to Idumæa. On conclusion of the peace of Antalkidas Artaxerxes set about to subdue the rebel chiefs and despatched

an army to Cyprus. Evagoras had the better of the Persians in several small engagements. But his fleet was defeated by the Persian admiral Glos off Citium, and he was shut up in Salamis, and eventually was obliged to submit (B.C. 380). He was allowed to retain Salamis with the title of king, subject to the payment of an annual tribute and the stipulation that as king he obeyed the king of Persia when he commanded. His high hopes were shattered, and Cyprus lost for sixteen hundred years the chance of playing a part in history. (G. N. C. G. H., 165.)

The Cadusians, a warlike tribe inhabiting the tract (the modern Gilân) between the Albûrz range and the Caspian, having rebelled, Artaxerxes marched against them with a considerable force. The guerilla tactics of the Cadusians much harassed the royal troops. Tiribazus contrived to play off one against another their two kings who occupied different camps. Both sent embassies to Artaxerxes offering their homage. Terms were arranged and the Persian army returned home.

After throwing off the Persian yoke in the reign of Darius Nothos, for several years Egypt had maintained her independence. Determined to win back this country, Artaxerxes despatched a large expeditionary force under Pharnabazus and Iphicrates, the most famous Athenian general whose services the king had procured from Athens.

The fleet forced the Mendesian mouth of the Nile and the line of defences was pierced. The way lay open southward to Memphis, which could have been taken if before the Egyptian army could mobilise Pharnabazus had marched on to that capital, as he was advised by Iphicrates to do. But he was distrustful of his Greek mercenaries and procrastinated, and the Nile having begun to rise and flood the Delta with the approach of summer, the invaders had hurriedly to retreat without achieving anything (B.C. 374).

In 372 Sparta sent Antalkidas once more to Sûsâ to procure from the Great King both pecuniary aid and an edict prescribing the terms on which the hostilities then existing in Hellas should cease, and Persian envoys accordingly came to Greece requiring

the belligerents to desist from war. Five years later Thebes sent Pelopidas and Ismenais as envoys to Sûsâ and obtained an edict declaring Messene autonomous and independent of Sparta and Ampipholis a free and autonomous city, directing Athens to lay up her ships of war than in active service, and declaring Thebes the head city of Greece, any city refusing to follow her headship being menaced with instant compulsion by Persian force. A year after this, envoys from Athens approached the king and secured an edict more in her favour than former ones (B.C. 366). In Hellas the will of the Parsi emperor was supreme.

During the closing years of Artaxerxes' reign, several satraps one after another revolted. The disturbed condition of the empire emboldened Zedhor (Tachos), Pharaoh of Egypt, with the aid of Agesilaus, king of Sparta, to make an expedition against the Persian forces in Phoenicia, but he was forced to hasten back to his own country as two pretenders had arisen there in his absence. The revolts of the satraps were somehow or other all put down.

Artaxerxes had a peaceful death in B.C. 358 at the advanced age of ninety-four years and after a reign of forty-six years. Greek writers describe him as mild in demeanour and affectionate and generous in disposition. When his army was on the march he used often to march on foot at the head of his soldiers from twenty-five to fifty miles a day, clad in his imperial dress, with a bow and quiver borne on his shoulders and a shield suspended on one arm. He was fondly attached to his queen Statira, who fully reciprocated his love, but in other respects his domestic life was far from happy, its chief curse being the cruel natured queen mother Parysatis.

From the inscription on the bases of the columns at Sûsâ we learn that the *apaddâ* of Darius at Sûsâ was burnt down by fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I and restored by Artaxerxes II. The words of this inscription have been read and interpreted by the Western savants as meaning that the last-named monarch has done the work of restoration, "by the grace of Âûra Mazdâ, Anaihita, and Mithra" and invokes this triad to protect him from all evil and not to attack or destroy his work. They consider this inscription an interesting one inasmuch as they find that

this is the first time that Anaihita and Mithra are mentioned and invoked by an Achaemenian king. Further, they mention that Artaxerxes II had established statues of Anaihita everywhere: and this they do on the authority of a Greek writer who says that this king was the first who made the statue of Venus—Anaihita—in Babylon, Sûsâ, and Ekbatânâ, and taught her worship to the Persians, the Bactrians, and the people of Damas and Sardis. Sir J. J. Modi, however, warns us that the rendering of that portion of Artaxerxes' inscription which is pointed out as referring to this subject is not certain. The reading of the inscription as given by Spiegel is "*Anahata utâ Mithra vashnâ Auramazdâha apadânâ adam ak unavam Auramazdâ. Anahata utâ Mithra mâm pâ't'uv*", and his rendering of it is this: "Durch Die Gnade von Auramazda, habe ich Anâhita und Mithra in diesen Palast gesetzt? Auramazda, Anâhita und Mithra mögen mich schützen," i.e., "By the favour of Aûrâmazdâ I have put Anâhita and Mithra in this Palace. May Aûrâmazdâ, Anâhita and Mithra protect me." Spiegel puts a mark of question after the word 'gesetzt', i.e., 'put', thus showing that he has some doubts about his interpretation of the sentence. Tolman gives the same reading and translates "Anahata and Mithra.....by the grace of Aûrâmazdâ the building I made; let Aûrâmazdâ, Anahata and Mithra protect me." Weissbach and Bang's rendering is similar and does not point clearly to statues. Dr. Modi says that thus we see that the inscription does not point to the installation of the images of Anâhita and Mithra. He thinks that what was really meant by the king seems to be that he had patronized and helped some special glorification of the Yazats Anâhita and Mithra, and perhaps specially founded temples in honour of these yazatas, just as we have fire-temples in India specially connected with Vrahran (Behrâm), the 20th yazat, and known as Âtash-Behrâm, so, there may be some special temples connected with the names of Anâhita and Mithra. (See Modi's monograph on Idol Worship, M. Mem. P., 143-4.)

It was left for an unassuming Parsi priestly scholar, the late Ervad Meherjibai P. Madon, to point out, and clear up, the misconception of Western scholars in regard to this inscription.

The following explanation is taken from his monograph on the Gâthâs and the Avesta in M. M. V., 551-2:—"In the cuneiform inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mnemon, mention is made of *Anahata*, which word we are told to accept as a corrupt form of *Ardisura*. This is certainly a tall order. In the inscriptions the actual words used are *Aûramazdâ anahata uta Mithra mâm pâtuv*, which means 'May Ahûramazdâ anahata as well as Mithra protect me.' Here *anahata* is evidently an adjective qualifying Ahûrâ Mazdâ, otherwise the conjunction *uta* ('as well as') would have been placed before *anahata* also, if *anahata* was a proper name of a different Yazata. It is an admitted fact that Mazdayasnân Iranians never worshipped idols and that some of the Achaemenian kings when they conquered idolatrous countries actually broke some of their cherished idols. No doubt we find several foreign gods sculptured on rocks, etc., with the inscriptions of the Iranian kings and also without the inscriptions. It is thereby intended to convey a double meaning: the sculptures mean (1) that these kings conquered the countries represented by the different sculptured gods, and (2) that those gods were powerless against them. In one of the sculptures a foreign god erroneously supposed by some to be the form of a Fravashi is shown with the figure of Darius who is praying before fire, which evidently seems to mean that the god stands in the service of Darius. In one of these sculptures we even find a king shown as slaying a so-called god."

In an inscription of Artaxerxes III, son of Artaxerxes II, Ahûramazdâ and Mithra are alone invoked for portection and not Anahita, which fact goes to support Madon's views that the aforesaid inscription of Artaxerxes II refers to Ahûramazdâ and Mithra only, and not to the Yazad Anahita also.

In the inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes there is no mention made of Mithra. With them Ahûramazdâ is always the supreme *Baga* (God). From this Dr. J. M. Unvala concludes that probably the cult of Mithra was even cancelled from the religion of the first Achaemenides and was introduced by their successors from popular beliefs. (U. A. P. I. A., 13; U. O. R. P., 17.)

In the beginning of 1932 Mr. C. J. Gadd, of the British

Museum, announced the discovery by Mr. A. W. Davis, British Vice-Consul at Resht, in Persia, of a new series of tri-lingual inscriptions on the face of one of the royal rock-tombs of Persepolis. Archaeologists believe this tomb to be the sepulchre of Artaxerxes II. A colonnaded platform over fifty feet long is cut out of the rock high above the ground and displays the entrance to the royal sepulchre at its centre. Above the colonnade is carved an enormous relief of the Great King worshipping Ahûrâ Mazdâ, standing for this purpose on a gigantic throne, which is itself supported by two rows of figures which represent the thirty different nationalities over whom he ruled. In the two friezes which run above their heads Mr. Davis has discovered tri-lingual inscriptions which detail the race of each supporting figure. (K. I. H. of 7-2-1932, p. 24; art. "Achaemenian History," I. L. Q., January-April 1932, p. 165.)

X. ARTAXERXES III.

Artaxerxes II had three sons, Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus by his wife Statira. The first had been executed on the charge of hatching a plot for the assassination of the king. The second, whom Ochus had terrified by declaring that he was to be put to ignominious death on the suspicion of his complicity in the plot, had taken his own life to avoid the disgrace. Ochus ascended the throne with the title of Artaxerxes III (B.C. 358). He disgraced the commencement of his regal career by the assassination of a number of his kinsmen and the principal persons about the court, together with their wives and children.

About B.C. 351 he led in person an expedition against Egypt, which had been making herself a thorn in the side of Persia during half a century, fostering sedition in various parts of the empire and aiding rebellious satraps and states. The expedition failed and he lost a part of his army. This failure was the signal for other revolts. Phœnicia and Cyprus took up arms and declared their independence. Idrieus, the vassal prince of Caria, reduced Cyprus with the aid of the Athenian Phocias and 8,000 mercenaries. But Belesys, satrap of Syria, and Mazæus, satrap of Cilicia, who were detailed to repress the Phœnician rebellion, were put to flight by Tabnit (Tennes), king of

Sidon, with the aid of Greek troops in the pay of Nektanebo, king of Egypt.

Ochus soon afterwards took personal command of the operations against Sidon. Tabnit lost courage, and according to tradition, sought to make his own life safe by surrendering the town and delivering up a hundred of the leading citizens into the Great King's hands (345 or 344 B.C.). These hundred men were executed and Tabnit himself was hanged. The Sidonians, fearful of the wrath of Ochus, burnt all their ships, houses, and themselves in a great pyre.

The Jews, who along with the Phœnicians and the Cypriots had bid for freedom, were adequately chastised.

Ochus now made a renewed attempt to reconquer Egypt. The expeditionary force was divided into three corps, at the head of which was placed one Persian and one Greek general. Pelusium and Bubastis fell, and king Nekhthorehbe (Nektanebo II) fled, with his treasures to Ethiopia, and Egypt was reorganized as a Persian province (B.C. 342). This terminated the Sebennyte or XXXth dynasty of the kings of Egypt, the last of the native dynasties. Ochus and his two successors form the XXXIst dynasty of Egypt, which lasted for nine years as under, until the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander:—

Ochus (in his twentieth year)	... 2 years
Arses	... 3 years
Darius	... 4 years

The reconquest of Egypt once more established and greatly enhanced the prestige of Persia. The Greek states vied with one another to secure the Great King's favour, and other potentates hastened to offer their allegiance. The king's generals Memnon and Mentor once more brought the whole of Asia Minor under Persian supremacy. The last six years of Ochus's reign formed a period of vigorous and successful administration, and Rawlinson sees no ground for the assertions of certain writers that, after the reduction of Egypt, Ochus withdrew to his seraglio where he passed his days in sensual pleasures, and that Mentor and Bagoas kept him in complete dependence.

However, as a Persia's ill luck would have it, palace intrigues

became so serious that Bagoas, who is described by Diodorus as a wicked and beastly fellow, saw his own safety in murdering the king, whose mind his rivals at court had prejudiced against him. He poisoned Ochus and put the latter's youngest son Arses (Arsh) on the throne (B.C. 337). Ochus's death at this juncture was a most unfortunate thing for the empire, for had his rule continued longer he would have by his excellent statesmanship and bravery been able so to consolidate and strengthen it that it would not have succumbed when Alexander's Macedonians invaded it. Evidently Persia was fallen on evil days.

XI. DARIUS III.

Bagoas, the wicked king-maker, put king Arses and his infant children to death, and set up a collateral, Dârâ (Darius III) Codomannus,* on the throne.



Darius III, Codomannus.

This the last of the Achaemenian emperors was most beautiful in person, brave, generous, and of a most amiable disposition. According to some chroniclers he was a great grandson of Darius II, and according to others he was not of the royal line and in his youth had served as a courier. As we have seen in our account of the Peshdadian kings, Firdausi makes him the

son of King Dârâb and a brother of Alexander the Great by another wife.

He took up the reins of the Persian empire in B.C. 336, the same year in which Alexander, who was destined to terminate

* Rogers points out that this king receives the name Codomannus only in Justin, and as it would appear, incorrectly, yet this has passed into most histories and handbooks. (R. H. A. P., 262.)

the glorious dynasty which Cyrus the Great had founded, ascended the throne of Macedonia.

In B.C. 338 at the synod of the Greek states at Corinth, Philip II, King of Macedonia, was solemnly declared the Hegemon or Captain-General of the Hellenes against the Great King of Persia. But the attack on that kingdom was delayed by the assassination of Philip at *Ægæe*, the ancient capital of Macedonia, in the spring of 336. In the course of the festivities arranged for the celebration of the wedding of Kleopatra (his daughter by his wife the fierce witch-woman Olympias) with Alexander, the King of Epirus, the brother of Olympias, and therefore the uncle of the bride, whilst Philip was about to enter a theatre, already crowded with spectators, one of his guardsmen, Pausanias, in revenge, it is said, for having given him no redress in respect of an outrage of a revolting character inflicted on him by Kleopatra's uncle Attalus, rushed on Philip and struck him down with a sword.

Alexander III succeeded his father Philip. He was born



Alexander the Great.

in the summer of B.C. 356 and was only twenty when he came to the throne. Immediately upon his accession he got himself recognised, at a congress of the League states at Corinth, as Captain-General in the place of his father.

Darius sent an envoy to Macedon to bring the customary tribute. Alexander curtly told the envoy to tell his master "when Philip had no children his hens used to lay golden eggs, but from the time that his son Alexander has been born, they have become barren and do not lay eggs any longer. Now I will go thither

in person and will take the tribute from thee which until now thou hast received from my father".

Early in the spring of 334 Alexander mustered his army between Pella and Amphipolis, and then crossed the Hellespont. The army comprised 32,000 infantry, including 12,000 Macedonian veterans, and over 5,000 horsemen and was accompanied by a number of men of letters, historians, geographers, botanists, and other scientific men, such as Callisthenes of Olynthus, Anaxarchus, Aristobulus, Onesicritus, and Ptolemy. (R. H. A. P., 270.)

The Persian naval armament was superior to that of Alexander and could have successfully resisted the landing of the enemy's army. But the Persians confident of their own personal bravery decided upon a pitched battle on land, in which they could crush the invading army. The Persian leaders massed their cavalry on the steep bank of the lower Granicus, put the Greek mercenaries behind them, and waited for the enemy. Taking up a position on the eastern side of the Granicus, Alexander crossed that river unopposed. The Persians resisted his further advance, but Alexander inflicted on them a great defeat. The Persian soldiers armed only with javelins were unequally matched with Alexander's heavy cavalry, who (except the lancer) used short spears. (C. A. H., Vol. VI, 362.)

The classical writers estimate the Persian loss at 20,000 foot and one or two thousand horse. Aristotle puts the Macedonian loss at 34 men only, and Arrian at 115.

The Persian leaders distinguished themselves by considerable gallantry, and a number of them fell on the field. Among these were Mithridates (Meherdât), the son-in-law, and Pharnakes, the brother-in-law, of the king, Mithrobarzanes (Meher-Bûrzin), satrap of Cappadocia, Rhœsakes, Spithridates, Atizyes, Niphates, Petines, and other scions of nobility.

After this battle there remained no field army to oppose Alexander, who overran Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Phrygia, besieged and took Miletus, Halicarnassus, Marmareis, and Sagalassus, and received the submission of Dascyleium, Sardis, Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralleis, the Lycian Telmisseis, Pinara, Xanthus, Patara, Phaselis, Side, Aspendus, Celœnæ and Gordium. (R. A. M., Vol. IV, 550.)

At Sardis Alexander's progress could have been successfully resisted or at least effectively interrupted. Its citadel, built on a lofty and steep hill and triply fortified, was considered impregnable and might with ease have been held against the Macedonians. But such was the good fortune of Alexander that its governor Mithrines surrendered without a blow and went over to Alexander with his garrison and treasure. For this treasonable act the cause assigned is the terror inspired among the Persians by the result of the battle of Granicus. (G. H. G., Vol. VIII, 319; B. P., 142.) But it is more probable that Mithrines went over to Alexander under the belief that he had a better right to the empire than Darius as the senior son of the last king and natural heir.

Alexander reached Gordium, the chief city of Phrygia, about February or March 333. It was here that he performed the exploit which has become proverbial as the cutting of the Gordian knot. In its citadel there was preserved the waggon of Gordius, the first king of Phrygia, the yoke of which was lashed to the pole by cornel-bark in a singularly complicated knot. An oracle had declared that for him who could untie it was reserved the empire of the world. When Alexander went up to see it, he was perplexed and cut it asunder with his sword.* Every one accepted this as the solution of the problem. During the night there was a storm of thunder and lightning, which was taken as signifying the assent of the gods to Alexander's title to the lordship of the world.

Meanwhile Memnon, who was appointed by Darius commander-in-chief of the fleet and the coast, was pursuing his strategical plan of carrying the war into Greece and Macedonia. He wanted to raise Greece against the Macedonian yoke and force Alexander to quit Asia and return home.

He gained possession of Chios and sailed to Lesbos, where four out of the five cities declared in his favour. The fifth, Mytilene, which contained a Macedonian garrison, held out. Memnon blockaded it by sea and land, but during the operations he was seized with an illness and died (B.C. 333). The death of this

* W. W. Tarn doubts the genuineness of this famous story, which, he says, is poorly attested and hardly even expresses Alexander's character. (C. A. H., Vol. V, 365.)

Rhodian general, the ablest and best of the generals of Darius, was a great blow to the Persian cause, especially as there was no one left to pursue his plan of carrying the war into the enemy's country.

Darius resolved to abandon Memnon's policy of defence by sea and to take offensive measures by land. From various parts of the empire he had gathered a considerable force. A battle took place near Tarsus, on the banks of the Issus, in the province of Cilicia. He sustained a severe defeat and his wife, mother, two daughters,* and a son fell into the victor's hands (B.C. 333). The Macedonian loss in killed was 300 foot and 150 horse. The Persian loss is estimated at 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse. On the face of them, these figures are untrustworthy.

Among the Persian nobles who fell were Arsames, Rheomithres and Sabakes. Mahaffy (*M. Al. E.*, 23) says that at Issus, too, the Persian grandees showed a loyalty equal to any instance in the days of mediæval chivalry, and sacrificed their lives freely in defence of their king.

Alexander despatched Parmenio to attack Damascus, which was surrendered by the governor without resistance, and considerable treasure was acquired as booty.

The victor did not pursue Darius, his immediate objective being Phœnicia, the conquest of which would have the consequence of seriously crippling the Persian sea-power. At Marathus, in Phœnicia, envoys came to him with a letter from Darius asking him as king to king to release his mother, wife and children, and offering friendship and alliance. To this letter he sent the following characteristic reply:—"By the grace of the gods I have been victorious, first over your satraps, next over yourself. I have taken care of all who submit to me, and made them satisfied with their lot. Come yourself to me also, as to the master of all Asia. Come without fear of suffering harm; ask me, and you shall receive back your mother and wife,

* Tarn (*Ib.*, 369) says that later writers never tired of embroidering the theme of Alexander's treatment of these ladies, and adds the sarcastic remark that their praise of what he did throws a dry light on what he was expected to do.

and anything else which you please. When next you write to me, however, address me not as an equal, but as lord of Asia and of all that belongs to you; otherwise I shall deal with you as a wrong-doer. If you intend to contest the kingdom with me, stand and fight for it, and do not run away. I shall march forward against you, wherever you may be." (G. H. G., Vol. VIII, 356.)

Tyre, the chief city of Phœnicia and the metropolis of the commerce of the world, offered a stubborn resistance, but fell after a prolonged siege of seven months (July 332). The bulk of the freemen perished fighting, while 2000 of them who survived were hanged on the sea-shore by order of Alexander. The females, children and slaves, to the number of thirty-thousand, were sold as slaves.

Before Tyre fell, Alexander received another letter from Darius, offering a thousand talents and the cession of all the lands to the west of the Euphrates as ransom for his family and proposing that Alexander should take one of his daughters in marriage so that thenceforth he might be his kinsman and friend. To this letter the proud victor sent the following answer:—"All your money and territory are already mine and you are tendering to me a part in place of the whole. If I choose to marry your daughter, I will marry her whether you like it or not. Come hither to me, if you wish to obtain from me an act of friendship." (Ib., 365.)

Judæa and Samaria yielded to Alexander without resistance. The strongly fortified town of Gaza which held out was laid siege to. Three times the courageous Gazaeans, under the command of Batis, a brave eunuch, repulsed the assaults of the Macedonians. At the fourth assault the town fell. The brave garrison fought to the last and was killed to a man. The valorous governor, Batis, taken prisoner, was brought, all covered with wounds and dirt, before Alexander, who mercilessly ordered his feet to be bored and brazen rings to be passed through them, after which the naked body of the brave man, who was still alive, was tied with cords to the tail of a chariot which the heartless Alexander himself drove at full speed,

dragging the body of his unfortunate victim. This inhuman proceeding, which the Macedonian army applauded with triumphant shouts and jeers, Grote describes as the product of Homeric reminiscences operating upon an infuriated and vindictive temperament, standing out in respect of barbarism from all that we read respecting the treatment of conquered towns in antiquity.

After seven days' march Alexander reached Pelusium, the frontier fortress of Egypt. The governor offered no resistance and opened its gates to him. Memphis, the capital, was also surrendered, with all its treasure, by the satrap Mazakes, without a blow.

Opposite to the island of Pharos, in the village of Rhacotis, Alexander laid the foundation of the city of Alexandria, which was destined to be one of the greatest cities of all time.

Marching through the sandy desert, Alexander paid a visit to the temple and oracle of Zeus Ammon. The temple priest greeted him as the son of the god and foretold that his career would be one of uninterrupted victory until he was taken away to the gods. This augmented Alexander's overweening arrogance and he was puffed up with the notion that he really was the offspring of Zeus Ammon, and of no human father.*

In B.C. 331 Alexander returned to Asia and in July of that year crossed the Euphrates at Thapsicus. A revolt in Samaria was put down and the Macedonian prefect Andromachus was burnt alive by him.

After his flight from the battlefield of Issus, Darius engaged himself in unremitting efforts to get together an army for the final struggle for the preservation of his country's independence. Such were the immense resources of the empire yet that he was able to levy and fully equip an army superior in number and more effectively armed than that which fought at Issus. Instead of javelins, spears and swords longer than those formerly employed were provided, as well as shields for the infantry and breastplates for the cavalry. Spiked balls were prepared for use

* Dr. H. R. Hall (C. A. H., Vol. VI, 154) advances the view that the divinity of Alexander was due to no mad arrogance, nor can it be proved that he believed it in the least himself, but it was a 'legal' necessity so far as Egypt was concerned.

against the Macedonian cavalry and 200 scythed chariots were constructed. There were elephants, fifteen in number, marshalled in the fighting line, for the first time in Western Asia. Twenty-five nations swelled his army, which amounted, according to the classical writers, to over a million men. (R. A. M., Vol. IV, 563.) But as Dr. Tarn observes (C. A. H., Vol. V, 379), it was a hopeless task to improvise in a year and a half a force fit to meet a professional army commanded by a genius.

Alexander's army was composed of 40,000 foot and 7,000 horse, all tried veterans in the highest condition of efficiency and well disciplined. The famous Macedonian phalanx, eighteen thousand strong, formed the main strength of the infantry. The Macedonian "Companions" and the Thessalians formed the principal strength of the cavalry. Alexander commanded the right wing and Parmenio the left.

A spacious and perfectly flat plain in the neighbourhood of Guagamela, about 30 miles west of the city of Arbela, which has furnished its name to the battle, was chosen by Darius as the field of battle. In the judgment of Sir Edward Creasy (C. D. B. W., 64), the Persian king had shown wisdom in selecting this region for the third and decisive encounter between him and the invader.

The battle ended in complete disaster for the Persians (1st October 331). At the head of his "Companions," supported by part of the phalanx, Alexander pushed straight towards the person of Darius. There was an obstinate hand to hand fight, and the story is told that the contest might have been much prolonged since the best of Darius's troops, Greeks, Carians, Persian guards, royal kinsmen, etc., were here posted, but when the Macedonians, raising their war cry, pressed towards his chariot, Darius lost his self-possession and was the first to turn and flee, even while the issue of the battle still hung in the balance. But this story is not now believed and the personal conduct of Darius is not greatly blamed. Vaux explains that Alexander's diagonal advance, thus breaking the Persian line, and the prompt occupation by some of his best cavalry and a portion of the phalanx of the space thus left open, decided the conflict and a complete rout followed as a

matter of course and Darius fled, not as taking the initiative, but because he saw the day was irretrievably lost. (V. P. A., 75.)

Mazæus, who commanded the Persian right, for a time vigorously maintained the fight even after the king's flight; but he could not carry on the combat long and the day was finally irretrievably lost.

According to Arrian 300,000, according to Diodorus 90,000, and according to Curtius 40,000 Persians were slain in this battle. The number of the Macedonians slain is computed between 100 to 500 men.

This battle was fought on a spacious battlefield of the Persian king's own choice. The signal defeat which his army suffered was a death-blow to the Achaemenian empire. The judgment of Grote (G. H. G., Vol. VIII, 388) is that even if Darius had behaved with unimpeachable courage, there is little reason to believe that the defeat of Arbela, much less that of Issus, could have been converted into a victory. He writes:—"Mere immensity of number, even with immensity of space, was of no efficacy without skill as well as bravery in the commander. Three-fourths of the Persian army were mere spectators, who did nothing and produced absolutely no effect. The flank movement against Alexander's right, instead of being made by some unemployed division, was so carried into effect as to distract the Bactrian troops from their place in the front line, and thus to create a fatal break, of which Alexander availed himself for his own formidable charge in front. In spite of amplitude of space—the condition wanting at Issus—the attack of the Persians on Alexander's flanks and rear was feeble and inefficient. After all Darius relied mainly upon his first line of battle, strengthened by the scythed chariots; these latter being found unprofitable, there remained only the direct conflict, wherein the strong point of the Macedonians resided. On the other hand, so far as we can follow the dispositions of Alexander, they appear the most signal example recorded in antiquity of military genius and sagacious combinations."

Writing eight decades ago, Creasy (C. D. B. W., 63) remarks that even as England's present mission is to break up the mental and moral stagnation of India and Cathay by pouring upon and through them the impulsive current of Anglo-Saxon commerce and conquest, Alexander's victory at Arbela broke the monotony of the world by the impression of Western energy and superior civilization.

It is futile and unprofitable to speak of the "superior" civilization of ancient Greece and Macedonia. The Greeks had only a superficial veneer of civilization. In the view of writers like Gobineau and Chamberlain the ancient Greek was a fraud, a rogue and a coward, a slave driver, cruel to his enemies, faithless to his friends, without one shred of patriotism or honour. "Alas," writes Lord Redesdale, "for the long years wasted in the worship of false gods! Alas! for the idols with feet of clay, ruthlessly hurled from their pedestals! That the ancient Greek was the type of all that was chivalrous and noble was the accepted belief taught by the old-fashioned, narrow-minded pedagogues of two generations ago. They took the Greeks at their own valuation, accepting all their figures and facts without a question. Their battles were always fought at fearful odds; they performed prodigies of valour, their victories decided the fate of the world. To the student brought up in the faith of such books as Creasy's 'Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World' it comes as a shock to be told that Marathon was a mere skirmish without result, in which, as a matter of fact, the Athenians had if anything rather the worst of it." (Introd. to C. F. N. C., Vol. I, XVI, XVII.)

The late Mr. P. Kershasp, a well-read Parsi member of the Indian Civil Service, cites (K. S. A. P. H., 43) Herbert Spencer, who in his *Principles of Ethics* condenses his estimate of the Greek qualities in a few pregnant sentences. "Marvellous are the effects of educational bias," he exclaims, and wonders at Gladstone's recommending Greek culture notwithstanding his familiarity with the doings of these people, guilty of so many atrocities, and characterized by such revolting cruelty of manners as Grote says, who were liars through all their grades from

their gods down to their slaves, and whose religion was made up of gross and brutal superstitions. Mr. Kershasp (Ib., 44) points out that the ordinary classicists and the ordinary Orientalists who are nurtured on the Greek language have imbibed their prejudices against Asiatic or Persian civilization from a perusal of Greek works, the enthusiast being carried off his feet by the artistic perfection of form and beauty of diction, which in conventional language are to be found in Greek masterpieces, and which hide the true Greek character from him.

The renowned Assyriologist, the late Dr. A. H. Sayce, values the great writers of Greece and Rome as unsafe guides. He does admit the great literary value of their works and that for Western history their value is supreme. "But," writes he, "the Orientalist can never again go to them for instruction and argument with the faith of former generations; living witnesses, as it were, have started out of the grave of centuries to convict them of error and deceit. We have at least learnt the true worth of '*creditur quidquid Græcia mendax audet in historia.*' Modern research, then, obliges us to endorse the judgment passed upon Herodotus almost as soon as his History was published: it is not only untrustworthy but unveracious." (S. A. E. E., XV, XXII.)

The famous geographer and historian Strabo (B.C. 54 to A.D. 24), himself a Greek, warns his readers not to give much credit to what any authors have related of the ancient history of the Persians, Medes, and Syrians, on account of their simplicity and love of fable; and, as concerns the accounts given regarding Alexander, he observes that it is not altogether safe to trust the most part of the authors who have written about that Macedonian monarch for they exaggerate both on account of the glory of Alexander and of the difficulty there is in refuting relations of event which occurred at the extremity of Asia. (Bk. XI, ch. vii, 2-3.)

To resume our history. From Arbela Alexander advanced on to Babylon where Mazæus had taken refuge. The city was not defensible, its walls having been long since destroyed. Mazæus came out to meet Alexander and the population

welcomed him with acclamations and presents. There so much treasure was found that he could bestow 600 drachms to each soldier of the Macedonian cavalry, 500 to each man of the foreign cavalry, 200 to each man of the Macedonian infantry, and something less to each man of the foreign infantry.

Alexander sent Philoxenus to Sûsâ, which readily yielded. Here a booty of 50,000 talents (£11,600,000) and much other inestimable treasure was obtained.

At the "Persian Gates", the formidable pass leading up to Persepolis, the satrap Ariobarzanes made a stout attempt to bar Alexander's progress towards Persis or Iran proper. Alexander's frontal attack was repulsed and he had to return to his camp after sustaining loss and without doing any damage to the defenders. A Lykian captive slave acquainted him with the existence of a track known only to himself which could bring him on the flank of Ariobarzanes. In the night he went over this tract with a small mobile force and took the Persians unawares from the rear, while to hold the defenders' attention his captain Kraterus at the same time assailed the Pass in front. The defenders were for the most part killed.

From Persepolis Alexander secured the enormous amount of 120,000 talents, equivalent to £27,600,000, and so much other valuable booty that ten thousand two-mule carts and five thousand camels were required for transport.

The helpless Persian monarch fled from Ekbatânâ to Rhagae with the intention of crossing through the Caspian Gates to escape from the Macedonian victor. Eight days after he quitted Ekbatânâ, Alexander entered it. He made it his principal depôt and deposited in its citadel the cash booty which he had acquired at Sûsâ and Persepolis. Leaving it in charge of Parmenio with a strong garrison, he hurried to overtake Darius before he crossed the Gates, but when he reached Rhagae he learnt that the fugitive had already passed through them.

The last of the Achaemenian kings had escaped capture by his Macedonian adversary only to fall to the daggers of

two of his own satraps, Bessus, satrap of Bactria, and Barsaentes, satrap of Drangiana and Arachosia. Firdausi mentions Māhiyār and Jānūsiyār, two ministers of high degree, as the two disloyal regicides. Just as Alexander reached the chariot in which the murderous traitors had left their king, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Damghan two hundred miles east of Raghæ, Darius breathed his last. Alexander undoing his own cloak cast it upon the body of the last of the heirs of Cyrus and Darius and ordered him a suitable royal burial at Persepolis.

Tarn's judgment (C. A. H., Vol. VI, 386) on Darius that Darius 'great and good' is a fiction of legend, and that he may have possessed the domestic virtues, otherwise he was a poor type of despot, cowardly and inefficient, is an ungenerous pronouncement and displays a lack of appreciation of the overwhelming difficulties that had beset the unfortunate monarch. He had come to the throne at a time when Persia was exhausted by perpetual warfare with her enemies and further considerably weakened by internecine feuds, and, besides, he was opposed to the greatest military tactician and statesman of that period, and one of the greatest generals the world has produced. Creasy (C. D. B. W., 64, 69) says that Darius, before he came to the throne, had proved his personal valour as a soldier and his skill as a general, and a fair examination of his generalship in this his last campaign shows that he was worthy of bearing the same name as his great predecessor the royal son of Hystaspes. Unprejudiced critics must agree with Mahaffy's verdict that Darius was likely enough to make a good name in history had he not fallen upon so gigantic a crisis in human affairs.

Bessus fled to his satrapy of Bactria and there proclaimed himself the Great King, assumed the upright tiara, and adopted the throne name of Artaxerxes.

Alexander assumed the imperial Persian crown and regarded himself as the legitimate successor of Darius and the head of the Persian empire, and "becoming more Persian than either Macedonian or Greek", he adopted the dress

and ceremonial of Persian sovereigns. His head dress, the 'diadema', was copied from that of the Persian monarch.

Although he was a bitter opponent of the religion of Zoroaster and a prosecutor of the priests of that Faith, he regarded the Persian people themselves as a race worthy of all respect and sought in them "a second pillar" for his universal empire. Thirty thousand vigorous Persian youths, whom he called Epigonoi, he armed and drilled on the Macedonian model; and into his corps d'elite, the Companion Cavalry, he incorporated a number of Persian officers and soldiers.

In 330-329 B.C. Alexander reduced Drangiana, Gedrosia, Arachosia and the Paropamisadae. Crossing the Hindûkûsh, he arrived in Bactria. Bessus fled across the Oxus, and Alexander entered Bactria without any opposition. The fugitive was pursued by Ptolemy Legus and seized. Alexander ordered him to be scourged and sent to Bactria, where, after a short imprisonment, he was deprived of his nose and ears, and in this condition was sent to Ekbatânâ and there crucified.

In 326 B.C. Alexander invaded India by the Khyber Pass. Crossing the Hindûkûsh, fighting his way to the Indus, and crossing that river about March 326, he entered the Indian soil. In the country between the Indus and the Hyphasis (Bias) one of the Paurava (Porus) brothers offered him a stubborn resistance; but by splendid military tactics Alexander gained a great victory, penetrated beyond Sialkot into Jammû and then, much against his will, was forced by a mutiny in his army to retreat in September of the same year. He reached Sûsâ in April or May 324. Here he consummated his contemplated fusion of the two imperial races, Macedonians and Persians, by holding a grand marriage feast at which eighty of his officers were married to girls of the Iranian aristocracy according to Zoroastrian rites as a symbol of the union of Hellas and Persia. Some ten thousand Macedonian soldiers who had taken Persian wives received wedding presents from him. He himself married Statira, the daughter of Darius Codomannus, thus assuming the character of that king's legitimate successor. Prior to this marriage, he had

married, according to Zoroastrian rites, Roshanak (Roxana), the beautiful daughter of Oxyartes, a Bactrian prince (328 B.C.). These two Persian princesses were his only legal wives.

He disbanded his Macedonian veterans, organized Persian footguards, chose Persian companions, and invested Persian officers with chief military commands.

Among the Satraps (strategos) appointed by Alexander, those in the west of the empire were exclusively Macedonian; but among those in the east there were several Persian nobles. At his death the satrapy of Media was held by Atropates and that of Parthia and Hyrcania by Phrataphernes and his father-in-law Oxyartes governed in the Paropamisadae.

Warner Brothers, in their Introduction to Vol. I of their translation of the *Shâh-nâmeh*, observe that history and legend alike throw considerable doubt on the paternity of Alexander, of which fact Iranian patriotism avails itself to explain that Philip married his daughter to Shah Dârâb, who taking a dislike to her sent her back to her father, at whose court she gave birth to Alexander, who was brought up as Philip's own son and thus Iranian *amour propre* is saved as the great conqueror is made out to be an Iranian himself.

Besides the *Shâh-nâmeh*, the *Dasâtir* and the *Sharastân-i Chahâr Chaman* mention Alexander as the son of Dârâb. Also Hamdu'llâh Mustawfi-i Quazwin, in his *Târikh-i Guzideh*, speaks of his being the son of Dârâb and brother of Dârâ. Tabari and Dinâwari mention the story of the Persian paternity of Alexander, but do not endorse it. Mirkhond mentions that certain malcontent princes and nobles of Iran had incited him to claim the kingdom and promised him their support.

For our part we see no reason to disbelieve the story of the Persian paternity of Alexander. He had himself disowned the fathership of Philip and though in his vaingloriousness he assigned his parentage to the god Ammon, his own acts show that he was aware of his Persian origin. His adoption of the Royal Persian dress and head-gear and of the ceremonial of Persian sovereigns, his selection of Persian companions, his

disbandment of Macedonian soldiers and organization of Persian guards, his nomination of Persians to chief military commands and to important satrapies, his marrying only Persian wives and having the marriage ceremony performed according to the Zoroastrian ritual, and his intense desire to effect a fusion of the Macedonian and Persian races, all these indicate that he knew in his heart that he was a Persian by birth.

It is a fact, and a most regrettable one, that he set fire to the citadel and royal palace of Xerxes at Persepolis. This piece of gross vandalism is glozed over by the classicists with the explanation that it was done as a symbol that the Greek war of revenge against the Persians had come to an end and the atonement for the expedition of Xerxes was complete. The story that this was done in drunken frolic at the instigation of Thais, an Athenian courtesan and mistress of Ptolemy, who had accompanied him from Greece, and who

led the way

To light him to his prey

And like another Helen fired another Troy,

is assumed to be mere fiction. But Plutarch, Diodorus, and Arrian do report the destruction of the palace by Alexander under the influence of drink. He was given to heavy bouts of drink, and instigated by the wiles of the charming Athenian harlot, when he was in a state of intoxication, he perpetrated this act of wanton destruction on a hasty impulse, and very likely without deliberate intention. We have the authority of Arrian, who wrote his *History of Alexander* in the time of Emperor Hadrian, that when Alexander became sober again, he repented the damage he had done. Plutarch also mentions, in his *Life of Alexander*, that all writers agree that the king presently repented and commanded the fire to be quenched.

Curtius mentions that Alexander was the first to cast fire-brands on the palace, then followed the guests, then the servants, and finally the mistresses, and makes the sad reflection: "This, then, was the destruction of the palace of the whole of the East, which formerly gave laws to so many

nations, which was the abode of so many kings, which had once proved the only terror of Greece, and which was built with the aid of a fleet of a thousand ships and an army with which Europe was flooded: the sea was planked with mighty beams, the mountains were dug through and the sea was let in their hollow. And not even at a later date did it rear its head up again from this destruction." The same writer informs us that the Macedonians felt ashamed that so distinguished a city was destroyed by their king during his revels.

Gobineau (G. H. P., II, 391-2) speaks thus of the horrors of the catastrophe:—"The whole male population massacred, the women and children reduced to slavery, ferocious pillaging, dilapidation without limit, a treasure of six hundred and ninety million francs reserved to the king, who delivered the rest to the army gorged with gold and precious things, courtezans themselves setting fire to the palace in the transports of mad drunkenness, nothing has been spared to render the scene worthy of the excesses of a man who, for posterity, must necessarily be incomparable in all that he did, evil as well as good."

Who will not agree with the judgment of Benjamin (B. P., 46) that the burning of Persepolis was a mistake, whether done in a moment of frenzy or as an act of profound policy, for he who wars against arts, wars not against nations, but against mankind? The great Hall of Xerxes was, perhaps, the largest and most magnificent structure the world has ever seen.

Along with the royal palace at Persepolis, the library of Daz-i-Napisht attached to it, wherein the royal archives and the Zoroastrian and pre-Zoroastrian scriptures and other literature were treasured carefully, was also subjected to the conflagration. Similar documents which were deposited in the library of Ganji Shahigān at Samarcand were also destroyed by the Macedonian conqueror. The classical writers make no mention of this wanton destruction of those invaluable records, nor do they allude to his persecution of the Zoroastrian religion. But Pahlavi writers and oriental historians, such as Masoudi, Tabari and others, record this sad fact.

In the Pahlavi books Alexander is denounced as one of the

three arch-enemies of Persia, namely, (1) Zohāk*, the Babylonian monarch who overthrew the Peshdadian king Jamshid and ruled Iran with exceeding oppression and abounding cruelty; (2) Afrāsiāb, the Turanian or Tartar king, who for a long period of years waged war with Iran during the Kaiyānian period, ravaging and destroying many fair portions of the country; and (3) Alexander of Macedon, who terminated the Achaemenian rule and destroyed the ancient literature of Persia, extinguished the holy Fire in many fire-temples, and slew a number of the Zoroastrian priests.

Of these same three arch-enemies of Iran Firdausi in his narration of Ardeshir Pāpekān, the founder of the Sāsānian empire, speaks as follows, putting the words in the mouths of two young men who were entertaining Ardeshir:—"Mark what the tyrant Zohāk brought to pass on the throne of royalty, how the hearts of kings were distressed through the malevolent Afrāsiāb, and how in recent times Sikander slew all the rulers of the world. These (three) have passed away, leaving an evil name, and have secured no place in joyful Paradise."

Mirkhond writes in his *Rauzat-us-Safā* that Alexander caused to be translated from the language of Fārs into the Ionian tongue books of medicine, astronomy, and philosophy, which translations they took into Ionia, but he committed to the flames the records of the Magi, laid their temples waste, and by such means destroyed all the vestiges of that faith.

Sir John Chardin (1643-1713), who had travelled in Persia and India, says in his account of the Guebres that he has not found anything more sensible in the teaching of the Guebres than the complaint which they speak of about Alexander the Great and that they are not wrong to curse, detest and imprecate him, taking him as a pirate, as a brigand, as a man without justice and without brain, born to disturb order and destroy a part of human kind, instead of admiring him and receiving

* The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, P.C., in a lecture delivered by him before the Persia Society, London, on 20th June 1913, on Persian Culture, said that the legend of Zohāk to his mind represents a real chapter in the ancient history of Persia; an Assyrian or Arab invasion, the subjugation of the Persian people and their uprising to fresh glory under a hero king.

his name as all other people do. H. G. Rawlinson writes (R. H. B.) that Alexander had shown himself the enemy of Zoroastrianism,—the burial customs of the Iranians had been forbidden, libraries and temples ransacked, and the sacred Avesta books either destroyed or, what was almost a worse desecration,* translated into Greek by recreant Persians to satisfy the curiosity of Greek savants.

When engaged in constructing a dockyard at Babylon with the principal purpose of building a fleet for his intended conquest of Arabia, Alexander was struck down by a fever and passed away, in Nebuchadrezzar's palace, now called Al-Qasr, at the young age of thirty-two years and eight months and after a reign of twelve years and eight months (13th June 323 B.C.).

Arrian pronounces on him the panegyric that there was in this king's time no race of men, no city, nay, no single individual, with whom Alexander's name had not become a familiar word, and that such a man who was like no ordinary mortal, could not have been born into the world without some special providence.

Alexander was very strong in person, and a very valorous and consummate general, the greatest perhaps of all ages. But his passion was furious and his vanity so extreme that he even claimed divine birth, affected the apparel of the gods, and wanted to be paid divine honours.† In this respect the Parsi king Cyrus the Great stands out in shining contrast to the great Macedonian who terminated the dynasty which the former had founded. Xenophon informs us that in his dying movements, the great Parsi conqueror piously exclaimed, "Ye gods, I thank you much that I have been sensible of your care for me and that I have never in my successes raised my thoughts above the measure of men."

In cruelty Alexander was no better, perhaps worse, than

* The Zoroastrians of no period have considered the translation of their scriptures into a foreign language as an act of desecration of their religion. So far Rawlinson is wrong.

† Rostovtzeff says (R. H. A. W., Vol. I, 355) that it is certain that vast numbers of the people who inhabited Alexander's empire believed in his divinity and the legend of the 'divine Iskander' survives to this day in the Iranian world.

Philip. He commenced his career on the throne by promptly ridding himself of his brother-in-law Amyntas and other relatives and possible competitors for the throne and all such persons whom he deemed dangerous. The dispositions of the father and son are thus compared and contrasted by Bolsford and Sihler (B. S. H. C., 544):—"The father would dissemble his resentment, and often subdue it; when the son was provoked there was neither delay nor bounds to his vengeance. They were both too fond of the wine, but the ill effects of their intoxication were totally different; the father would rush from a banquet to face the enemy, cope with him, and rashly expose himself to dangers; the son vented his rage not upon his enemies, but on his friends. A battle often sent Philip away wounded: Alexander often left a banquet stained with the blood of his companions. The one wished to reign with his friends, the other to reign over them. The one preferred to be loved, the other to be feared."

In the outburst of his sorrow for the loss of his personal favourite, Hephæstion, from an attack of fever brought on by excessive wine-drinking, Alexander caused the physician Glaukias, who had attended Hephæstion, to be impaled. Plutarch tells us that fighting and man-fighting were the primary passions of his nature, and he sought consolation from his grief for the death of his favourite in an invasion of the mountain fortresses, between Media and Persia, of the brave tribes of the Cossaeans, who made a stubborn defence for forty days, but were at last overpowered and every man of them was slain and offered up by him as an acceptable sacrifice to the manes of Hephæstion.

Parmenion's son Philotas, who held the high office of general of the Companion Cavalry, was treacherously arrested and unjustly put on the rack to wring from him a confession that he and his father were privy to a plot to murder Alexander. From behind a curtain Alexander watched the agonies and smiled at the screams of the friend who had fought by his side in many a battle. Parmenion, who had rendered valuable services to Alexander and to Philip and become the second person in the Macedonian army next to the king himself, was

also treacherously executed. Parmenion's execution, says Tarn (C. A. H., Vol. VI, 390) was plain murder and leaves a deep stain on Alexander's reputation.

His barbarous treatment of Batis, the valorous defender of Gaza, we have mentioned before. We will not further enumerate the many other revolting instances of the cruel and passionate disposition of this great warrior-king.

It is surprising to see such a well-balanced historian as Brig.-Genl. Sir Percy Sykes pronouncing his judgment that throughout Alexander showed statesmanlike moderation and self-control, and this too while he is relating Alexander's campaign against Thebes in B.C. 335, when that king completely destroyed that city, with the exception of the temple and the house of Pindar, killed 6,000 people, and carried all the rest into slavery.

Alexander used to have the floor sprinkled with exquisite perfumes and with fragrant wine, and myrrh and other kinds of incense were burned before him, while all the bystanders kept silence or spoke words only of good omen because of fear, for he was an extremely violent man, with no regard for human life and gave the impression of a man of choleric temperament. (B. S. H. C., 682-3.)



An oil-painting of Zoroaster in the Royal Palace
(now the Public Museum) at Hanover.

CHAPTER VII

THE DIADOCHI.

At Alexander's death, 50,000 talents (£11,288,515) lay in the treasury, and the annual tribute was 30,000 talents. When asked in his last moments to whom he bequeathed his kingdom, he gave the reply so characteristic of him, "To the strongest." It has been generally asserted that the conquest of the habitable world had become a passion with him, and that his sudden death confounded the magnificent plans he had formed for universal conquest and the fusion of the whole civilized world into a single Græco-Asiatic empire. But Tarn contends that there is no reason to suppose that he had formed any design of world-conquest; the belief that he had rested on no better authority than a late and unauthentic compilation which passed as his 'Memoirs' and attributed to him a scheme for the conquest of the countries round the Mediterranean, a scheme which the Romance afterwards made him carry into effect. In fact, points out Tarn, Alexander had not yet completed the conquest of the one-time Persian empire; a great block of territory stretching from Heraclea to the Caspian—Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Armenia, the Cadusii of Gilan—had become independent. (C. A. H., Vol. VI, 423.) The talented Parsi author of "Studies in Ancient Persian History," the late Mr. P. Kershasp, of the Indian Civil Service, has advanced arguments to show that the Hellenising of Asia which Freeman thought entered into Alexander's design and which Freeman considered Alexander's title to fame, would have been an unmitigated calamity to the world. Mr. Kershasp characterises Hellenism as meaning barbarous exclusiveness, a thin coating of outward polish. Lord Redesdale (Introdn. to C. F. N. C., Vol. I, XVI, XVII) exposes the fashion that has been among the schoolmen to hold the Greeks up to admiration as being historically the first thinkers, and says that nothing can be further from the truth. Bacon condemned their philosophy as childish, garrulous, impotent and immature in creative power. In the view of writers like Gobineau and Houston Stewart

Chamberlain the ancient Greek was a fraud, a rogue and a coward, a slave-driver, cruel to his enemies, faithless to his friends, without one shred of patriotism or honour. Chamberlain (C. F. N. C., Vol. I, 86-91) maintains that the Greeks were no great metaphysicians and have just as little claim to be considered great moralists and theologians and observes that if the Greek had continued to develop his faculties on the one hand purely poetically, on the other purely empirically, his influence would have become an unmixed and inexpressible blessing for mankind, but, as it is, that same Greek who in poetry and science had given us an example of what true creative power can effect and so of the way in which the development of man has taken place, at a later time, proved to be a cramping and retarding element in the growth of the human intelligence.

At any rate the fact stands that although in her war of vengeance Greece was victorious over Persia her victory was only a material one. It was pointed out by Prof. Browne, in his lecture on the Literature of Persia delivered before the Persia Society of London on 26th April 1912, that the invasion of Alexander and his Greeks hardly produced any effect on Persia, and Hellenism scarcely touched the surface of the national life and thought at that period. Instead of Hellenising Persia, Greece herself was Persianized. Prof. Darmesteter says: "*Dans sa guerre de revanche la Grèce n'a pas assez vaincu; c'est que sa victoire sur la Perse n'a été qu'une victoire matérielle et dont elle a souffert elle-même plus que la victime. Alexander rêvait de fondre l'Occident et l'Orient: il n'a réussi qu'à moitié; il a persécuté la Grèce, il n'a pas hellénisé la Perse.*" ("Comp d'œil sur L'Histoire de la Perse," 21.)

The empire which Alexander had carved out with his sword had not gathered sufficient cohesion ere he died. Nor did he leave an adult heir to succeed to the great heritage. Such being the case, after his death there began a violent struggle and scramble for the possession of his empire. For a period of four decades the empire was convulsed by fearful civil wars.

At the time of Alexander's death his wife Roxana was

expecting a child, and there was a three year old boy, named Herakles, falsely alleged to be his son by Barsine, the widow of Darius's famous Greek general Memnon. His half-witted illegitimate brother, Arrhidæus, was another claimant to the throne, and so also was Statira, the daughter of Darius, to whom he had been married at Sûsâ.

The Macedonian army, which was considered as the representative of the people, resolved that Roxana's unborn child, if a son, and Arrhidæus should be joint kings.

The greatest and ablest of the late king's generals were deputed to administer the various satrapies, with full military power in their own provinces. It seems that as each one proceeded to his satrapy he secretly cherished the ambition of carving out an independent kingdom for himself. They are known as Diadochi or Successors.

At Triparadissus in Syria Antipater, to whom the regency fell in B.C. 321 and who ruled from Macedonia, arranged a new partition of territories. Syria, Persis, and Media remained respectively with Laomedon, Peucestas, and Peithon. Philip obtained the satrapy of Parthia, Stasanor that of Bactria and Sogdiana, Amphimachus that of Mesopotamia, Antigenes that of Susiana, and Seleucus that of Babylonia.

Peithon was an ambitious man. He seized Parthia, murdered its satrap, Philip, and set up his own brother-in-law in his place. But he was soon driven out of Parthia as well as Media by Peucestas, satrap of Persis, with troops supplied by some neighbouring satraps together with his own.

The allies elected Eumenes, who had been the principal secretary of Alexander the Great and was now governor of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to occupy Alexander's throne at Sûsâ (B.C. 316). Peithon fled to Seleucus Nicator, satrap of Babylon, and with him sought help from Antigonus, surnamed the One-eyed, another distinguished general of Alexander. A war in Media and Susiana followed. Eumenes, who was a most loyal partisan of the royal house of Alexander, was by an act of unparalleled treachery betrayed by his own veteran soldiers known as the Silver Shields, and handed over to Antigonus, who

had him executed (B.C. 316). Antigonus got commission as the king's strategus or captain-general from the regent. Peithon, who was carrying on a plot for the recovery of his lost power, was lured by Antigonus to a friendly conference and slain. Peucestas, satrap of Persis, was deposed by Antigonus and mysteriously removed. When the latter was in Babylon, he called on Seleucus for an account of his revenues. Seleucus refused, and fearing for his life fled with a body of horsemen to Egypt and sought the protection of Ptolemy.

Antigonus aimed at obtaining the whole of Alexander's empire for himself, and was hatching a plan for the invasion of Europe. Ptolemy, Seleucus and Lysimachus of Thrace formed a league against him in combination with Cassander, who was ruling in Hellas and Macedonia, and at the battle of Gaza administered a decisive defeat to his son Demetrius (B.C. 312). On the 1st October of that year Seleucus re-entered upon the possession of his satrapy of Babylonia, with the help of a body of troops furnished by Ptolemy, and was warmly welcomed by the population whose affection he had won formerly. This event was the foundation of the great Seleucid dynasty, and from it commences the Seleucid era.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE SELEUCID DYNASTY.

Seleucus was born about 356 B.C. in a noble Macedonian family. His physique was superb and he was possessed of considerable courage. His friendship was much esteemed by Alexander the Great and at the Sûsâ celebrations the latter awarded him the hand of the lady Apama, the daughter of the Persian Spintamenes, and so her descendants who occupied the Seleucid throne could boast of both Macedonian and Persian blood. This fusion of blood, Sir Percy Sykes points out, necessarily reacted powerfully on the attitude of the House of Seleucus, which must have been rather Græco-Iranian than purely Greek in its ideals, and, consequently, it is not surprising that many satraps were Persians or Medes, and Persian troops were employed and fully trusted. (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 302.)

At the important battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia, the united forces of Seleucus and Lysimachus crushed the army of Antigonus, and he was slain (B.C. 301). In the division of the spoils, Lysimachus received north-western Asia Minor—Caria, Lydia, Ionia and Hellespontine Phrygia, and Seleucus got Syria and Greater Phrygia.

The dominions of Seleucus and Lysimachus were separated by some smaller states—Armenia, Pontus and Cappadocia. In Armenia the Persian dynasty of Hydermid's retained power: and the kingdoms of Pontus and Cappadocia were established, respectively, by the Iranian princes Mithridates and Ariarthes.

Seleucus extended the Syrian monarchy established by him in B.C. 312 over a considerable portion of Asia Minor, including also the whole of Syria* from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates and the territory onwards from the latter river to the banks of

* In the Pahlavi Bundeheshn the country of Syria is mentioned as Sûristân, i.e., the country of Suria or Syria, and is spoken of as the country from which the Euphrates runs. Mahommedan writers have given it the name of شام (Shâm) because it is situated on the left (شمال shimal) of Kaabeh. Yemen (Arabia Felix) is so called because it is situated on the right of Kaabeh. (Modi's art. XI, J. B. B. R. A. S., No. LIV, Vol. XX.)

the Oxus and the Indus. He crossed the Indus, but could achieve nothing against the famous Mauryan emperor Chandra Mauri or Chandragûpta, who came from a branch of the Pramâras, one of the thirty-six royal races of the "line of the Sun" descended from the King Râmachandra or one of his brothers. He was a man of commanding capacity and eventually established himself as Emperor of India, ruling from the Hindû Kûsh to the Nerbada, from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. (B. H. I. F. A., p. ix.) Seleucus was obliged to seek a safe retreat by the cession to this Indian potentate of the Cābûl valley and the governments west of the Indus which Alexander had formed out of the Indian districts. In return he obtained 500 war elephants and much treasure.

It is tempting to take note here of some interesting circumstances concerning the connection of the Parsis with Chandragûpta and his house. In the Sanskrit drama *Mudra-rakhsha*, written in about the 8th century A.D., there is an allusion to the fact that the Parsis had helped this monarch in his invasion of Northern India; and it appears from an inscription of Rudrādāman (143-158 A.D.) on a bridge near Girnār at Jānagadh in Kāthiāwār that Chandragûpta's grandson, the famous emperor Asoka, had appointed a Persian, Tûshāspa, to be his viceroy of Kāthiāwār with the title of Raja, a title with which only the princes of the royal family were honoured.*

Such eminent authorities as Sir John Marshall and Dr. D. B. Spooner have advanced the attractive theory that Chandragûpta and Asoka were of Iranian descent; and the Oriental scholars Akiraj Umakant and Sir J. J. Modi have expressed themselves in substantial agreement with them. But several other scholars have warmly combated this hypothesis.

Seleucus founded seventy-five cities, including Seleucia on the Tigris, where he established his capital. Later he transferred his seat of power to the city of Antioch on the Orontes, about fifteen miles from the sea, and ordinarily resided there. It was

* There is also evidence that in the middle of the 5th century A.D., a Parai, by name Pramadatta (Pers. Farvadāta, O.P. Xvarenodāta) was governor of Kāthiāwār under the Indian king Skandagûpta, and was succeeded in that office by his son Chakrapālita. (H. P. V. G. E., 4-5.)

laid out on a symmetrical plan, the chief street being a straight line four miles in length.

He reorganized his domains, portioning off the twelve large districts into seventy-two districts of a more manageable size. According to the hypothesis of Dr. Tarn (*T. S. P. S.*, 33) the Seleucids had three administrative divisions—satrapy, eparchy, and hyparchy. As his empire had so spread out as to make effective supervision from Syria difficult, Seleucus made over the upper satrapies, with Seleucia, as capital, to Antiochus, his son by Apama.

It was his aspiration to reunite Macedonia to Asia, but it remained unrealized. He crossed the Hellespont and was proceeding towards Macedon when he fell beneath the dagger of Ptolemy Keraunos, whom he had brought with him in his train (B.C. 281).

Thus ended the career of Seleucus Nicator, the greatest of the Diadochi.

His successors in the empire which he had carved out were twenty-one in number. His immediate successor was his son Antiochus I, surnamed Soter or the Saviour (B.C. 281-262), to whom his father in his own life-time had entrusted the administration of the countries lying east of the Euphrates as co-regent.

Antiochus was an enlightened ruler and during the entire period of his rule he was constantly engaged in the struggle to keep the Seleucid empire intact. Under his patronage Berossus, a priest of Belus at Babylon, published his history of Babylonia, based on the cuneiform records.

In B.C. 276 there was an invasion of Asia Minor by the Gauls, who crossed over from Europe and occupied the district which was named after them—Galatia.

Soter was followed by his son Antiochus II (B.C. 262-246). He was a man of depraved habits and a drunkard. He suffered his kingdom to be ruled by his wives and male favourites, and was vain enough to accept from the city of Miletus the title of Theos or God. During his regime, Bactria in conjunction

with Sogdiana and Margiana, threw off the Seleucid domination, and Diodotus, the Greek satrap of Bactria, proclaimed himself king (B.C. 256). We come to appreciate the vigorous hold of the Parsi kings of the Achaemenid dynasty on the various turbulent lands from the Jaxartes to the Arabian Sea and from Scythia to Mekran when we contrast it with the anarchic condition of the same country under their Seleucid successors. Under Cyrus and Darius these territories were so thoroughly conquered and, owing no doubt to the beneficent administration of the Achaemenian monarchs, so loyally attached that throughout the long struggle with Greece the troops from the east proved a support for the Empire. This long and firm Achaemenian occupation stands out in strong contrast with the complete failure of the Seleucids in these regions. In a very few decades three successful revolts took place in Bactria, Parthia and Astabene, and Sogdiana ceased to obey the Seleucid king. (Sir J. C. Coyajee's art. "The Pax Achaemenica," J. C. M. V., 56.)

We are now approaching the sudden appearance on the stage of the world of one of the most remarkable nations of the East, the Parthians, who have played a most notable rôle in the histories both of Ancient Persia and Ancient Rome and so long as their dynasty lasted, acted as an effective curb on the progress of Roman power in the East.



CHAPTER IX.

THE ARSHKĀNIAN OR PARTHIAN DYNASTY.

Between the death of Alexander the Great (B.C. 13th June 323) and the overthrow of the ArshkĀnian or Parthian emperor Artabanus (Ardawān) by Artaxerxes I (Ardeshir Pāpekān), the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty (A.D. 26th September 226), a period of five centuries and a half intervened. The Persian version of the Chronicle of Tabari devotes but two pages to the narration of this entire period of Parthian rule. Mirkhond (M. R. S. R., Pt. I, Vol. II, 320-1) says that although he took pains to examine historical works he was unable to find the names of the ArshkĀnian kings and whatever notices he met with concerning them were all so contradictory that the accounts did not agree even about two of them. Firdausi deals with this dynasty very briefly in his Shāh-nāme. The revolt of Ardeshir and his war with Ardawān he narrates at some length, but the preceding period he disposes of in twenty couplets, as admittedly he knew nothing about it except a few names. On the authority of the Dehkān of Chāh he mentions that after the death of Alexander, none had the throne and crown, but bold and headstrong princes, descendants of Ārash, had each in his career made himself a realm out of some portion of the districts, and when they sat rejoicing on their thrones they were called Mūlūk-é-Tawāif (Tribal Kings). As to how these princes perished root and branch, Firdausi states that their chronicle does not say, nor has he heard, or read in the Nāmeḥ-é-Khūsrawān ("Book of Kings"), anything save their names. Nevertheless, historians are able to trace a good deal of Parthian history in the Shāh-nāme mixed up with the Kaiyānian dynasty. As Sir J. C. Coyajee observes (art. "The House of Gotarzes", S. V. A. of 1932), it was indeed impossible to keep out the glorious deeds of five centuries of Parthian history from the national annals in spite of the great reluctance of the Sāsānide editors and collectors of the country's traditions to chronicle the greatness of their hated predecessors; and so the result has been that we find Parthian kings and princes,

like Gotarzes (Gûdarz), Gew (Giv) and Karen introduced into the national epic as Knights of the round table of King Kai Khûsrau and his predecessors, and that we get occasional glimpses of Parthian history and descriptions of individual Parthian exploits in the midst of what is the general history of quite other ages and dynasties.

Edward Thomas mentions in his paper on Bactrian Coins, dated 5th July 1862, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, that the Parthian system was specially of local kings, under an imperial chief, hence the term Mûlûk-é-Tawâif, (i.e., Kings of the Tribes), under which administration sub-division was carried to such an extent that, as Tabari says, in every city there was a king (هر شهر پادشاه بود). Concerning the Mûlûk-é-Tawâif, some interesting information is furnished in Pahlavi books. It is mentioned that at one time Alexander thought of destroying the whole of the Iranian aristocracy so that he could then safely march to India without any fear of having his rule subverted by the leaders of Iran rising in revolt. But he was dissuaded by Aristotle from perpetrating such an atrocious deed. Aristotle's reply to his royal pupil on this subject is preserved in the letter which Tansar or Tosar, the minister and Head Priest of King Ardesbir Pâpékân, wrote to Jasnafshâh, the king of Tabaristân. Aristotle's advice to Alexander was as follows:—

“What distinguishes the Persians is courage, bravery, and prudence in the day of battle,—qualities which form the most powerful instrument for sovereignty and success. If you exterminate them, you will destroy from this world the best pillar of talent, and once the great men have disappeared, thou shalt be unavoidably forced to pass down to villains the functions and the ranks of the great. Now bear this in mind that in this world there is no evil plague, revolt and pestilence the action of which shall be so pernicious as the promotion of villains to the rank of nobles.”

The Greek philosopher advised Alexander to adopt the policy of *divide et impera*,—to divide the Iranian empire into petty principalities (Mûlûk-e-Tawâif), so that no particular chief could be so powerful as to raise the banner of revolt and rule over the whole empire. (M. D. P., 9-10.)

There were in the neighbourhood of Bactria a number of desert nomad tribes who were accustomed to make inroads into the Bactrian territories with a view to plunder. One of these nomadic tribes was the Parnian Dahae*, who had emigrated from Scythia and had their pasturing grounds on Bactrian territory. Diodotus, the powerful satrap of Bactria, attempted to bring these predatory people under his rule, and to escape him they expatriated themselves and moving westward settled within the boundaries of Seleucid territory near Parthia. These Parnians now came to be known as Parthians.

Prof. A. H. L. Heeren (H. H. R., Vol. I, 9) reminds us that it was among the nomad tribes that the greatest revolutions in the history of mankind, which not only determined the fate of Asia, but shook Europe and Africa to their centre, had their origin, and that it would almost appear to have been the design of Providence to continue these nations in a state more true to nature and nearer by some degrees to their original condition in order to renovate by their means (as history proves to have been often the case) the more civilized races of the world, which had prepared, by degeneracy and luxury, the way for its own destruction.

The Parnians or Parthians were of the same Aryan stock as the Persians, and, with Benjamin (B. P., 158) we see no reason why the Parthian dynasty should not be considered and called Persian. References to the Iranians of the Parthian dynasty are found in *Manu* (X, 43-44) and in *Natyashâstra* (XXV, 89). They are spoken of as Pahravas. These Pahravas, Pallavas, or Pahlavs, according to Sir J. J. Modi (M. As. P., Part II, 202), are the Arsacidian Parthians, a dynasty of whom had long ruled in India even upto the country of Mysore. The Châlukyas, the opponents of these Pahlavs, are supposed by some to be the same as Salukians or the followers of Seleucus, the general of Alexander the Great. The following further information respecting the Pahlavs is taken from the remarks

* Sir Percy Sykes (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 307) mentions that in the Akhal oasis to the north of the river Atrek there is a district which in the tenth century A.D., and probably in much earlier times, was termed Dahiatân and included a town of the same name, which according to the Persians was founded by Kai Kobâd of the Heroic age.

made by Mr. M. P. Khareghat, a retired Judge of the Bombay High Court, in his preface to H. P. A. I. "The name Pahlava is generally believed to have been applied in India to the Parthians. The Iranian word Pahlava पहलव is derived by philologists from Parthava, and seems to have been applied in the first instance in Iran to Parthian magnates under the Arsacides and from them to have been transferred later to the heroes of Ancient Iran. We know from classical writers that there were Parthian rulers in India about the beginning of the Christian era, and a class of coins found in and near India bearing usually legends in Greek and the Indian Kharoshti script and Iranian names are attributed to these rulers, who are called Indo-Parthian by modern scholars. In Indian inscriptions and literature the Pahlavas are often mentioned with the Sakas and Yavans, foreigners who came into India about the same period within a few hundred years. It is inferred from these three facts, *viz.*, (1) the practical identity of the Iranian name Pahlav with the Indian Pahlava, (2) the existence of Parthian rulers in India, and (3) the conjunction of the Pahlavas with the Sakas and Yavans, in Indian literature, that the Pahlavas were Parthians, and the inference is justifiable." Prof. P. V. Kane points out, in his monograph on the Pahlavas and the Pārasikas (M. M. V., 353) that Pānini regards the 'parsavadigana' as containing words denoting tribes subsisting by the profession of arms. Mr. Kane sees in 'parsavah' a close resemblance to Fārs or Persis and says that it is not unlikely that it is the older representative of the word 'Pārasika'. He too mentions that the Pahlavas were well-known in India about the beginning of the Christian era and had come to occupy such responsible posts as the governorship of Surāstra (Kāthiāwār). As to the word Pārasika, Principal S. H. Hodivala has shown, beyond dispute, in his Lecture IV (H. P. H) that it is not used by Sanskrit writers for Parsis only. It seems to have been employed for all sorts of foreigners or persons of alien (*i.e.*, non-Hindu) descent.

As to the religion of the Parthians, it is the deliberate opinion of Sir J. J. Modi (J. M. J. V., p. XLV) that they were Zoroastrians in descent and faith. They erected fire-temples and held the Magi originally in great reverence. The word *magi* is derived

from O.P. *magav* which signifies "pertaining to the Median tribe of the Magavs." The priests of the Parsis are known to this day as *mobeds*, which word is derived from the same root. The sacerdotal profession was reserved to the Magi as it is to the



An Ancient Persian Priest at prayer, with the sacred *barsem* twigs in left hand. The inset shows the *padan* (Av. *paṣtidāna*) or mouth-band, worn by the priest when going before the sacred fire so that his breath or particles of the saliva of his mouth may not pollute the fire before him.

mobeds to-day, and their garments were white, as are those of the latter, white being the colour symbolical of physical, mental and spiritual purity. In addition to their spiritual functions they distinguished themselves as physicians, astrologers, teachers and

annalists; and we see from the *Shāh-nāmeh* that the principal ministers of the Iranian kings were almost invariably magi.

Although the priestly functions were confined to the Magian class, the first Parthian kings were incorporated in their order and were the head priests and chief judges. Pliny tells us that Tiridates, brother of the Parthian King Vologases I, who was given the crown of Armenia by Emperor Nero of Rome (A.D. 66), was a Magian.

Water, the sacred element which makes the organic life increase, and rivers and seas, enjoyed a special worship and voyages by sea were avoided as far as possible lest the sacred element be polluted. (U. O. R. P., 26.) So Tiridates, when he had to go to Rome for his investiture by Nero, avoided crossing the sea and made the whole journey by road, only crossing the strait of Hellespont.

The early Parthians did not bury their dead, but followed as best as possible the injunctions concerning the dead preserved by later Zoroastrianism. They exposed the corpses to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey, after which their bones were collected and placed in sepulchres called *astodāns*. The successors of the early Parthians, we learn from Herodotus, burnt their dead in Nisibis. (U. O. R. P., 25.)

Gradually the Parthians lost much of their reverence for the Magians, and became so far lax in their observance of the pure tenets of the original faith as even to apotheosise some of their kings and to display distinct leaning towards idolatry, one form of which was the worship of their early kings.

Under the Achaemenides they were subjected for several centuries to the religion followed by Cyrus and Darius. But their national Faith inclined, rather towards the worship of the elements and especially towards that of the sun and the moon, the latter of which they worshipped under the names of Anaitis, Artemis and Nannée. It was also influenced by the pantheistic religion of the Scyths and the polytheism of the Hellenes. The cult of Mithra was much spread



Tauroctonia, or
Bull-slaying, Mithra.*

* According to the the Mithraic theory, wheat and the vine sprang from the spinal cord and the blood of the sacrificed animal.

among the Parthians, and when they came in touch with the West, they erected temples and set up in them the statues and icons of their deities. (Ib., 16, 17, 20, 35.) In later times Christianity had made notable progress in the Parthian empire. The last king of Osroene, Abgar IX, who ruled from 179-214 A.D., had been converted to Christianity, and there was a flourishing church in his city of Edessa, where, in A.D., 198 a council was held to determine the date on which the Easter should be observed.

Their loss of reverence for the Magians, their leaning towards idolatry and their other notorious defections from the pure tenets of Zoroastrianism gave great offence to the Persians who were staunch adherents of the old Faith; and this was not the least among the causes that culminated in the revolt of the Persians against Parthian domination under the leadership of their national prince Ardeshir Pâpékân (Artaxerxes I) who founded the renowned Sâsânide empire on the ashes of the Parthian.

In refinement and quickness of intelligence they were inferior to the Persians. Their language and writing were called by the later Persians Pahlavi, that is, the language of the Pehelwâns (warriors) or Parthians. Dr. Tarn (C. A. H., Vol. IX, 589) mentions that the Pahlavik (Parthian Pahlavi) was akin to Parsik (Sâsânian Pahlavi) and the roots of both systems have been traced to Achaemenian times. Referring to the Paikuli Inscription of the Sâsânian king Narsih (in the Irâq territory near the Persian frontier in northern Kûrdistân), which is a bilingual inscription, one version being written in the script and language of the older, the Arsacidan empire, the other one in the script and language of the younger, the Sâsânian empire, E. Herzfeld mentions that besides the importance of the purely historical contents of this long inscription, it furnishes undeniable proof that Pahlavi can no longer be regarded as a mixed or hybrid language, full of Semitic words, but that the Arsacidan as well as Sâsânian Pahlavi is nothing else but two learned systems, of a merely graphic character, of writing a great part of the Iranian words with Aramaic ideograms. (J. K. O. I., No. 7, p. 104.)

They were a nation of riders, and from their boyhood they acquired the practice of riding without saddles. Driving in chariots and a disinclination for hunting were considered as effeminate. They passed almost their whole time on horseback, conversing, buying, selling, even eating on their horses. Their cavalry was of two classes, one a body lightly armed with a bow of great strength and a quiver of arrows, and probably also a sword and a knife, the other a body of heavy cavalry, with horses clad, like their riders, in armour, and carrying a long and heavy spear, more powerful and weightier than the *pilum* of the Romans, and also a short sword to be used in close combat. The horse archers were equally formidable in the charge and in the retreat, being trained to shoot from their bows at full gallop while advancing or retiring, a skill which has descended to the men of Persia to this day.* Their principal mode of fighting was to make a series of attacks separated by a swift flight, in which they shot backwards with terrible effect. Plutarch (D. P. C., Vol. II, 293) describes this as indeed a cunning practice, for while they thus fight to make their escape, they avoid the dishonour of a flight. The Greek phalanxes and the Roman legions, unaccustomed to this method of warfare, were often overwhelmed and completely shattered by these rude warriors. The mailed horsemen charged at full speed and drove their spears with such force as often to pierce the bodies of two enemies at one thrust.

We learn from Plutarch's *Life of Crassus* that the Parthians did not encourage themselves to war with cornets and trumpets, but with a kind of kettledrum which they struck all at once in various quarters, mixed with sounds resembling thunder, having, it would seem, very correctly observed that of all our senses hearing most confounds, and disorders us, and that the feelings excited through it most quickly disturb and most entirely overpower the understanding. In the battles which the Sāsānians fought we see that their soldiers were incited to action by shoutings and by the sounds of trumpets as well as kettledrums

* Sir Percy Sykes (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 341) mentions that Persian horsemen shoot guns or rifles off horseback at full gallop, with remarkable precision, their shot to the rear being one that would baffle any European cavalryman.

and Indian bells. Thus Firdausi, in narrating the battle in which Emperor Valerian of Rome was made a captive by King Shâpûr, sings, "From both hosts rose the din of cymbals and shoutings. Brave Shâpûr bestirred himself at the centre. At the din of trumpets and Indian bells heaven shook. Kettledrums were tied on elephants' backs. The neighing of the war steeds was heard for two miles." So also we read that when King Behrâm Gûr (Vrahran V) made his sudden onslaught on the troops of the Khâkân of Chin, on the field of Kashmihan, considerable alarm was caused in the enemy ranks by the shouts of his men, the din of bugles, and other strange noises which were made by filling the dried skins of oxen with pebbles, and attaching them to the necks of the horses, which, as they charged, made the pebbles rattle.

The Parnians or Parthians who settled themselves within the boundaries of the Seleucid territory near Parthia had two chiefs, the brothers Arsaces* and Tiridates.†

Strabo calls Arsaces *anér Skythis* (a Scythian man) but at the same time mentions that others considered him to be a Bactrian. Justin describes Arsaces as a man of uncertain origin, but of undisputed bravery. According to Lindsay (L. V. H. C. P., 2) Arsaces having espoused the cause of the Syrian king during the usurpation of Diodotus, had to fly, on the success of the latter, to Andragoras (called by some historians by the various names of Pericles and Agathocles), governor of Parthia.

Andragoras having offered a wanton insult to Tiridates, the two brothers took up arms and unfurled the ancient Persian battle-standard, the Drafsh-i-Kâveyân, which their uncle had saved from falling into the hands of the Macedonians at the battle of Arbela, and secretly preserved. They attacked Andragoras and slew him and permanently freed this part of the country from Macedonian rule.

I. ARSACES.

The elder brother Arsaces was proclaimed king, and in B.C. 250, the eleventh year of Antiochus Theos, the foundation of the

* From *arsa* or *arsha* (Sansk. *arshya*) meaning "venerable."

† Tiridates, Pers. *Tirdâd*, means "Given or dedicated to (the Yazat) Tir."

renowned ArshkĀnian or Parthian empire was laid. On a drachm of his he calls himself "*Kyuva Setry vahya Arshak*," i.e., "The King of excellent race, Arsace." (G. M. R. C., 12).

Benjamin aptly points out this event as a curious example of the contradictions of destiny that a tribe which exiled itself from home to escape from the precise laws of a regulated government should within a very few years establish a similar government as a direct result of the action it had taken to escape from such a rule. This event is also a testimony to the genius and grit that have always characterised the Iranian races.

According to Isidore of Charax, Arsaces was proclaimed king not in Parthia, but in the city of Asaak, northwest from it, in the district of Astauene, where a perpetual fire was main tained. It was before this fire that he received his royal investiture. Tarn (C. A. H., Vol. IX, 575) mentions that this fire was undoubtedly (though it cannot be said which from which) connected with the Farmer's Fire, Ādar Būrzin Meher, on Mount Ravand, one of the three sacred and eternal fires of later Zoroastrianism, the others being the Warrior's Fire in Atropatene and the Priest's Fire in Persis.

Iranian legend connects the dynasty of the ArshkĀnians with the Kaiyānians, tracing their descent from Kai Arash (Kava Arshan of the Avesta), the third son or grandson of King Kai Kobād.

Parthia proper was bounded by the countries of Chorāsmiā,* Margiana, Aria, Sarangia, Sagartia, and Hyrcania. In area it was about 33,000 square miles, about equal to Ireland. Cyrus the Great had conquered it, and Darius enumerates it, in his inscriptions, among the provinces of his empire.

In the third year of his reign Arsaces was killed in battle by a spear-thrust and was succeeded by Tiridates, who, on accession, adopted the name of his brother Arsaces, as a throne-

* Dr. H. W. Bellew says that both (Afghanistan and Baluchistan) were divisions of an extensive geographical area known by the name of Khorāssān. The word Khorāssān itself is said to be a mere euphoniam of Khoristān or 'the country of the sun', 'the place of Light', or, in other words 'The East', 'the Orient', as being the easternmost or Indian province of the ancient Persian empire of Cyrus and Darius. (B. A. A., 181-2.)

name. The same name came to be adopted in addition to his own by each succeeding Parthian sovereign, and so the dynasty is known as the Arsacide or Arshkânian dynasty. According to Tarn (*C. A. H.*, Vol. IX, 575), Arsaces, reckoned the founder of the dynasty, is a legendary figure, the founder being Tiridates.

II. TIRIDATES I.

The new king distinguished the beginning of his rule by attacking Hyrcania, a dependency of the kingdom of Syria. He succeeded in wresting it from King Seleucus II, styled Callinichus ('Splendid Victor'), who had inherited the Seleucid throne from his father Antiochus II. It was a most desirable acquisition as it was in close proximity to Parthia and almost as large as Parthia itself and much more productive. Strabo describes it as "highly favoured of heaven".

Callinichus was distracted by other troubles of his own at the time. Ptolemy III, Euergetes, king of Egypt, had made war on Syria to avenge the murder of his sister Berenice by her step-son Callimachus; and there was also a civil war between Callimachus and his brother Antiochus Hierax, who disputed with him the dominion over Asia Minor. Having concluded peace with Ptolemy and brought the civil war with his brother to an end, he was able to undertake an invasion of Parthia.

Tiridates fled northwards into the region between the Oxus and the Jaxartes and took refuge with the powerful nomadic tribe of the Aspasiacae (Apa-Saka, 'Water Sacas'), who dwelt on the north of the Oxus. Soon, however, he quitted his retreat and gaining over King Diodotus II of Bactria to his side, assailed Callinichus and won a complete victory making the Seleucid king a captive.* This victory, points out Prof. Rawlinson (*G. R. P.*, 55-6), adds another to the many instances where a small but brave people, bent on resisting foreign domination, have, when standing on their defence in their own territory, proved more than a match for the utmost force that a foe of over-

* Major Cunningham, on the authority of a fragment of Posidonius, concludes that Seleucus was not only defeated by Tiridates, but made prisoner. Rawlinson, however, points out that this would make Posidonius expressly contradict Justin, who says that Seleucus after his defeat was recalled to his own kingdom by fresh troubles. (*R.S.O.M.P.*, 42.)

whelming strength could bring against them, and it reminds us of Marathon, of Bannockburn, or Morgarten. The Parthians annually celebrated it by a solemn feast as the beginning of their independence.

Tiridates showed considerable magnanimity toward the captive Syrian king and treated him as befitted his exalted rank and after a time restored him to his liberty and suffered him to return to Syria.

With admirable foresight he began to strengthen his realm by erecting strong forts in suitable positions and garrisoning them with troops. In the district of Apavortene (Apavarta), in a very fertile and easily defensible spot, he built the town of Dara. He intended to make it the seat of government, but the succeeding monarchs did not use it as such, and the city of Hecatompylos (meaning the "Hundred Gates"), which Alexander had built in the valley of the Gurgān river and was at first the residence of the Parthian kings, remained the seat of the Parthian government.

Tiridates was an active and able monarch. He lived to a good old age and his reign lasted over a period of thirty-seven years. The Arsacide era commenced with the date of his accession, 14th April 247 B.C.

III. ARDAWĀN* (ARTABANUS) I.

His son and successor Artabanus (Pers. Ardawān) I, (Arsaces III) took advantage of the rebellion of a satrap named Achæus, advanced into Media, and seized the entire country between Hyrcania and the Zagros. Lindsay assigns this conquest not to Artabanus, but to his father. (L. V. H. C. P., 4.)

Seleucus III, Soter, who had succeeded Callinichus died after a short reign (B.C. 226-223), being poisoned by his generals, and was followed by Callinichus's second son Antiochus III, Magnus, who proved a vigorous monarch. He advanced against Arsaces III at the head of 100,000 foot and 20,000

* Sir H. Rawlinson derives this name from *Atra* or *Ādar*, Fire, and translates it as "The Worshipper of Fire". It may also mean "The Great Guardian", from *Aria*, great, and *Wān*, guardian. But the correct derivation is *Av. Ashavana*, which means "a righteous person".

horse, and took Ekbatānā, which was an open and undefended town, without a battle.

Polybius has left an interesting account of Media and its capital Ekbatānā, which gives a high idea of the importance of this country of the Medes. He writes:—"Media is the most powerful of the kingdom of Asia, whether we consider the extent of the country or the number and goodness of the men, and also of the horses produced there. For these animals are found in it in such plenty that almost all the rest of Asia is supplied with them from this province. It is also here that the royal horses are always fed on account of the excellence of the pasture. The whole borders of the province are covered with Grecian cities, built as a check upon the neighbouring barbarians after the country had been subdued by Alexander. Ekbatānā only is not one of these. The city stands on the north side of Media, and commands all that part of Asia which lies along the Mæotis and the Euxine Sea. It was even from the most ancient times the seat of the royal residence and seems in splendour and magnificence very greatly to have exceeded all other cities. It is built on the declivity of the mountain Orontes, and not inclosed with any walls, but there is a citadel in it, the fortifications of which are of the most wonderful strength, and below it stands the palace of the Persian kings. The palace contained 7 stadia (840 paces) in circumference and the magnificence of the structure in every part was such as must have raised a very high idea of the wealth and power of those who built it, for though the wood was all of cedar or of cypress, no part of it was left naked; but the beams, the roofs, and the peristyles were all covered, some with plates of silver, and some of gold; the tiles likewise were all of silver. The greatest part of these riches were carried away by the Macedonians who attended Alexander, and the rest were pillaged in the reigns of Antigonus and Seleucus. At this time, however, when Antiochus arrived, there were still remaining in the temple of Aena some pillars cased with gold and a large quantity of silver tiles laid together in a heap. There were also some few wedges of gold and a much greater number of silver. These were now

coined into money with the royal stamp, and amounted to the sum of almost 4,000 talents (about £7,75,000)." (Hampton's Polybius, B. 10, p. 192, quoted by Lindsay, L. V. H. C. P., 4-5.)

Antiochus carried on his campaign for five years, but failed to subdue the Parthian king, who maintained a determined guerrilla warfare and offered such resistance that in the end Antiochus had to acknowledge his independence, and even to seek alliance with Parthia for the purpose of invading the Magnesian Euthydemus, who had overthrown the house of Diodorus and usurped the throne of Bactria.

IV. PHRIAPATUS.

Phriapatus, Arsaces IV, came to the throne in succession to his father Artabanus I. He had a peaceful reign. He calls himself on his coins Philhellen and Philadelphus.

V. PHRAATES I.

Phriapatus was succeeded, in B.C. 181, by his eldest son Phraates (Pers. *Frahât*) I, Arsaces Theopator, who early in his reign subjugated the barbarous but warlike tribe of the Mardi, who occupied a part of the Elbûrz, living in caves dug in the sides of the mountains. He now turned his yearning eyes to the adjacent fertile district of Media Atropatene. How much of it he actually took into his possession is not definitely stated; but as Isidore of Charax mentions that Phraates removed the Mardi to Charax, near the mouth of the Tigris, it is inferred that his dominions must have comprised the province of Characene. His reign was a short one. He bequeathed his kingdom not to any one of his sons, but to his brother Mithridates* (c. 178 to 138 B.C.), who, as events proved, fully justified the choice.

VI. MITHRIDATES I.

The new king was a prince both wise and vigorous, who, in his reign of thirty-seven years, transformed the petty state

* Just as Tiridates means "Given or dedicated to the angel Tir", Mithridates means "Given to the angel Mithra or Maher". According to C. A. H., Vol. VIII, 513, this king ruled from 171 to 138 B.C.

to which he had succeeded into an extensive, powerful and flourishing empire.

Bactria had sensibly weakened herself by her wars with Sogdiana, Arachosia, Drangiana and Aria; and while king Eucratides was occupied in his Indian wars, Mithridates availed himself of these circumstances, and, invading that country, wrested two of its districts, Tapuria and Traxiane (the Kasef Rûd province).

He launched a sudden attack on the valuable province of Media Magna, which though claimed by the Seleucids as a vassal state, was practically an independent kingdom, nearly as powerful as Parthia. The Medians put up a vigorous resistance, but Mithridates succeeded in acquiring the province. Leaving it in charge of a Parthian noble, Bagasis, he marched to Hyrcania, which was making a bid for independence, and nipped the revolt in the bud.

He now proceeded to the west and invaded Susiana or Elymais, to the east of the Tigris, which was an ancient seat of power. The Elymaeans, whom the Seleucids had failed to subdue, had to yield to the Parthian conqueror and their rich country became a part of his dominions. From the temples of Athenia and Nanaia he secured a treasure of 10,000 talents.

Babylonia, which was then subject to Syria, was the next object of attack. The lieutenant of king Demetrius was defeated, and Babylonia, though perhaps not its famous capital Seleucia, became a Parthian possession. A cuneiform document has been discovered showing Mithridates entering Seleucia in the early days of July 141. (C. A. H., Vol. VIII, 528.)

After the end of the Macedonian supremacy, Persis had recovered its independence and became autonomous under Bagakart I. Its kings perpetuated the Achaemenian traditions and its people remained ardent followers of the religion of Zoroaster, whilst in Parthia and elsewhere this religion had degenerated. The coins of these kings show on the reverse an altar of Fire, on whose left the king is standing with his face turned towards the right, and holding in one of his hands

a bow, which rests on the floor, while his other hand is raised in the gesture of prayer. A human figure is hovering over the



altar on the reverse of some coins of this category. Mordtmann attributes it to Ahûrâ Mazdâ, which is a misconception common to Western writers, as has been explained before when speaking of the similar figure on the Behistûn inscription of Darius the Great. There is very often a banner on the right of the

altar, which according to Meyer's supposition (*E. B.*, ed. XI, Vol. XXI, 254), was the historic *Drafsh-i-Kâveyân*. The presence of the banner on the right of the altar supports this supposition, because as Dr. Unvala (*U. O. R. P.*, 24-25) observes, it would represent the supreme sovereignty of Fire, just as maces, swords, lances, and some other weapons are placed against the walls of the chamber of fire as symbols of the sovereignty of the fire Behrâm in the great fire-temples (*Ātash-Behrâms*) of the modern Zoroastrians. Among the legends on the coins are found such names as Artaxerxes, Darius, Narses, Tiridates, Minochêhêr and others.

In B.C. 140 the victorious Mithridates brought Persis under his subjection. But Persis never became an integral part of the Parthian empire. The Persians were treated by their Parthian suzerains with special consideration and were allowed to be governed by their indigenous kings. These kings, according to Hadi Hasan, ruled from about B.C. 250 to A.D. 226, and it was in their kingdom with its two large cities of Pasargardæ and Persepolis that the coins just referred to were struck. (*H. H. P. N.*, 51.)

Once more Mithridates took the aggressive against Bactria, which at this period was under the rule of the parricide Heliocles, who had raised himself to the throne by murdering his father Eucratides, over whose mortal remains he drove his chariot and whose burial he forbade. The greater part of the Bactrian dominions fell to the Arsacid monarch.

Not content with these conquests, Mithridates launched an expedition to India,* and captured the country between the Indus and the Hydaspes (the Jhelum), besides bringing the Sogdians, Arians, Drangians, and some other nations under his sway. Lindsay mentions that such indeed was the clemency and moderation of this great victor that many countries willingly submitted to him and considered themselves fortunate in obtaining so wise and just a ruler and so powerful a protector.

His Greek and Macedonian subjects, however, looked upon their Parthian rulers with disaffection. These malcontents sent embassies to Demetrius II, king of Syria, inviting him to free them from Parthian domination and take the rule himself. Demetrius, nothing loth, invaded the Parthian territories, and Elymæan and Persian contingents joined his forces, as also did the newly conquered Bactrians. In several engagements the Parthians were the losers. But in a surprise attack the general of Mithridates completely defeated Demetrius and made him a captive.

The royal captive was conveyed about in triumph before the several nations that had made common cause with him, but was soon afterwards taken by Mithridates into favour and given a residence in Hyrcania with a maintenance ample enough to let him live like a king. The Parthian monarch showed him further favour by giving to him the hand of his daughter Rhodoguné in marriage, and promised to support him against Tryphon, who had

* Gutachmid, referring to Orosius and Diodorus, attributes to Mithridates the annexation of the old kingdom of Poros without war. Prof. Rhapson (*C. H. I.*, Vol. I, 568) considers the theory of a conquest of India by Mithridates I to be founded on a misunderstanding of a statement of Orosius. He thinks that the invasion of India must be ascribed not to the Parthian emperors, but to their former feudatories in Eastern Iran; not to the reign of Mithridates I, but to a period after the reign of Mithridates II, when the power of Parthia declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent.

usurped the throne of the Seleucids. But before he could put his plan into execution, Mithridates died, full of honours and years (B.C. 138).

He was the first Parthian monarch to adopt the title of King of Kings*. He calls himself on his coins βασιλεὺς βασιλεων μεγάλων Ἀρσακων επιφανους, i.e., King of Kings, the great and illustrious Arsaces. He was also the first to wear the tiara or tall stiff crown, which, with some modifications, remained the headdress of the kings of Persia until the Arab conquest. He is said to have collected the best laws from every people in his empire and compiled a code.

He was a brave monarch, merciful and benevolent in disposition, and wise and judicious in administration. His physiognomy was intelligent and dignified. He was a born ruler of men, and was pre-eminent among all his contemporaries. In truth he was one of the greatest and most illustrious princes known to history. He exalted the Parthian name to a high pitch of glory. His nature was enterprising and ambitious, but his rule was so beneficent that his extensive conquests seem to have been a benefit rather than a calamity to the nations subjected to his sway. (L. V. H. C. P., 10.)

The empire which Mithridates founded was divided into eleven Upper and seven Lower Kingdoms, separated by the Caspian Gates. The Upper Kingdoms were Choarene, Comisene, Hyrcania, Astauene, Parthyene, Apauartice, Margiana—a part of Bactria, Aria, the country of the Anauans (a division of Aria), Zarangiana, and Arachosia. The Lower ones were Mesopotamia and Babylonia, Apolloniatis, Chalonitis, Carina, Cambadene, Upper Media, and Lower or Rhagian Media. The Upper provinces were those which Parthia had conquered before she occupied Media and became the supreme power in Persia: the Lower were the provinces she conquered later in the west. (P. S. C., 77.)

The Parthian monarchy was limited. Parliamentary Institution had existed in Iran from remote times in one form or

* Rhapsom (C. H. L., Vol. I, 567) is inclined to the view that this title was first assumed by Mithridates II.

another, but during the Parthian regime it acquired a very definite form. There were two councils to advise the king and check and control his absolute power. The first was the senate of the Probuli, which consisted of the adult males of the Royal House. From it were chosen the generals of the army and the satraps of provinces. The second assembly was composed of the Magi or Priests and the Sophi or Wise Men. These two assemblies constituted the Parthian Parliament, which was known as the Magisthana (*i.e.*, the Nobles or Great Men), and were invested with the power to nominate the king, who could only be chosen out of the royal Arsacid family, and, if need arose, to depose him. The privilege of putting the diadem upon the king's head at his coronation belonged to the Surena, who was Field Marshal of the Parthian army and stood next in rank to the king. The house of Surena was one of the foremost families among the Parthians, and the office of Field Marshal was hereditary in this family. In war-time the leading officers were chosen from the Parthian nobles.

The conquered countries were governed either by viceroys who were appointed for life from the king's kinsmen or by feudatory princes who were allowed to govern their peoples in their own way subject to the regular payment of tribute to the imperial treasury and on the condition of sending contingents to aid Parthia in her wars. These provincial princes had the right to coin money on condition that the legends were in Pahlavi, the head of the Great King was represented on one side with the Arsacid tiara, and the vassal prince was to take the simple title of *Malkâ*. The most powerful satraps, known as the Vitaxae, were permitted to assume the regal title. According to Gibbon the Vitaxae were eighteen; but Rawlinson gives their number as fourteen or fifteen, and notes that Ammianus makes them eighteen in number but includes in them the kings of Persia, Susiana, etc. (R. S. O. M. P., 87.)

The Greek towns which were scattered throughout the Parthian empire enjoyed a municipal government of their own, and in some cases were almost independent communities. The broad-minded Parthian kings showed much favour to the Greeks

and on their coins inscribed among their titles that of Phil-Hellene. Whether the Greeks deserved the special favoured treatment is another story. In the judgment of Rawlinson (*Ib.*, 89), this policy, though perhaps wise on the whole, diminished the unity of the empire and there were times when serious danger arose from it. Sykes also points out that when invasion threatened from the West these semi-independent Greek city-states were a source of weakness and even of actual danger to Parthia. (*S. H. P.*, 3rd ed., Vol. I, 365.)

The Jewish communities also enjoyed municipal independence, though in a lesser degree, and some of their towns enjoyed similar privileges with the "free cities" of the Greeks.

The metropolis was removed from the north of the empire westward to Ctesiphon, and fortified with walls, either by King Orodes I or Phraates IV. Ctesiphon continued to be the capital down to the time of the Mahomedan conquest. It was situated on the left bank of the Tigris, opposite the city of Seleucia and a few miles below Baghdad. Strabo informs us that it was founded as the winter residence of the Parthian kings out of consideration for Seleucia, whose merchants would have been inconvenienced by the quartering on them of the rude nomads who formed the larger part of the army which surrounded the court. At other seasons the kings resided either in Ekbātānā and Rhages in Media, or in the palace at Tapé in Hyrcania. According to Benjamin, the capital of the Arsacides was, at least in the earlier years, at Rhages. There was a magnificent palace at Babylon, of which alone of all the royal Parthian palaces a description has been preserved. Philostratus, who wrote in Parthian times, describes it as under :—

"The palace is roofed with brass and a bright light flashes from it. It has chambers for the women and chambers for the men, and porticoes partly glittering with silver, partly with cloth-of-gold embroideries, partly with solid slabs of gold, let into the walls, like pictures. The subjects of the embroideries are taken from the Greek mythology, and include representations of Andromeda and of Orpheus, who is frequently depicted..... You behold the occupation of Athens and the battle of Thermopylae, and a canal cut

through Athos.....One chamber for the men has a roof fashioned into a vault like the heaven, composed entirely of sapphires, which are the bluest of stones, and resemble the sky in colour." (Ib., 367.)

The kings had a chief wife, who was recognized as the queen and whose status was not much below that of her royal consort, besides a number of mistresses, who were frequently Greeks. The young and dashing Surena when he marched against the Roman general Marcus Crassus required two hundred chariots for the conveyance of his seraglio. The Parthian monarchs were as a rule singularly free from the undue influence of females and of eunuchs. The customs of separation and veiling prevailed.

Throughout the empire, officers, known, as in the Achaemenian times, as the King's Eyes and Ears, were employed to watch the king's interests and submit reports.

Except the first two or three, who were beardless, the Parthian kings wore their hair and beard long in the Iranian fashion. Most of them were manly, brave, haughty and proud. Even the last of the line, Artabanus IV, who had the misfortune to be overthrown by the Persian vassal prince, Ardeshir Pâpékân, had valorously opposed the power of Rome and brought to a successful issue the struggle for supremacy which had gone on between Rome and Parthia for well-nigh three centuries by compelling Rome to accept an ignominious peace. The Parthian monarchs perpetuated the Achaemenian traditions; and, in the fourth decade of the Christian era, we see Artabanus III throwing out threats to Emperor Augustus that as a representative of Cyrus and Darius, and thereby the rightful owner of all the territories that of old belonged to Macedonia or Persia, he meant to resume possession of all the provinces.

The Parthians doubtless had their vices, but on the whole their personal character was high, and they possessed qualities which the so called refined and enlightened Greeks and Romans would have been all the better for imitating. Their treatment of their captives was not unmerciful. Most of them possessed a nice sense of honour. They kept their pledged word and

faithfully observed the obligations of their treaties, and not in a single instance did they besmirch their reputation by violating the sanctity of foreign ambassadors. The *Parthis mendacior* of Horace is a misapprehension of fact, and had, says Sykes, probably about as much foundation as the *Albion perfide* legend. (Ib., 369.) They were a tolerant people, and never interfered with the pursuit by their subject races of their individual faiths and creeds. Many Christian sees were established in the non-Persian districts of their empire during the last hundred years of their rule. Offices of trust were not infrequently bestowed on foreigners.

A considerable trade existed between Parthis and Rome; and the Parthians were in no way inferior to the Romans in manufactures and material prosperity.

It does not appear that the Parthians possessed an indigenous literature. But they had a considerable knowledge of Greek, Hebrew and other foreign tongues and the Arsacid kings enjoyed the Greek plays*. Artavasdes, king of Armenia and father-in-law of Pacorus, son of king Orodes of Parthia, was so expert in Greek that he composed tragedies in the style of the Attic masters, and wrote historical essays which existed in Plutarch's time. (D. P. C., Vol. II, 591.) Recently M. de Mecquenem discovered at Sûsâ a letter of king Artabanus III of A.D. 21, which was written in excellent Greek. (T. I. of 8-11-33.)

As to architecture, the splendid palace of Babylon described by Philostratus could not have been the only royal building of such magnificence. Unfortunately very little of the archæological remains of the Parthians have come down to us, for which Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara suggests two probable causes,—either the Parthians chose in their structures material not likely to last long or they preferred an open air life in splendid ephemeral pavilions. (I. L. Q., Vol. II, Nos. 2-3, 172.)

Besides this palace, Huart mentions five ruins which may be attributed to the Arsacid period:—(1) a temple at Kanguvar, composed of a central hall and a vast peribulus of bastard Greek

* Tarn says that the hard-worked story that Greek plays were acted at the court is a mere mistake. (C. A. H., Vol. IX, 591.)

style ; (2) a building at Hatra ; (3) a small edifice at Farrâshâbâd, in Fârs ; (4) a funerary chamber at Warkah ; (5) the remains of a palace at Sûsâ, built over Artaxerxes Memnon's Hall of Audience. (H. A. P. C., 116.)

Such an eminent authority as Ferguson, author of the *History of Architecture*, writes that the Parthians have left no material traces of their existence. But Rawlinson (*G. R. P.*, 372-3) properly says that this is an overstatement, a very considerable exaggeration, and points out that the position held by the Parthians in numismatics should alone have been sufficient to save them from the undeserved reproach, and that careful enquiry shows, as might have been expected, that in other branches of art also, and especially in architecture, Parthia made efforts and produced results not wholly despicable. Tarn mentions that scanty as are the remains, the art of Iran in the Parthian period was destined, in the view of some scholars, to have no small historical importance, and says, "To Prof. Strzygowski, who refuses to see in it Hellenic influences, it was destined to play a large part in history through its decided influence on the art of Armenia; Prof. Rostovtzeff believes that its influence can be traced alike in the arts of Palmyra, of South Russia, and of China in the Han period." (*C. A. H.*, Vol. IX, 600.)

VII. PHRAATES II.

Phraates II, son of Mithridates I, was the seventh king of the Arsacide dynasty. He took the title of King of the Lands. He was brave, warlike and enterprising, and though soft in temperament was capable of intrepidity and vigour when occasion arose. He conquered Morgiana from the Scythians of Bactria.

After the defeat and capture of Demetrius II by the Parthians, the Syrian throne was occupied by his brother Antiochus VII, Sidetes (B.C. 138), who was an active and enterprising prince. After a short war he overcame a certain Diodorus, who under the assumed name of Tryphon had risen as a rival for the throne. His general Cendebæus invaded the country of the Jews, but was defeated. So he took the command in person, subdued Jerusalem, demolished its fortifications, and enforced on the Jews the condition of

military service and payment of tribute for Joppa, Gazara and certain other places, besides a war indemnity of 500 talents. He then advanced upon Babylon, with a fighting force of from 80,000 to 100,000 soldiers. Amongst them there was so much wealth and luxury that they were accompanied by two or three hundred thousand camp followers, the majority of whom consisted of cooks, bakers and stage players, and even the buskins of common soldiers were studded with gold, and the culinary utensils were of silver. (L. V. H. C. P., 12.)

The Syrians achieved victory in three pitched battles, and Babylon fell. This encouraged several minor vassal princes to rebel against the Parthian sovereignty and join Antiochus.

With the object of raising troubles in Syria itself so as to drive off Antiochus from Parthia, Phraates gave his liberty to Demetrius and sent him with a body of Parthian soldiers to reclaim his throne.

As winter was approaching, Antiochus stopped further military operations, and dividing his troops, sent them into winter quarters in the various cities which he had seized, with the intention of resuming the campaign in summer. The native populations of these cities got thoroughly disgusted and discontented in consequence of the insolence and oppression of the Syrian soldiers quartered upon them and the heavy requisitions made upon them for stores and provisions of all kinds for their consumption. They entered into a secret pact with Parthia and undertook to break out in revolt simultaneously on a pre-arranged day and slaughter the Syrian soldiers picketed upon them. King Phraates had arranged to be at hand with his army to prevent the scattered detachments of the enemy from combining or giving help to each other.

Before carrying out this well-laid plan which involved the wholesale massacre of the enemy, Phraates had the magnanimity to offer a chance to Antiochus to come to an agreement with him, and sent ambassadors for the purpose. But that ill-informed and ill-fated Syrian monarch dictated haughty terms which it was impossible for Phraates to listen to. These were that Phraates should set Demetrius free and deliver him up

without ransom, restore all the Syrian territories which Parthia had seized, and pay a tribute.

On the preconcerted day, the native populations assailed the Syrian garrisons in all the cantonments, who taken by surprise fell in large numbers before their swords. With such troops as were stationed with him Antiochus hurried to the rescue of the soldiers quartered nearest to him. But he was confronted by a large force led by Phraates, who in a pitched battle destroyed the Syrian troops. Antiochus either fell on the field or took his own life by throwing himself from a cliff to avoid capture. His son Seleucus and his niece, a daughter of Demetrius, were among the captives. No less than 300,000 Syrian soldiers were slain in this battle or butchered in the cities.

This was the end of the dynasty of the Seleucids as a great power (B.C. 129). Their dominions were reduced to Cilicia and Syria Proper. Shattered and enfeebled, the Syrian state protracted its existence for some six decades, until it was converted into a Roman province (B.C. 65).

Phraates in the flush of victory could have pushed on his conquest and seized Syria itself, but he had to abandon the attempt owing to serious trouble in his own country. He decreed proper funeral honours for his rival Antiochus and sent his remains to the Syrians, in a silver coffin, for sepulture. He treated his royal captives with great consideration, and both from political motives and attracted by her beauty he took Demetrius' daughter in marriage.

At the time when he had to devise every possible means to drive away the invasion of Antiochus, he had summoned a body of mercenary Sakas to assist him. These mercenaries arrived too late to be of any use in the war for which he had hired them, and so he refused to pay them. Thereupon they began to plunder the country. Phraates proceeded against them with a strong body of his own troops, supplemented by a Greek contingent, the remnant of the defeated army of Antiochus. At the battle with the Sakas the perfidious Greeks deserted the king and went over in a body to the enemy. The

Parthians were defeated with great slaughter, Phraates being among the slain.

There is an anecdote of Phruates told by Posidonius, which Rawlinson considers as deserving to be noticed. When Antiochus, who made war upon Phraates, was dead and the latter was occupying himself about the Syrian king's funeral, he exclaimed, "Oh Antiochus! thy rashness and thy intemperance were thy ruin; in thy mighty cups thou thoughtest to swallow down the kingdom of the Arsacidae." (R. S. O. M. P., 110.)

VIII. ARTABANUS II.

The Magisthana elected to the throne Artabanus II, the third son of Phriapatus and uncle of Phraates II, who although advanced in years, was a brave and energetic prince.

In consequence of the disastrous massacre of the best of the Parthian troops at the hands of the Saka barbarians and the treacherous Greek mercenaries, Parthia was in a perilous state. The Sakas ravaged the open country and loaded with considerable booty returned to their homes.

The Yueh-chi, a nomadic tribe who lived in Kan-su (North-west China), were attacked, defeated and pushed westwards across Asia by the Hiung-nu (the Huns), about B.C. 165. These Yueh-chi numbered probably from half a million to a million souls. They in their westward migration drove before them other nomads. They displaced the Sakas, who inhabited the country of the Jaxartes to the north-east of Sogdiana and Bactria, and drove them west and south, and then crossing the Jaxartes conquered the whole of Sogdiana. From Sogdiana they made inroads into Bactria itself and took possession of the rich land on the Polytimetus, the river of Samarcand, and the highlands between the Upper Jaxartes and the Upper Oxus. (R. S. O. M. P., 114-5.)

Some hordes of Sakae established themselves in the north of Drangiana and named the country Sacastāna (Land of the Sakas), which name the Arabs corrupted into Sajestān and is preserved still in the further corrupted form of Sistān.

The predominant tribe of the Yueh-chi, the Kushans*, extended their dominion in Turkestan and Bactria to N. W. India.

King Artabanus with great gallantry attacked the Tochari, one of the most forward of the Scythic tribes, which had settled in a portion of the territory that had till lately belonged to the kingdom of Bactria. He sustained a defeat and in the thick of the fight received a wound in the fore-arm, from the effects of which he died.

IX. MITHRIDATES II, THE GREAT.

This king (124-88 B.C.), who took the throne after his father Artabanus, retrieved the Parthian prestige by scoring a number of victories over the Scythians and became "the avenger of his parent's wrongs". He recovered Sistân and took Candahâr and the Saca flood ultimately reached India. The country from Herat northwards was also reacquired. Rhapson writes in C. H. I., Vol. I, 567, "Parthia had now taken the place of Bactria as the barrier which impeded the westward course of migration from upper Asia. But the stream of invasion was only diverted into another channel: checked in Ariana, it forced its way along the line of least resistance into the country of the Lower Indus (Indo-Scythia). The Çaka invasion of India, like the invasion of the Huns (Hûnas), between five and six centuries later, was but an episode in one of those great movements of peoples which have so profoundly influenced the history not only of India but also of Western Asia and Europe." Herzfeld (J. K. O. I., No. 7, 107) mentions that the invasion by the Sakas of the countries, modern Sistân, Balûchistân and Afghânistân, south of the Hindûkûsh, happened during or shortly after the reign of Mithridates II, and their dominion over these countries and great parts of India lasted at least upto the end of the reign of Gondophares, the

* The greatest of the Kushans was the conqueror Kanishka, who did such great things for Buddhism by founding the Mahayana or popular gorgeously ritualistic form of it that his fame for ages has been spread from end to end of India. He reigned from 78 to 106 A.D. The Kushan empire came to an end in the third century. It was this dynasty that in 78 A.D. founded the Saka era. (Sir Richard Temple, H. H. N., 135, 139). Sykes states that in B.C. 30 one of the tribes of the Yueh-chi, the Kwei-shang, subdued the others, and the nation became known to the Romans as the Kushan. (S. H. P., 3rd ed. Vol. I, 433.)

protector of Christian apostle Thomas and the founder of Gondophareia, modern Kandahār, 45 A.D.

Tarn (T. S. P. S., 16-18) is of opinion that Mithridates imitated Seleucid custom and appointed a joint-king with himself, the reason being that besides the Saka invasion, he had on his accession to cope with great troubles in Babylonia. The joint-king dealt with the northern half of the Saka invasion; and the reason his coins are so different from other Parthian issues is that they were no part of the Parthian regal coinage, being struck merely to pay his troops and record his victories.

Mithridates made large additions to his dominions, carrying his triumphant flag as far as India in the east and to the banks of the Euphrates in the west.

He attacked his relative Artaverdes, the third of the Arsacid kings of Armenia. This country, which was henceforth destined to exercise a great influence on the affairs of Central Asia, was of great extent being over 600 miles in length and 400 miles in breadth. Rawlinson (G. R. P., 121) says that it was to this part of Asia that Switzerland is to western Europe, an elevated fortress region containing within it the highest mountains, and yielding the waters which fertilize the subjacent regions.

Artaverdes was obliged to conclude a disadvantageous peace and to give his son Tigranes as hostage. He ultimately put Tigranes on the throne, taking 70 valleys in payment and marrying his daughter. (C. A. H., Vol. IX, 603.)

In B.C. 192 the Seleucid emperor Antiochus the Great invaded Greece in alliance with the Ætolians. But his army crumpled up against the Roman attack and he was obliged to withdraw to Asia. The Romans followed him up into Asia Minor, and at Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus, he was completely defeated by Lucius Cornelius Scipio and was compelled to purchase peace by renouncing all his possessions in Europe and Cistauric Asia and agreeing to pay an indemnity of fifteen thousand Euboic talents, to give up all his elephants and ships, to surrender Hannibal and other enemies of Rome who were refugees

at his court (B.C. 190), and to give twenty selected hostages. Hannibal managed to escape to Bithynia, but the other conditions of this humiliating peace were carried out.

Rome was not yet prepared to make a province of a country so far away from the Tiber. The Senate bestowed, with the Thracian Chersonese and the surrounding country, almost all the Seleucid territory to their ally Eumenes II, king of Pergamus, who thus found his kingdom vastly enlarged.

Eumenes was succeeded by his brother Attalus II (159-138), and the latter by his eccentric nephew Attalus III. The last monarch, who had no issue, bequeathed on his death, which occurred in B.C. 133, the whole of his kingdom to the Roman Republic, who gave away Great Phrygia to Mithridates V, king of Pontus, who had been an ally of the Romans during the Third Punic War and entered into possession of the remainder, which they formed into a Roman province, giving it the name of the Kingdom of Asia. This Asia was the earliest acquisition of the Roman Republic beyond the Ægean. Besides it, Bithynia was acquired by her by its voluntary cession by its king Nicomedes. It is curious that two kings in Western Asia should have of their own choice handed over their entire kingdoms, the one by bequest and the other by voluntary cession, to a distant foreign republic in Europe. We cannot trace the undercurrents of diplomacy which undoubtedly must have played their part in bringing about such unusual gifts. Under the republic, Asia and Bithynia were administered by *proprætors*, but under the emperors, the governors appointed by the Senate were styled and ranked as *proconsuls*.

In the year 92 B.C. Parthia came for the first time into contact with Rome when Lucius Cornelius Sulla advanced against Tigranes, who was attempting to seize Cappadocia. Mithridates II of Parthia sent Orobazus as an ambassador to Sulla for the purpose of forming an offensive and defensive alliance between Parthia and Rome. This shows the wisdom and foresight of this great Parthian ruler, who so early perceived the advantage of establishing friendly relations with Rome, when, as Rawlinson (*R. S. O. M. P.*, 136) observes, an ordinary Oriental monarch

might have despised the distant Republic and have thought it beneath his dignity to make overtures to so strange and anomalous a power.

A few years later, in the struggle between Demetrius III, king of Syria, and his brother Philip, the Parthians sided with the latter and brought about the surrender of Demetrius with all his troops (B.C. 87). Demetrius was taken as a captive to Mithridates, but received from him very honourable treatment.

Mithridates breathed his last after a long and glorious reign of 36 years. He was as eminent a warrior as his famous namesake Mithridates I. He was the first Parthian monarch to open relations with Rome, and the first to receive a Chinese embassy. This embassy came from the Han emperor Wu-ti, and the road was opened for the inflow into Parthia of caravan trade through Chinese Turkestan.

Tigranes, who had defeated Artames, king of Sophene or Armenia Minor, and made himself master of the whole of Armenia, availed himself of the confusion in Parthia after the death of Mithridates, and recovered the 70 valleys and wrested Gordyene or Northern Mesopotamia, Adiabene, and Nisibis. He also compelled the king of Media Atropatene to acknowledge his suzerainty, conquered northern Syria, and adopted the title of King of Kings.

This is an obscure period of Parthian history. Rawlinson is doubtful whether the conquest of the Parthian provinces by Tigranes took place in the reign of Mithridates II or no, for there is confusion in Justin's account of this portion of the history of Parthia. Benjamin places this event as happening in the reign of his immediate successors. Tarn puts it after the death of Mithridates II.

X AND XI. MNASKRIES AND SANATROCES.

The king who directly succeeded Mithridates II was probably Mnaskries, a son of Phraates I. His rule lasted about ten or eleven years, and on his death, which occurred at the great age of 96, Sanatroeces, an octogenarian Arsacid, who was probably a son of Mithridates I, sat on the throne with the help

of a contingent of soldiers from the Saka tribe of the Sacaraucians (Saka Rawaka).

The great struggle between Rome and Pontus, which had commenced in B. C. 88, was still going on. Both these powers were desirous of securing Parthia's help. But Sanatrocēs was not disposed to favour either, and amused both sides with promises, but lent his aid to neither.

XII PHRAATES III.

Phraates, who succeeded his father Sanatrocēs in B.C. 70, received a long missive from Mithridates of Pontus calling his attention to the encroaching spirit of the Romans and the necessity for forming an alliance of the Asiatic powers against them. Tigranes of Armenia also asked him to make common cause with him and Mithridates, offering to restore Gordyene, Adiabene, Nisibis and the 70 valleys to Parthia if he would enter into the alliance. Phraates at first observed neutrality, but later sought friendship and alliance from Lucullus and his successor Pompey. He reconquered the territories which his predecessors had lost, including Atropatene, Adiabene, Gordyene and Osroene and resumed the title of King of Kings, which had been discontinued since the days of Mithridates I.

At the time when Pompey was occupied in Syria, Phraates attacked and defeated Tigranes. The latter sought help from Pompey but the Roman general, who was not prepared to try conclusions with Parthia, refused assistance on the plea that he had no mandate from Rome to invade Parthia, an excuse which, Lindsay points out, Pompey never thought of pleading when he held the power to subdue. However, by his mediation a boundary commission was appointed and the three men sent by him for this purpose were enrolled as *bonâ fide* arbitrators by the two kings, who then settled their mutual complaints and entered into amicable relations.

In the tenth year of his reign, a conspiracy was hatched against the life of Phraates by his sons Mithridates and Orodes (Huraodha) and he was murdered. He was a prudent ruler and

possessed political abilities of a high order. He was able not only to maintain intact the territories to which he had succeeded, but even added to them.

XIII. ORODES I.

Orodes now ascended the throne and allowed Mithridates to rule Media Magna as a vassal prince*. But soon a civil war broke out between the two brothers. Mithridates was slain and Orodes ruled as sole monarch.

At this time, the aristocrat Marcus Licinius Crassus, consul at Rome and one of the foremost Romans of the period, who from his immense wealth had acquired the sobriquet of Dives, the rich, drew the proconsulate of Syria. No Roman had yet penetrated to the Persian Gulf and to the Indus. Crassus, who was overabundantly greedy of gold and ambitious to excel Pompey and Cæsar, vaunted that he would subdue Parthia, Bactria and the Indus and reach the farthest limits of the East. On the Ides of November 55 as Crassus rode out of Rome to set out to make war on Parthia, the tribune C. Ateius sat in the gateway beside a brazier and with the solemn curses of an ancient ritual consigned him with all his army to destruction. (C. A. H., Vol. IX, 605, 609.) Discarding all advice and disregarding all omens, he set sail from Brundisium with a large fleet.

Never, writes Lindsay, was a more unjust war undertaken and never were avarice and injustice more signally frustrated and punished. Florus refers to the avarice of consul Crassus, who gaping after Parthian gold engaged in a war against the will of God and man, and mentions that "whilst he lay encamped at Nicephorium, the ambassadors of king Orodes came and pressed him to remember the leagues made with Pompey and Sylla, but Crassus intent upon Parthian treasures, without so much as pretending a reason for the war, replied that he would answer them at Seleucia, wherefore the Gods who are guardians of leagues prospered both the secret and open efforts of our enemies". Hearing Crassus's conceited answer, Vagises, the

* According to Lindsay, G. Rawlinson and Sykes, Mithridates was the eldest son of Phraates and sat on the throne after the latter's assassination.

leader of the Parthian embassy, smiled and striking the palm of one hand with the fingers of the other gave the taunting reply, "Hair will grow here, Crassus, before thou seest Seleucia." (L. V. H. C. P., 25; R. S. O. M. P., 154.)

In Armenia, Tigranes the elder having died and his eldest son Tigranes the younger being a captive in Rome at the time, Artavardes, the latter's younger brother, seated himself on the throne. The new king joined the Romans with a force of 6,000 horsemen and promised the assistance of 16,000 cuirassiers and 30,000 infantry, if Crassus would take his advice and direct his march through his fertile and friendly country of Armenia. But those whom the Gods wish to destroy they first turn mad. Crassus rejected the king's advice and replied that his march would lie through Mesopotamia as he had left there many good soldiers in occupation of outposts whom he expected to pick up on this route.

When Crassus crossed the Euphrates below Zeugma, the omens were very unfavourable and increased the anxieties of his troops, the Romans being a notoriously superstitious people. The crossing was effected without incident and Crassus began to ravage the open country. An engagement took place near Ichnæ, on the banks of the Belik, about 17 miles north of Nicephorium, in which the Parthian satrap's small defensive force was easily overcome.

All this while Orodes was not idle, but was silently perfecting his preparations for repelling the Roman invasion. A large army was collected, armed, and drilled. Recognising that it was of the first importance to prevent the further troops of the king of Armenia from effecting a union with the Roman army, and reinforcing it with cavalry, an arm in which it was weak, he divided his force in two corps and taking command of one led it in person to invade Armenia, leaving the other under his brave commander-in-chief Surena, to confront Crassus.

This distinguished Surena was in wealth, family and reputation the second man in Parthia, being next only to the king and in courage and prowess the first. He was a young man about 30 years of age, of commanding height and great

personal beauty, and was possessed of wisdom and prudence. He was of the type of those Pehelwāns of old whom Firdausi has made immortal in his epic. At the siege of Seleucia, during the civil war between Orodes and his brother Mithridates, this young intrepid warrior had distinguished himself by being the first to mount the breach. Whenever he travelled privately, he travelled in a most magnificent style. A train of a thousand camels carried his baggage, two hundred chariots were employed to carry his harem, a thousand mail-clad horsemen and a still larger number of lightly armed men formed his life-guards, and he had at least ten thousand horsemen altogether of his servants and retinue.

The traditional account is that Abgarus, the Sheikh of Osrohene, whom Pompey had admitted into the Roman alliance, was secretly allied to Orodes, while professedly remaining an ally of Rome. The presence of this Sheikh in the Roman camp proved of great importance to the Parthian general, as he kept the latter informed of all the designs and movements of Crassus, and what was worse for the Romans, he induced Crassus to trust himself to the open country, where the Parthian cavalry could operate freely, and to bring him, after hasty march, and in the full heat of the day, into the presence of the enemy. (G. R. P., 164-5.) But Dr. Tarn is not disposed to accept the tradition and says that Abgar was not dishonest over the route, his treachery cannot be substantiated, he had been Pompey's friend, and probably lost his own kingdom after Carrhae. He, however, mentions that Abgar, deserted and went home with his cavalry, as soon as the scouts of Crassus came in with the news that the Parthians were upon them. (C. A. H., Vol. IX, 608-9.)

In the memorable battle of Carrhae, the city of Nahor to which the patriarch Abraham migrated with his family from Ur of the Chaldees, Surena inflicted a crushing defeat on Crassus on the 9th June of 53 B.C. The unremitting and unerring flight of arrows from the Parthian bows made a great havoc among the Roman legionaries. Such was the weight of their arrows and the flexibility of their bows, says Lindsay, that no armour was proof against them, and their spears were so heavy and strong that they

frequently ran two men through the body with one thrust. The archers' supply of missiles was almost inexhaustible. When the first ranks had exhausted their arrows they had only to wheel off and replenish their stock from magazines borne on the backs of numerous camels in the rear.

Of the seven legions of 42,000 or 43,000 men with which the arrogant Roman general had crossed the Euphrates, one half fell on the field, and ten thousand were made captives. Crassus' brave son Publius, who had lately served under Cæsar in Gaul, was among the slain. The Roman standards, called Eagles and worshipped by these superstitious people as gods, were seized. Never did a greater disaster and greater disgrace befall the Roman arms.

The Roman captives were well treated and allowed to settle in Margiana (Merv), where they intermarried with native wives and became Persian subjects.

Crassus had escaped with a body of horsemen. But in a *mélée* which ensued in the course of a conference with Surena and his officers for a settlement of peace he got killed. Whether he fell by a Parthian hand or was slain by one of his own men and with his consent is not certain. The king caused molten gold to be poured into the mouth of this Roman general, who was notoriously greedy of gold, saying mockingly, "Be satisfied with thy life's desire!" Plutarch, in his life of Crassus, says that even those who thought most of him seem to have thought him, as the comic poet says, "A brave man anywhere but in the field."

The victory of Carrhae was a magnificent achievement of the Parthian general with a much smaller force against the serried ranks of the Roman legions,* and the Roman defeat was one of the worst disasters which the Roman arms ever suffered. (C. A. H., Vol. IX, 611.)

The troops which Orodes himself had led against Artaverdes, king of Armenia, were not called upon to fight, for the two kings agreed to avoid war and make an alliance, which was furthered

* Tarn mentions that the Surena had his 10,000 archers, 1000 cataphracts, and a few men brought by Siliacus. Crassus had 7 legions (28,000 men), 4000 horse, and 4000 light armed. (C. A. H. Vol. IX, 608.)

by the latter giving his daughter in marriage to the former's son Pacorus.

Not unseldom have successful generals fallen victims to their master's jealousy, and this was the fate in store for the brilliant victor of Carrhae. He had the misfortune to incur the jealousy of his royal master and to pay the penalty of death. This was decidedly unfortunate for Parthia, which needed the services of such an intrepid and discreet commander in her future struggles with Rome.

As a direct consequence of this great reverse to Roman arms, Mesopotamia was fully recovered. Had the Parthians vigorously followed up this victory, led by such a commander as the late Surena, in all probability they would have been able, at this juncture, to expel the Romans once for all from Asiatic soil. By their unsympathetic, unjust and oppressive rule the Romans had alienated the sympathies of their native subjects, Syria and other provinces were ready for revolt, and the Roman commander Cassius Longinus had but the shadow of an army. But Orodes failed to take full advantage of this opportunity, and the few raiding parties which were sent out were easily driven back by Cassius.

At last, in B.C. 51, the Parthian king roused himself to strike a determined blow. But during the interval Rome had time to recover. Orodes placed the invading force under the command of his son Pacorus, a brave youth fifteen years of age, and gave him the services of Orsaces, an officer of ripe age and experience. The Euphrates was crossed and every town was subdued until Antioch was reached, behind whose walls Cassius had sheltered himself with his troops. The Parthians laid siege to it, but they were not experienced in siege-work and were repulsed. Cassius lured them into an ambush and they suffered heavy loss, Orsaces receiving a wound of which he died.

Prince Pacorus took up winter quarters in Cyrrehstica, with the intention of renewing the campaign in the spring. Bibulus, the new governor of Syria, knowing his inability to hold his own against the Parthians, resorted to craft to ward off the Parthian danger. He found a tool in Orondapates, satrap of Mesopotamia, to sow dissensions among the Parthians and

induce Prince Pacorus to plot against his father. But before Bibulus's intrigues could succeed, Orodes recalled the prince, and the invading army recrossed the Euphrates and evacuated Syria (July 50 B.C.). Thus ended the First Roman-Parthian War, after lasting for over four years.

Rome was distracted by grave civil dissensions. A Civil war had broken out between two of the greatest Roman generals of the day, Julius Cæsar and Pompey. The latter turned to Parthia for help (B.C. 49 or 48), and Orodes promised it on condition that Syria would be ceded to him. Pompey could not accept this condition as it was too humiliating for Rome, and the negotiations were dropped. After his complete defeat by Julius Cæsar on 9th August 48 B.C., at Pharsalia, in Thessaly, his first impulse was to throw himself at the mercy of Orodes and take shelter at his court, and later on, with the aid of Parthian troops, to thunder at the gates of Rome and demand readmittance. But he relinquished this design on receipt of intelligence that Antioch had declared for his rival and so the route to the Parthian capital was closed to him. Shortly afterwards, as he was landing in Egypt, he was murdered by one of his centurions.

Six years afterwards, Quintus Labienus, who after the murder of Cæsar (B.C. 44, March 15) had been sent by the liberators Cassius and Brutus as an envoy to the Parthian king to seek his help in their struggles with the united forces of Octavian and Mark Antony, was still at the Parthian court when news arrived of the great victory of the latter on the plain of Philippi (B.C. 42). Fearing to return home, Labienus entered into the service of Orodes. It is a curious fact that a body of Parthian horse which Orodes had sent to the assistance of Cassius at his request actually fought in the battle of Pharsalia, the first and only occasion on which Parthian soldiers fought in Europe.

In B.C. 40, the Syrians writhing under the oppressive rule of the Romans invited Orodes to free them from their hated Roman yoke. In response to this call he despatched a large force under Labienus and prince Pacorus. In a pitched battle the Roman legate Decidius Saxa sustained defeat and precipitately fled. The towns of Apamea and Antioch surrendered.

Labiennus and Pacorus divided their troops and engaged simultaneously in two separate expeditions. The latter carried all before him in Syria and Phœnicia. Tyre alone he could not take for want of a fleet.

Like their predecessors, the Achaemenians, the Parthian princes entertained special consideration for the Jewish nation. Advancing into Palestine, Pacorus deposed John Hyrcanus, and set up Matthathiah, the last of the Asmonæan princes, on the ancient throne of David, as king and pontiff, under the Greek name of Antigonus, as a vassal of Parthia. The Jewish prince had offered a thousand talents (about £2,40,000) and five hundred Jewish women if prince Pacorus would take up his cause and secure him the throne.

The other Parthian division led by Labienus was no less successful. It entered Asia Minor and defeated Decidius Saxa, who was slain in the battle. Pamphylia, Lycia and Caria were overrun, Mylasa and Alabanda were taken, and probably Lydia and Ionia were also occupied. Stratonicea, which alone showed resistance, was besieged.

For one full year Western Asia changed masters. The authority of Rome disappeared and Parthia ruled supreme. (R. S. O. M. P., 189.) In marked contrast to the oppressive rule of the arrogant and greedy Roman governors, the Parthian administration was just and clement, and Pacorus won the hearts of the Syrians. (E. B., ed. IX, Vol. XVIII, 597.)

With the arrival of Antony's lieutenant Publius Ventidius, in B.C. 39, things soon assumed a different turn. By rapid marches he landed unexpectedly on the coast of Asia Minor. Labienus was taken by surprise, and not having sufficient troops retreated hurriedly towards Cilicia. Pacorus sent a body of troopers to his assistance, but before joining and putting themselves under his command, they had the rashness to attack the Romans, with the consequence that they were beaten and had to fly to Cilicia. Labienus escaped from Cilicia, but was captured and put to death by the Egyptian governor of Cyprus.

Ventidius sent forward Pompædius Silo, with a body of horse, to take possession of the Syrian Gates (*Pylæ Syriæ*), a narrow pass

over Mount Amanus, leading from Cilicia into Syria, which was being guarded by Phranipates. He was on the point of being overcome by the Parthians, but the timely arrival of Ventidius changed the situation. Phranipates was overpowered and slain.

Pacorus thought it prudent to retreat and evacuated Syria. But he had no idea of abandoning the contest. He had secured the affection and esteem of the Syrians and the alliance of the semi-independent border princes. With the coming of spring he recrossed the Euphrates. If he had effected the passage at the usual point he would have taken the Romans at a disadvantage, for the legions were dispersed in various winter quarters and were ill prepared to meet the invasion. But the crafty Ventidius, by some stratagem, induced the Parthians to cross at a different point considerably lower down the river, and thus gained time to collect his men. A battle took place at Gindarus, in northern Syria, on 9th June 38 B.C., in which Pacorus got killed. As is so often the case with oriental troops, the Parthian soldiers seeing their commander dead took to flight and gave the Romans an easy victory. The victorious enemy severed the head of the brave Parthian prince from the body and sent it round to the revolted cities of Syria to show that their hopes were frustrated.

Ventidius was the first Roman to score a decided victory over the Parthians.

The Parthian invasion of Syria collapsed. As Rawlinson observes, the history of the contest between the East and the West, between Asia and Europe, is a history of reactions. At one time, one of the continents, at another time the other is in the ascendant. (R. S. O. M. P., 193.)

The death of his brave and favourite son struck the aged king Orodes with extreme grief. For many days he would neither take any food, nor speak, nor sleep. Out of his thirty sons he selected the eldest, and unfortunately the most wicked, son Phraates, to be his successor, and resigned the crown in his favour (B.C. 37).

XIV. PHRAATES IV.

The new king, Phraates IV, commenced his career with the murder of some of his brothers, who were born of a princely

mother, the daughter of Antiochus of Commagéné. When the ex-king expressed his disapproval of this conduct, Phraates smothered the old man with his pillow and to fratricide added the crime of parricide.

Thus died Orodes I in the eightieth year of his life and the eighteenth of his reign. During his regime the power of Parthia had reached its culminating point.

Phraates IV was a man of singularly jealous nature and sanguinary disposition. He assassinated all his other brothers, his own adult son, and many Parthian nobles who had provoked his jealousy. A number of the nobles in terror of their lives fled the country. Several fled to Mark Antony, among them being Monæses, an aristocrat of the highest rank and one of the ablest generals of Pacorus.

Encouraged by the successes of his legate Ventidius and stirred by a feeling of jealousy at the triumph decreed to him, Antony set out on a campaign against Parthia. The time was favourable for an invasion, since Phraates had made himself extremely odious to his people by his violent and merciless acts. He secured the alliance of Artavasdes, king of Armenia, and advanced with the very considerable force of 1,13,000 men, including an Armenian contingent of 7,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, to humble the might of Rome's most dreaded foe, Parthia.

The Median monarch, by name Artabazes or Artavasdes, son of Ariobazanes, had gone with his troops to join his suzerain Phraates in defence of the empire. Taking advantage of his absence, Antony besieged Phraaspa,* the capital of Media Atropatena. But the town was strongly walled and so well defended by the garrison that the Romans were foiled.

In the meanwhile the Parthian and Median monarchs swiftly advanced to the seat of war. Coming across Antony's legate and one of his best officers, Oppius Statianus, who was proceeding with a large escort to take the baggage and heavy siege-train to Antony, they made a heavy onslaught and killed or

* This is identical with ruins now termed Takht-i-Sulaymān, situated about a hundred miles south-south-east of Lake Urumia. Rawlinson erroneously considered that the ancient Ekbatāna was to be found at this site. (S. H. P., 3rd Ed., Vol. I, 860.)

captured 10,000 Romans, and seized the entire siege-train and baggage. The legate was among the killed.

Owing to the frequent sallies of the brave garrison, of Phraaspa, the lack of discipline among his soldiery, the failure of supplies, and the approach of winter, combined with the fact that even his most desperate assaults on the besieged town were frustrated, Antony was obliged to propose terms of accommodation to the Parthians. The renowned Roman triumvir tried to cover his discomfiture by offering to relinquish the siege and recross the frontier if the Parthians restored to him the captured Eagles and the Roman prisoners. Phraates treated the overture, with disdain, and Antony was obliged to raise the siege and beat a retreat towards the Araxes. It took him 27 days to accomplish his retreat across the 277 miles from Phraaspa to the Araxes, during which his troops suffered extreme miseries owing to the intense cold, the blinding snow and driving sleet, the scarcity of food and drinking water, and the harassing attacks of the enemy. In this campaign the Roman army, led by such a distinguished general, suffered a loss of a fourth part of the fighting men and a third of the camp followers, and all the baggage. Eight thousand more legionaries succumbed in Armenia through the effects of past miseries or from cold and snow-storms.

On arriving at the Araxes, Antony drew up his horse to cover the passage of his infantry, on which the Parthians unbent their bows, telling the Romans they might pass unmolested, and praising them for their valour. (L. V. H. C. P., 44.) The Romans, and following them the modern Westerners, class the Parthians as barbarians. But in instances of this sort these 'barbarians' have shown that they could prize gallantry even in their bitterest enemy and were superior to the 'civilized' Romans in magnanimity towards a discomfited foe.

For more than a century after this disaster, Rome, the mistress of the world, could not muster courage to attack Parthia; and when, in later ages, Benjamin (B. P., 167) pointedly observes, her legions repeated the attempts to penetrate to the heart of Persia, she always failed, and, in every other quarter successful, uniformly found that the frontiers of Persia

formed an impervious barrier to the advance of her legions into Central Asia. It is not a little thing, says he, to record on the pages of history that of all the people of antiquity, the races that checked the advance of Rome were those which sprung on Persian soil.

The Romans, without much reason, laid the blame of the woeful end of their enterprise on the Armenian king Artavasdes. Antony, under the most solemn promises of safety, summoned Artavasdes to meet him, and when relying on the Roman general's pledged word, the king came, he was treacherously seized and put in silver chains, which were afterwards changed for those of gold.

Artaxes II, to whom the Armenians gave his father's vacant throne, marched against Antony with a large force, but was repulsed with the aid of the king of Media Atropatene, who had become disaffected with the king of Parthia, thinking himself wronged in the division of the Roman spoils and formed an alliance with Antony.

The Roman triumvir arranged a marriage between Alexander, his own son by Cleopatra, and Jotapa, the daughter of the king of Media, and left for Egypt, carrying with him considerable booty and the captive king of Armenia and his wife and children. On his return to Asia next year he made over a part of Armenia to the Median monarch in confirmation of their alliance.

At the time when Antony retired into Asia Minor to prepare for his contest with Julius Caesar's nephew and heir Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus (Augustus), king Phraates undertook offensive operations. Media fell before him and the Median king was made a captive. The conquest of Armenia followed. All the Roman garrisons in that country were made captives or put to the sword, and Artaxes II was re-established on his paternal throne.

These brilliant successes of his filled Phraates with undue elation and arrogance, and he once more began his career of cruelty and oppression. The people revolted and set up a nobleman of the name of Tiridates as ruler.

Phraates fled to Turan or Scythia (B.C. 32), and returning with a Scythian force retook possession of his throne. Tiridates escaped to Syria, taking with him the youngest son of Phraates whom he delivered up to Augustus. Some years afterwards Augustus restored his son to Phraates and demanded, in return, the restoration of the Roman Eagles captured by the Parthians from Crassus and Antony and such of the Roman captives as still survived. Phraates made the desired restoration three years afterwards when Augustus was in Syria for the settlement of the affairs of Asia.

There was considerable jubilation throughout the Roman empire at the recovery of the Eagles, the cherished object of the Roman soldier's affection and sometimes of his worship. The recovered trophies were deposited in the temple of Mars the Avenger, and a special medal was struck. The poets celebrated the recovery as something greater than a victory or a triumph.

Such friendship seems to have been formed between the two powers that Phraates selected Rome for the residence of his four elder sons, Vonones, Seraspadanes, Rhodaspes, and Phraates (*c.* B.C. 10), and these princes were treated there at the public expense in a manner befitting their rank. Some modern writers, *e.g.*, Ed. Meyer (E.B., ed. XI, Vol. 21, 533), following the Latin writers, speak of these princes as hostages given by the king of Parthia to the Emperor of Rome, thus acknowledging his dependence on Rome. But Rawlinson (R. S. O. M. P., 213) rightly asserts that this was certainly not the intention of Phraates, nor could the idea well be entertained by the Romans at the time of their residence.

XV. PHRAATACES.

Phraates had kept with him, and designated as his heir, his youngest son Phraataces, by Thea Musa Urania, an Italian slave-girl who had been presented to him by Augustus. Not waiting till the throne became vacant by the death of the aged king in the natural course, Phraataces, in conspiracy with his mother, poisoned him and wore the crown (4 B.C.). Thus

expired Phraates, himself a parricide and fratricide. He proved himself one of the ablest of the rulers of Parthia, showing dash in warfare and discretion and dexterity in his dealings with the Romans, and not yielding any portion of his empire. But he was selfish, jealous and cruel.

The Emperor Augustus sent his grandson Gaius (Caius) Cæsar, under the care of Marcus Lollius, to reestablish the Roman influence in Armenia. Gaius and Phraataces met in an amicable interview on an island in the Euphrates, and an arrangement satisfactory to both sides was come to whereby, the Parthian monarch agreed that he himself would renounce Armenia and his brothers should remain 'beyond the sea.' This treaty was celebrated by a series of magnificent festivities.

The Parthian nobility entertained dislike and contempt for Phraataces, who had raised himself to the throne by committing the heinous crime of parricide and was born of a mother of ignoble origin, and their feelings were further outraged by his impressing the image of his mother on his coinage and heaping other extraordinary official honours on her. They rebelled, and deposing him gave the throne to an Arsacid prince, named Orodes, who was then living in exile.

XVI. ORODES II.

The new king made himself so obnoxious by his violent and cruel disposition that he was assassinated either at a festival or while out hunting (c. A.D. 5).

XVII. VONONES.

The Magisthana asked Augustus to allow Vonones, one of the sons of Phraates IV who were residing in Rome, to return to Parthia and take the throne. The Emperor complied and with great rejoicings the Parthians welcomed the prince as their king. But murmurs of discontent were soon heard everywhere. Bred up at Rome, Vonones had imbibed refined tastes which seemed defections in the eyes of his unpolished subjects and filled them with disgust. The habit of riding was a second nature with the Parthians, but this king preferred a litter to a

horse. Neither hunting nor the deep carousals in which the Parthians indulged had attractions for him. The favours which he showed to his Greek companions whom he had brought with him from Rome and his attempts to check speculation gave cause for jealousy and rage. His affability and easiness of approach, instead of being considered merits, were looked upon as defects. All this disaffection and discontent culminated in a general revolt, and Artabanus, who was an Arsacid on his mother's side and was at this time the vassal king of Media Atropatene, was invited to take the throne.

XVIII, XIX, AND XX. ARTABANUS III, TIRIDATES, AND KINNAM.

Artabanus brought an army of his own subjects and attacked Vonones, but was repulsed. He made a second attempt with a larger force and gained complete success. Vonones fled, and the victor entered Ctesiphon and was acclaimed king.

Vonones sought refuge, not with the Romans, but with the Armenians and as the throne of Armenia happened at the time to be vacant, the people elected him to it (A.D. 16).

Artabanus sent remonstrances to Armenia and to Rome, and called upon the Armenians to surrender Vonones. The latter quitted Armenia and took protection under Creticus Silanus, proconsul of Syria. On a further remonstrance from Artabanus, Germanicus, whom his uncle the Emperor Tiberius had invested with an extraordinary command over all the Roman possessions east of the Hellespont, interned the fugitive in Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia. In an attempt to escape from there, he was run through the body by a guard.

For some time Artabanus was engaged in putting down some of his rebellious satraps and in waging foreign wars.

In the year 34 the throne of Armenia became vacant by the death of Zeno, a son of Polemo, king of Pontus. Artabanus placed his own son Arsaces on the vacant throne, and further advanced a claim to lordship over the Iranian population of Cappadocia, and threw out threats that as the rightful representative of Cyrus and Alexander he was entitled to, and meant

to reoccupy all the territory that was once Persian or Macedonian and was now lawfully his. (R. S. O. M. P., 228.)

Despairing of humbling Rome's dreaded and hated rival in the East, Parthia, by force of arms, Emperor Tiberius pursued the safer, if ignoble, policy of bringing about that country's ruin by intrigue. His secret agents tried to foment the disaffection of the Parthians towards Artabanus so as to bring about a revolution. He also instigated Phrasmanes, king of Iberia, to set up his brother Mithridates as a claimant for the kingdom of Armenia. Phrasmanes bribed the attendants of Arsaces, son of Artabanus and king of Armenia, and got him murdered, and then advancing on that country seized its capital Artaxata (Ardashad). Artabanus sent another son of his, by name Orodes, to expel the Iberians, but in a hand to hand fight with Phrasmanes, the prince was struck down, and his men believing him to be dead dispersed.

In A.D. 36 Artabanus personally took the field for the recovery of Armenia. But at this juncture a serious revolt broke out in Parthia headed by a nobleman of high birth and great wealth, of the name of Sinnaces, and fomented by the intriguing Roman legate of Syria, Lucius Vitallius, who lavishly spent Roman money for the purpose.

The insurgents set up Tiridates, a grandson of Phraates IV and one of the Parthian princes at Rome, as a claimant to the throne of Parthia. Artabanus saw his only safety in flight and retired into Hyrcania waiting for better times and a change in the disposition of his fickle people.

Tiridates was crowned in Ctesiphon by the Surena, but his rule was destined to be short. The great influence which Sinnaces and his father Abdagases enjoyed at court caused discontent among the other noblemen. These malcontents formed a conspiracy to call back Artabanus and give him the throne, and for this purpose proceeded to Hyrcania, where the ex-king was living in obscurity, eking out his livelihood by his bow,

With a force lent by the Dahae and Sacae Artabanus approached the environs of Ctesiphon. At the advice of Abdagases, Tiridates retreated into Mesopotamia. But when he saw

that his army was deserting him, he crossed into Syria with a few attendants and put himself into the protection of the Romans, suffering the ex-king to resume his throne without a struggle.

In A.D. 37 the proconsul Lucius Vitellius, under instructions from Tiberius met Artabanus on the Euphrates and arranged terms of peace, the latter agreeing to renounce all claims to Armenia, to send one of his sons to Rome and to offer incense to the emblems of Roman sovereignty. Three years after this peace the Parthian nobles again formed a coalition hostile to Artabanus, who quitted Ctesiphon and fled to the court of Izates, a Jewish ruler of Adiabene, which was a tributary state of Parthia.

The Magisthana elected an Arsacid named Kinnam to the vacant throne. But by the intervention of Izates, Artabanus was recalled to Parthia a second time, and the peace-loving Kinnam, removing the imperial diadem from his own head, placed it on the head of Artabanus and saluted him as king.

The restored Parthian king rewarded Izates by bestowing on him a large portion of Mesopotamia and accorded him the privilege of wearing an upright tiara and sleeping on a couch of gold.

Artabanus did not long survive his second restoration. He died about A.D. 40, after a long reign of thirty years.

Towards the end of his rule Seleucia, which was the second city in the empire, seceded from Parthia and declared itself independent.

XXI AND XXII. VARDANES AND GOTARZES.

According to Josephus, Artabanus left his kingdom to his son Vardanes, who at once began to rule. But according to Tacitus, the person who directly succeeded the deceased king was his son Gotarzes (Pers. Gûdarz). Prof. A. von Gutschmid (E. B., ed. IX, Vol. 18, 601) mentions that there is monumental evidence that Gotarzes was not Artabanus' son, though he was in a sense an adopted son of his. Lindsay attempts to prove that he was the son of Orodes, the eldest son of Artabanus.

Gotarzes made himself so obnoxious by his atrocities that the nobles deposed him before two months had passed from the death of Artabanus and gave the sceptre to Vardanes. The deposed king fled, but returned with a force of the Hyrcanians and the Dahae to recover his throne. Civil war was, however, happily averted for the time by the two rivals coming to terms. Gotarzes renounced his claims to the kingdom and received a residence in Hyrcania.

Freed from troubles at home, Vardanes prosecuted the siege of the rebellious city of Seleucia, and reduced it to obedience (A.D. 46).

Vardanes, by the harshness of his rule, caused grave dissatisfaction among the nobles, who called upon Gotarzes to return and wrest the throne from him. In more than one engagement Gotarzes sustained a defeat at the hands of the royal troops. But soon afterwards, Vardanes fell a victim to a conspiracy and was slain during a hunt (A.D. 45). The verdict of Tacitus as regards this prince is that he would, although in the flower of his age, have been equalled in renown by few aged kings, had he studied to be beloved among his countrymen as much as he did to be feared among his enemies. (*L. V. H. C. P.*, 67.) According to this historian, Vardanes had won tribute from peoples in Central Asia from whom no Arsacid had won it before and subdued the intermediate tribes as far as the river Sindes (Indus). (See Sir J. C. Coyajee's art. "The House of Gotarzes", *S. V. A.*, of 1932, 26.)

By common consent Gotarzes was elected king. But his former adversities had taught him nothing, and once more he began to give free indulgence to his jealous and sanguinary disposition. His atrocities and extremely luxurious life, as well as his ill successes in some military expeditions which he had undertaken, disgusted his subjects, and a secret embassy was sent to Emperor Claudius to allow Meherdates, son of Vonones and grandson of Phraates IV, who still remained in Rome, to return to Parthia and assume the sceptre.

Several Parthian noblemen openly took up the cause of Meherdates, and Abgar V, the Arab ruler of Osrohené, as also Izates, avowedly sided with him. But these two princes, who had

perhaps a secret understanding with Gotarzes, withdrew their troops before the decisive battle took place in which Gotarzes triumphed. Meherdates was betrayed by one Parrhaces, who gave him up, bound in chains, to Gotarzes.

The victor commemorated his triumph by a bas-relief and inscriptions carved on Mount Behistûn. He is portrayed on horseback brandishing a lance, while a winged Victory crowns him with a wreath. The sculpture still stands though in a mutilated condition. It is on a panel at the base of the hill, upon the right of the approach to Darius's great monument.

We learn from Ferishta that an Indian king, Sinsarchand, paid tribute to king Godrez (Gotarzes). Briggs identifies this Sinsarchand with Chandragûpta (Sandrocottus). But Sir J. J. Modi points out that the king in question could not have been Chandragûpta himself, but one of his successors. (M.As.P., Pt. II, 48.)

XXIII. VONONES II.

Shortly after his victory over Meherdates Gotarzes died (A.D. 51), and Vonones, governor of Media, and probably a brother of Artabanus III, was called to the throne. His reign was of a short duration and uneventful.

XXIV. VOLOGASES I.

Vologases succeeded his father Vonones. He gave the kingdom of Media to his brother Pacorus, and after conquering Armenia, which was then under the rule of the base and treacherous usurper Rhadamistus, son of Phrasmanes, king of Iberia, conferred it upon his brother Tiridates. But owing to the outbreak of a pestilence of a most virulent type, the Parthians evacuated Armenia and Rhadamistus once more occupied it.

At the time when Vologases was engaged on his expedition against Izates of Adiabene, with whom a cause of quarrel had arisen, a large host of the Dahae and other Scythian nomads poured in from the Caspian regions and overran Parthia, Vologases marched against them and effected their expulsion.

He once more resumed operations against Rhadamistus, and driving him from the country, re-established Tiridates as king and made Armenia a dependency of his empire.

Vardanes, a son of Vologases, rebelled against him, but the rebellion failed and in all probability Vardanes lost his life.

Thereafter the Hyrcanians strove to make themselves free from the Parthian yoke, and kept up the struggle for the period of a decade, until Vologases made a treaty acknowledging their independence.

Sir J. C. Coyajee (art. "The House of Gotarzes," S. V. A. of 1932, 26) reminds us that Hyrcania was in a sense identified with king Gotarzes and his family, since both he and his grandfather used it as a place of refuge whenever they were defeated and lost their hold over the rest of Iran and it was on the condition of Hyrcania being assigned to him that he relinquished his claims to the Parthian crown in favour of Vardanes I. Putting these facts together, this Parsi scholar infers that the rebellion in Hyrcania represented a civil war between the family of Gotarzes (which had always represented Hyrcania) on the one hand and the house of Vologases I on the other.

Domitius Corbulo, reputed the greatest general of the day, took the field against Tiridates, the Parthian ruler of Armenia, and seized Artaxata in A.D. 58, and Tigranocerta, the second principal city, in A.D. 60. Vologases had sent a contingent to assist his brother; but the latter found resistance unavailing and withdrew from the contest, and Armenia reverted to Rome. The Romans bestowed portions of it on the neighbouring princes from whom they had received help, and the remainder on Tigranes V, a grandson of Archelaus, a former king of Cappadocia.

Vologases was not of the temper to let Rome have all her own way. He directed his general Monases, a Parthian nobleman, and Monobazus, the successor of Izates on the throne of Adiabéné, to take the field against Rome's protégé, Tigranes V, and proceeded himself to Nisibis from where he could threaten both Syria and Armenia.

Lucius Cæsennius Pætus, a favourite of Nero, was given by the emperor a separate command with an army equal to that under

points out that the events which occurred in the interval between the accession of Vologases I in A.D. 51 and that of Pacorus in A.D. 77 are made to occupy one reign, that of Vologases I, but the coins of that period distinctly prove that this interval was filled by two reigns, that of Vologases commencing in A.D. 51 and that of another prince in A.D. 62 or possibly one or two years earlier. He is inclined to the view that possibly Vologases and his supposed successor Artabanus IV may have been from A.D. 62 to A.D. 77 contemporary princes, reigning in different parts of the empire. Firdausi also places a king named Ardawān (Artabanus) after Palāsh (Vologases).

Nero died in 68. Vespasian, governor of Judæa, who was proclaimed Emperor by the legions in Syria, sent embassies to the kings of Parthia and Armenia, requesting that they would remain at peace with Rome. Vologases expressed his willingness to do so and even offered to place forty thousand mounted archers at his disposal. In the same spirit of amity he sent an embassy to prince Titus, when he arrived at the Roman outpost of Zeugma, to present to him a crown of gold and convey the king's congratulations on his conquest of Jerusalem (A.D. 71).

In the year 75 the Alāni made an alliance with the Hyrcanians, who were in possession of the Caspian Gates, and bursting through the Gates overran Media and ravaged the open country. They were the strongest and most numerous of the Sarmatian tribes, who, as did the Scythians, belonged to the Iranian group of Asiatic peoples. Pacorus, the brother of Vologases, was driven to the mountains, and forced to pay a ransom of 100 talents for his wife and his harem, who had fallen into their hands. They also raided Armenia, and in a pitched battle defeated Tiridates. They then overran the contiguous Parthian territories.

Vologases sent an embassy to Vespasian asking that an efficient contingent of Roman troops be sent to his aid, but the Emperor refused all help. The country was, however, presently relieved of the unwelcome visitors, who were either driven out by the Parthians or left of their own accord laden with booty.

Incensed at Vespasian's refusal to succour him in his time of need, Vologases made an invasion of Syria, but apparently without any gain.

Lindsay places the events just narrated in the reign of king Artabanus. Rawlinson, Meyer and Sykes mention Vologases I as the monarch concerned.

Referring to the revolt and secession, during this period, of Hyrcania, which Parthia probably never afterwards recovered, Rawlinson (*R. S. O. M. P.*, 293) observes that an example was thus set of successful Aryan revolt against the hitherto irresistible Parthians, whom he describes as Turanians, which may have tended in no slight degree to produce the insurrection which eventually subverted the Parthian empire. There are, however, sufficient reasons to believe that the Parthians were not Turanians, but an Aryan people. As a matter of fact, the Hyrcanian rebellion was a civil war between the house of Gotarzes and the house of Vologases.

The reign of Vologases is characterised by a reaction against Hellenism. In the Pahlavi Dinkard we are told that Valkhas, a descendant of Ashkan, ordered to be preserved and disseminated in each district the Avesta and the Zend just as they had come down in a pure state and also whatever instruction due thereto had remained as authoritative after the ravages and devastation of Alexander and the Greek troops, scattered in Iran, either written or deliverable by the tongue through a high priest, just as they had survived in the country. This Valkhas of the Dinkard was, in all probability, king Vologases I. Meyer and Huart, however, take it that he was Vologases III.

The cities of Vologesocerta (Balāshkert) and Vologesius (the Arabian Ullaish) were founded by this king.

XXV. PACORUS.

Pacorus succeeded to the throne of Parthia in or about A.D. 77 and ruled upto A.D. 108. He enlarged and beautified Ctesiphon and strengthened its fortifications, and sold Osrohēne at a high price to Abgar VII, an Edessene prince.

A Roman, Terentius Maximus, who pretended to be Nero, sought refuge with Pacorus and was given his protection, but was surrendered on the demand of Emperor Domitian.*

It appears that during the years A.D. 77 to 147 two, three or four kings were reigning concurrently in Parthia, each striking his own coins and styling himself King of Kings, a sure sign that the empire had entered the period of its decadence and complete disintegration was only a question of time.

Pacorus died in or about 108. In order to have on the throne a ruler of ripe years, sound judgment and ability to present a vigorous front to the Romans in case, as was apprehended, these old and bitter foes of Parthia resumed hostility, the Magasthana set aside Pacorus's youthful son Parthamasiris and bestowed the crown on the late king's brother Chosroes (Osroes).

XXVI. CHOSROES (OSROES).

On the death of Tiridates, on or about A.D. 100, Pacorus had placed his own son Exedares upon the throne of Armenia, without the consent of Rome and the formality of his investiture by the Emperor.

M. Ulpus Trajana (Trajan), who was at this time occupying the imperial throne, was a native of Spain and was the first provincial to mount the throne of the Cæsars. He set aside the principle of the Julii and Flavii that the Danube and the Euphrates were the boundaries of the Roman Empire, and was resolved to establish the supremacy of Rome throughout the East by some notable achievements.

King Chosroes sent an embassy to meet Trajan at Athens, with rich presents and overtures for peace, and assured him that he had deposed Exedares and was ready to replace him by Parthamasiris with the approval of Trajan and on the condition that he should receive the diadem from that Emperor's hands. Trajan declined the presents and replied that when he arrived himself in Syria he would act as in his judgment was proper.

* According to A. von Gutschmid (*E. B.*, ed. IX, Vol. XVIII, 608) the king who sheltered the pseudo-Nero was Artabanus IV.

The Emperor arrived at Antioch at about the close of the year 114, and set himself to restore the discipline of the Syrian legions. Antioch was visited by a disastrous earthquake in which numerous edifices of this splendid capital of Syria were overthrown and multitudes of the inhabitants perished, including one Roman consul, Peto. Trajan himself was with difficulty saved by a man of gigantic stature from being crushed under the falling ruins.

Abgar, who had bought the principality of Osrohēne from Pacorus, sent an embassy to Trajan with gifts and an offer of friendship. Parthamasiris also wrote to him a letter, assuming the title of king; but when he received no answer he wrote again dropping the royal style. Trajan then replied to the effect that if Parthamasiris appeared at the Roman camp he would then receive at his hands the emblem of sovereignty as Tiridates had received it from Nero. Accordingly, Parthamasiris came up, accompanied by a small retinue, to the Emperor's tribunal in the centre of the camp, removed the diadem from his own brows and laid it at the feet of Trajan and stood in dignified silence, expecting that the Emperor would replace that emblem of kingship on his head immediately. But to his utter astonishment, Trajan told him that he must regard the diadem as forfeited. The youthful prince, with a boldness worthy of his high descent, declared that he was neither captured nor conquered by the Romans, but had come of his own accord to hold a conference with the Emperor and receive from him the crown of Armenia as Tiridates had from Nero, and that in any case he fully trusted that no wrong would be done to him and he and his retinue would be allowed to depart in safety. Trajan replied with effrontery that Armenia was a Roman dependency, and he was not going to give its crown to him or any one else, but to put the country under a governor from Rome, and that the prince had full liberty to go where he liked with the Parthians who were in his retinue. To his eternal disgrace this great Roman Emperor added to his base act of treachery the unpardonable crime of having the spirited Arsacide prince, as he rode off from the camp, set upon by Roman troops and brutally slain. Public opinion in Rome condemned this treacherous and atrocious act of the Emperor; and yet, we

are pained to find a modern European writer, A. von Gutschmid (E. B., ed. IX, Vol. XVIII, 603), whilst calling it a brutal act, not condemning it outright, but attempting to justify it on the plea that it was meant to inspire terror and show that the Arsacids should no longer be treated with on equal terms, and another historian, W. S. W. Vaux (V. A. H. M. P., 142), making a futile attempt to shield the Emperor from deserved condemnation by putting forward the argument that as the whole character of Trajan is averse to petty assassinations, it is but fair to suppose that in this instance he was misled by false or doubtful rumours, the more so as he had the courage to avow that this deed was wholly his own, and therefore probably believed it a necessary act of justice. The Very Rev. Charles Merivale (M. H. R. E., Vol. VIII, 160) acknowledges that while in many respects the public morality of the Romans was purified by their long civilization, in the treatment of their foes they had made little advance either in clemency or in good faith.

Trajan united the Lesser and the Greater Armenia and reduced them to the form of a Roman province. He attacked Adiabéné, which put up no defence, and annexed it. He next conquered Mesopotamia, which too was reduced to the state of a Roman province. The Roman senate awarded to the conqueror the title of *Optimus Principum*.

Recrossing the Tigris, Trajan took the important town of Hatra. Then he passed the Euphrates and advanced on Babylon, which he took without a blow being struck. Selencia, too, was easily subdued, as also Ctesiphon, the Parthian metropolis, which king Chosroes had some time previously quitted with his family and his chief treasures. Among the booty was the famous golden throne of the Arsacid Emperors, which was conveyed to Rome. The senate decreed the ceremony of a triumph to Trajan and awarded him the title of *Parthicus*.

To Trajan belongs the distinction of having extended the boundaries of the Roman Empire to the most distant points to which Roman ambition and prowess were able to push them. (M. H. R., 158.) He had come to regard himself as a second Alexander and dreamt of the mastery of the entire East. "Were I

young," the aged Emperor is reported to have vaunted, "I would not stop till I too had reached the limits of the Macedonian conquest." Soon, however, he was rudely awakened from his self-complacent reveries.

Chosroes had fled into the remote and wild regions of the far East; and Parthia, the most dreaded adversary of Rome and the greatest obstacle to her further aggressions in the East, seemed entirely at her feet.

Suddenly reports of a most alarming nature began to arrive. Chosroes had raised the country, and rebellions had broken out at various centres in Trajan's rear and his line of retreat was beset by foes. At Seleucia, at Hatra, at Nisibis, at Edessa there were wholesale massacres or expulsions of the Roman garrisons.

Trajan's further advance ceased and he was obliged to retrace his steps in haste. He sent out detachments to subdue the rebellious towns. The one led by Maximus, one of the most trusted officers of Trajan, was defeated and annihilated. That which Lucius Quietus led was at first unsuccessful, but on receiving reinforcements he recaptured Nisibis, and plundered and burned Edessa.

Trajan realised that Parthia could not be treated like Armenia and Mesopotamia and a change of policy was necessary. So he took the politic step of maintaining the suzerainty of Rome over Parthia by installing on its throne, with abundant pomp and display, in the presence of Romans and Parthians, an Arsacid prince, Parthaspates, and crowning him with his own hand (A.D. 117).

He now began his retreat to Syria by way of Hatra and Singara. The former was a small but strongly fortified town in the Mesopotamian desert, midway between modern Mosul and Baghdad, in circumference not much exceeding three miles. The Roman Emperor wanted to avenge himself on its inhabitants for their revolt and attacked it. The walls were breached, but all attempts to penetrate them were repulsed by the gallant defenders and he was compelled to beat a retreat, baffled and wounded.

Chosroes returned to Ctesiphon, and expelled Parthaspates. Susiana and Southern Mesopotamia were reoccupied. But

Adiabâné (Assyria), Upper Mesopotamia, and Armenia remained under the Roman power.

Trajan, who is described as the last of the Roman heroes, died at Selinus, in Cilicia, in August 117 A.D. His charred remains were conveyed to Rome and deposited in a golden urn at the foot of his column in that city. His successor Hadrian, who as prefect of Syria had been a near witness of Trajan's campaigns, thought it prudent to make peace with Parthia and restore to it the three newly conquered provinces, and to preserve the Eastern Empire within its former frontiers. He also restored to Chosroes his daughter who had been taken captive at Sûsâ fourteen years before, but did not observe his promise to return the Parthian throne.

XXVII. VOLOGASES II.

On Chosroes' death Vologases II ascended the throne (A.D. 121). A friendly meeting took place between him and Hadrian at a place on the frontier, and cordial relations were established, which continued throughout the latter's reign.

Phrasamanes, king of Iberia, instigated the Alâni to raid Media and gave them a passage through his dominions. Vologases was obliged to buy them off; but their attempt to ravage Cappadocia was repulsed by its Roman governor, who was the historian Arrian.

With the solitary exception of the Alâni raid, Vologases' long reign of twenty-seven years was marked by peace and prosperity. His disposition was peaceful and he had no ambition to extend his dominions.

XXVIII. VOLOGASES III.

Vologases III, who succeeded Vologases II in A.D. 148 or 149, was of a militant disposition and contemplated challenging Rome by invading that ancient cockpit of quarrel, Armenia. But Emperor Antoninus Pius, who was of a pacific disposition, persuaded him to suspend hostilities so long as he occupied the Roman throne. When Antoninus died, Vologases rapidly marched into Armenia, expelled King Sohæmus, who was a protege of

Rome, and gave the throne to a protege of his own, Tigranes, who was a scion of the old royal family.

Ælius Severianus, prefect of Cappadocia, took the field with one legion, but Chosroes, the Parthian General, was more than a match for him. The legionaries were killed to a man, and the Roman commander fell on his own sword. Crossing the Euphrates, the Parthians gave battle to the Roman troops under the proconsul Lucius Attidius Cornelianus, and gave them a crushing defeat.

The victorious Parthians carried fire and sword through Syria, and from there passed into Palestine. The Romans were thoroughly alarmed, and the Emperor deputed Verus, the pleasure-loving youth whom he had associated with himself in the government, to take the command in the East and placed under him some of the best generals, such as Statius Priscus, Avidius Cassius, and Martius Verus, as his lieutenants.

Priscus gained a victory over Chosroes and reoccupied Artaxata, the capital of Armenia. Sohæmus was recalled from Rome, where he had taken refuge, and was reestablished on his throne.

Vologases himself took the field and carried his army to Syria, but sustained a defeat at the hands of Cassius at Europus, and was driven back across the Euphrates (A.D. 163). The victorious Roman general penetrated into Babylonia, captured Seleucia, gave it up to pillage, and put it to flames, to punish an alleged treason of the inhabitants. The sack and conflagration of Seleucia, with the massacre of three hundred thousand of its inhabitants, says Gibbon, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph. Benjamin (B. P., 169) condemns Cassius' destruction of this renowned city as one of those inexcusable deeds which must be branded to all time as gigantic crimes. Meyer (E. B., ed. XI, Vol. 21, 218) remarks that the wars between Parthia and Rome proceeded not from the Parthians but from Rome herself, which had been obliged, reluctantly enough, to enter upon the inheritance of Alexander the Great, and having since the time of Pompey definitely subjected to her dominion the Hellenistic countries as far as the Euphrates,

the Romans were faced with the task of annexing the remainder of the Macedonian Empire, the whole East from the Euphrates to the Indus, and of thereby saving Greek civilization. There is little force in this plea of Meyer. Chamberlain (C. F. N. C., Vol. I, 114) has clearly shown that Rome neither fought for a Europe of the future nor in the interests of a far reaching mission of culture, but simply for her own interests.

If the saving of Greek civilization in the East was really the aim and object of Rome's Parthian wars, then the wanton destruction of Seleucia by Cassius was, in addition to its being an inexcusable crime, an act of egregious and culpable folly, inasmuch as Seleucia was the bulwark of Hellenism in the East and its destruction tolled the knell of Hellenism in the countries east of the Euphrates. Greek culture began to vanish and give place to Aramaic.

After perpetrating the ruination of Seleucia, Cassius crossed the river, took Ctesiphon, looted the royal palace and rased it to the ground, and carried off a rich plunder from the temples and from buried treasures. He then overran Mesopotamia and pillaged the country.

Similar successes crowned the Roman arms in Media Atropatene.

For these victories the Roman Emperors appropriated the titles of Armenicus, Parthicus and Medicus.

Cassius also took and sacked Babylon. But Nemesis was now at his heels. A strange and deadly pestilence broke out in that city, devastating vast numbers of his troops, and he returned to Syria with the fragments of his army. The stricken soldiers carried the infection to the inhabitants of the Roman territories which they entered. Their return to Rome was a march of Death through the provinces. The plague raged with malignant fury throughout Italy. In the provinces it destroyed more than one-half of the entire population, and almost the whole Roman army was annihilated. The foul malady, overleaping the Alps, spread as far as the Rhine and the Atlantic Ocean, carrying death everywhere.

When Cassius retreated into Syria, Vologases commenced ravaging Mesopotamia and encroaching on the Roman provinces.

But Verus came up with the troops under his command, and in a well contested battle his generals scored success. This was followed by a treaty, Parthia ceding north-west Mesopotamia, and the Tigris, instead of the Euphrates, being agreed to as the bounds between the two empires.

Thus ended, in or about A.D. 165, the greatest war between the two powers. For the first time Rome had won success on Parthia's own soil, and Parthia was forced to surrender an important part of her domains.

Sohæmus being dead, his son Sanatruces was set on the throne of Armenia under the auspices of Verus, which circumstance, coupled with the extension of the Roman boundary, affords a proof that at last Rome had obtained the upper hand over Parthia. (L. V. H. C. P., 109.)

Parthia had hitherto preserved to herself the profitable trade with China, and also carried on considerable trade with India. Rome now attempted to compete with her in the Chinese trade, and with this object Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus ('An-tun', as the Chinese call him) sent an envoy in A.D. 166.* The envoy arrived, by sea, in Tongking, and thence proceeded overland to the court of Huan-ti, Emperor of China, with offerings of ivory, rhinoceros-horn, and tortoise-shell. This attempt of Rome to secure direct trade relations with China failed, and the trade continued to flow in its original channel. Sixty years later, a second Roman agent, whom the Chinese call Tsin-lun, was deputed to China. He also landed at Tongking and was sent overland to the court of Emperor Suan-Chuan.

We learn from Hadi Hasan that with the rise of Sāsānian power, and with that of Persian navigation, the silk-trade fell completely into the hands of Persia. That portion of it which came overland had been monopolized by the Parthians and passed *ipso facto* to the Persians with the transfer of the empire. But the portion which came by sea, or found its way by Bactra to the ports of India, was won by sheer competition and the development of a Persian marine. (H. H. P. N., 55.)

* Dr. Lionel Giles (M. H. W., Vol. IV, 2107) says that the mission was most probably not an official one, and is more likely to have been organised for trade purposes by Syrian or Egyptian merchants. But he adduces no reasons for this view.

Vologases survived for at least twenty-five years after the cessation of the war with Rome, and died in A.D. 190 or 191. He was succeeded by his eldest son Vologases IV.

XXIX. VOLOGASES IV.

Lucius Aurelius Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius, who reigned as Emperor of Rome from A.D. 180 to 192, was murdered by an assassin engaged by his favourite concubine Marcia in league with Electus, the chamberlain, and Letus, the prefect of the Prætorians. He was given up to debauchery and further spent his time and energy in wretched exhibitions of gladiatorial and athletic skill. Rostovtzeff (*R. H. A. W.*, Vol. II, 305) appropriately describes him as a second Nero or Domitian, recalling the worst days of the Julian and Claudian dynasties. The reigns of his two immediate predecessors, Aurelius Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138 to 161) and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 161-180), were a happy period for the Empire, so that the age of the Antonines has become a standard expression for the most tranquil period of the later Roman history. For nearly a century after the murder of Commodus, the emperors were elected by the soldiers, and hence the rulers for this period have been known as "the Barrack Emperors."

As successor to Commodus the senate elected a distinguished senator and prefect of the city, M. Helvius Pertinax. But within three months of his reign, he was killed by the rebellious Prætors, who then announced that they would sell the succession by public auction to the best bidder. It was accordingly knocked down to Didius Julianus, a vain and wealthy senator, who proffered a donative amounting to £200 to each of the twelve thousand soldiers who at this time composed the Prætorian guard.

In three different quarters the legions rose in revolt and saluted their respective commanders as Emperors and invested them with the purple,—Lucius Septimius Severus in Pannonia, Clodius Albinus in Britain, and Pescennius Niger in Syria.

The senate acknowledged Severus and pronounced a sentence of deposition and death against the luckless Julian, who was

conducted into a private apartment of the baths of the palace and beheaded, after a precarious reign of sixty-six days.

The king of Parthia embraced the cause of Niger, probably because of the three rivals he was the nearest, and permitted his vassal Barsenius of Hatra to despatch to his help a body of archers, who actually fought against Severus at Nicæa (A.D. 194). The classical writers call Hatra Arabian, but the king's name is Syriac, Barsenius, Bar Sin, Son of the Moon; and so Gutschmid (E. B., ed. IX, Vol. XVIII, 605) supposes that it was really an Aramaic principality, which like Palmyra, had its strength from the surrounding tribes that it could call into the field.

Parthia's advocacy of Niger provoked the enmity of Severus, who was of a cruel and revengeful disposition.

After Niger's defeat and death, Severus took up arms against Parthia. In the summer of A.D. 195 he appeared in Mesopotamia. Abgarus VIII, king of Osrohëne, proffered him his submission, giving his sons as hostages and a large body of archers to help him.

Severus made Nisibis his capital and raised it to the dignity of a Roman colony. From here he invaded Adiabéné and made himself master of that country.

So far Vologases had remained inert and done nothing to aid his vassal king. But when early in 196 Severus returned to Rome to contend with his rival in the West, Clodius Albinus, Vologases took the field and drove the Roman garrisons out of Adiabéné, recovered Mesopotamia, and laid siege to Nisibis, which however held out.

Crossing the Euphrates, the Parthians pushed their conquests further and overran the fertile plains of Northern Syria.

Severus overcame Albinus in a sanguinary battle near the modern city of Lyons, and in the summer of 197 came back to Asia to restore the lost Roman position. He constructed a fleet and embarked his army in it with the intention of proceeding to the Roman side of the Tigris. But it so happened that the ships were carried down by the force of the current to the Parthian territory near Ctesiphon, where Vologases was residing.

Perceiving that the Parthians were quite unprepared, Severus landed his troops and seized Ctesiphon, which taken by surprise could offer little resistance (A.D. 198). With a few horsemen Vologases made his escape. For the second time within a few years a Roman army sacked the metropolis of Parthia. The Romans mercilessly massacred the adult male population, seized all the women and children, to the number of a hundred thousand, as prize, pillaged the public and private buildings, and carried away all the royal treasure and the chief ornaments of the palace. In spite of these misfortunes, Ctesiphon rose to eminence during the Sāsānian period and became one of the great capitals of the East.

After this fortuitous victory, the army of Severus suffered from a severe famine and was forced to subsist on such precarious food as roots, which produced a dangerous dysentery. Being obliged to fall back, he retreated along the banks of the Tigris. On entering the Hatrene territory, he could not resist the temptation of attacking Hatra, the capital, which was reputed to possess vast treasures, especially in the temple of the Sun. But from its strong walls the skilled archers and slingers were able to inflict great damage on the attackers, and the Roman foraging parties were cut to pieces by the Hatrene cavalry. Severus employed engines of every sort to batter down the walls, and succeeded in effecting a breach in the outer wall. His soldiers were eager to rush through it and take the place by storm. But the emperor did not give the command, for in that case the treasures of the Sun-Temple, on which he had set his greedy heart, would, by Roman usage, have been the soldiers' booty; and he waited for a day in the hope that the garrison would then surrender. But the brave Hatrenes repaired the breach in the night and stoutly maintained their defence. The next day when Severus gave the command, his Roman soldiers, who had probably seen through his game, refused to obey; and his Asiatic auxiliaries whom he induced to force an entrance failed to effect it and a vast number of them lay dead. He was consequently obliged to give up the siege and returned to Rome crestfallen.

Within a period of eight decades the defenders of this little stronghold had performed the notable achievement of repulsing

from their walls with considerable loss and dishonour two great warlike Roman emperors, Trajan and Severus.

If Vologases had been the man of vigour and activity which the earlier Arsacides were, or had there been at the time in Parthia a commander of the capacity and judgment of the brilliant Surena, the victor of Carrhae, it would not have been a very difficult task for the Parthians at this juncture to have made a clean sweep of the Roman troops.

Severus died in his camp at York on 4th February 211. His adversary Vologases IV had predeceased him by two years.

XXX AND XXXI. VOLOGASES V AND ARTABANUS IV.

Vologases IV was succeeded by his son Vologases V, but another son of his, Artabanus (Ardawān), rose as a rival, and a civil war raged for several years. In the end Artabanus secured undisputed authority in the western portion of the empire, and Vologases ruled in Babylonia. According to the *Shāh-nāmeh*, Ardawān governed Shirāz and Isphāhān, and set up Pāpak as ruler in Istakhr.

Only on one coin of Vologases IV is found the representation of the altar of the sacred Fire, whereas it constantly appears on the coins of the tributary kings of Persis struck since the liberation of the Parthians from the Macedonian yoke.

Parthia's civil wars caused much elation in Rome, and we find Caracallus, who in A.D. 211 had succeeded his father Severus, congratulating the senate of Rome in A.D. 212 that this country was still rent by internal dissensions which could not fail seriously to weaken her strength.

Caracallus was a dissolute monarch and maintained unlawful relations with his stepmother Julia Domna. He had, besides, the vanity and ambition to emulate Achilles and Alexander, and cherished the design of extending his dominions in the East using even the most dishonourable means for the purpose.

He summoned into his presence Abgarus, the tributary king of Osrohēné or north-western Mesopotamia and his father's esteemed friend; and when that prince came expecting a favour-

able reception from his late friend's son, Caracallus had the meanness to have him seized and committed to prison and to declare that his kingdom was forfeited to Rome. He employed the same mean trick with Vologases, king of Armenia, whom he invited for the purpose of settling a dispute between him and his sons, and when the unsuspecting king arrived with his queen and sons, he treacherously seized them all and imprisoned them. The Armenians would not, however, submit tamely to the deceitful tyrant. They took up arms and inflicted a severe defeat on the expeditionary force sent against them under the command of Theocritus, one of the favourites of Caracallus (A.D. 215).

Tiridates, a brother of Vologases IV, who was long a refugee with the Romans, escaped in the company of the Cynic Antiochus, and took refuge at the Parthian court. Caracallus, who was on the look-out for a cause of quarrel with Parthia, called upon king Vologases V, on threat of war, to surrender the two fugitives. Vologases complied with the demand and averted the war. But the Emperor, who was bent upon bringing about a rupture between Rome and Parthia, adopted a peculiarly crafty device. He sent ambassadors to wait upon Artabanus with costly presents and a despatch wherein he asked for that monarch's daughter in marriage, pleading that the Emperor of Rome could not fitly wed the daughter of a subject or stand in the position of a son-in-law to a private person and no one who was not a princess of a royal line could be a suitable wife to him. He further pointed out the advantages that would accrue to the two empires, which divided the sovereignty of the known world, by the proposed union, and added: "The Roman infantry is the best in the world, and in steady hand-to-hand fighting must be allowed to be unrivalled. The Parthians surpass all nations in the number of their cavalry, and in the excellence of their archers."

Artabanus had no wish to furnish Caracallus with a plea for war. He wrote a polite refusal, urging that it was not fit that either family should sully its blood by mixture with the [other, that such a marriage, in which the wife and husband

differed in language, habits, and mode of life, could never be a happy one, and that there was no lack of noble patrician families in Rome with whom the Emperor could as suitably unite in marriage as the Arsacide monarchs did with the daughters of their own royal house.

This reply was as straightforward as it was polite ; and we fail to understand, except as due to the deeply rooted prejudice and disdain of the West for the East which occasionally prompt even the most fair-minded European writers to misunderstand and misinterpret the ways and actions of Eastern peoples and potentates, why Sir Percy Sykes (*S. H. P.*, vol. I, 3rd ed., 386) describes it as "a politely vague and evasive reply, of the kind in which Orientals have ever been adepts".

Caracallus was not one to give up the wicked design his crafty soul had conceived. He sent a second embassy to press his suit, with fresh gifts and solemn oaths in confirmation of his earnestness and sincere friendly intentions ; and Artabanus was persuaded, against his better judgment, to withdraw his refusal and address the Roman Emperor as his son-in-law, asking him to come to Parthia to take his bride home.

As the accepted son-in-law of their king the Parthians not only allowed the Emperor to cross the river and enter the Parthian territory without let or hindrance, but gave him a most magnificent reception all along his route.

King Artabanus himself went out into the plain before Ctesiphon to receive the Imperial bridegroom, accompanied by a large concourse of his subjects crowned with garlands of freshly gathered flowers and clad in holiday attire, and dancing merrily to the sound of pipes, flutes, cymbals and drums. After all had assembled, the horsemen got off their horses, laid aside their bows and quivers, and gave themselves up to revelry. Unconscious of any danger, they stood in no sort of order, every one endeavouring to catch a glimpse of their king's intended son-in-law. All of a sudden, at a preconcerted signal from the treacherous ruler of Imperial Rome, his soldiers fell on the merry making Parthians, and sullied their souls and hands with the brutal carnage of these innocent and unsuspecting men,

who had neither their horses nor their arms. The king was seized by his bodyguards and put on a horse, and with difficulty escaped with a few followers.

Caracallus made many captives and he and his men collected a large booty, and in the course of their retreat burnt the neighbouring cities and places and looted them to their hearts' content. History can furnish few instances of such unmitigated rascality and unprovoked and barbarous outrage on an hospitable and friendly people.

To this unpardonable outrage the shameless Caracallus, whom Gibbon damns as the common enemy of mankind, added the despicable and sacrilegious crime of violating the sanctity of the tombs of the royal Parthian family for ages preserved at Arbela and dispersing the remains to the four winds.

Spartanias, a Roman historian, says that Caracallus advancing into the country of the Cadusii and Babylonians, behaved savagely with the Parthians, letting wild beasts loose on them, after which he wrote to the senate claiming a victory, and then received the title of Parthicus. (L. V. H. C. P., 119.)

Lindsay observes with just indignation that the mind of the historian sickens as truth forces him to sully his pages with a catalogue of crimes committed by the head of a nation, considering itself the most civilized in the world, and calling every other *barbarian*, but which crimes the most barbarous of them would unquestionably never have been guilty of, and we can only express our astonishment that a people such as the Romans should have so long tolerated such a monster as their ruler, and that Artabanus should have allowed himself to be deceived, with so many examples of Roman treachery before his eyes.

This execrable Roman monster did not live long to enjoy his treacherously won victory and honours. On 8th April 217 he was murdered, in the vicinity of Carrhae, by one of his guards, and the army elected Macrinus, a Prætorian prefect, as his successor.

Macrinus had scarcely assumed the purple when the disquieting news reached him that Artabanus was advancing with a

large army, consisting of a considerable force of cavalry, numerous archers, and a great number of *cataphracti*, soldiers clad in complete armour and carrying lances of unusual length and mounted on camels.

The new Emperor sent ambassadors to the Parthian king suing for peace and offering to restore the Parthian captives. Artabanus rejected the overtures and demanded that Macrinus should not only surrender all the captives, but also rebuild every town and fort which Caracallus had destroyed, give adequate compensation for the desecration of the royal tombs, and cede Mesopotamia. Macrinus could not accede to these terms and decided to risk the chances of war.

For three days a furiously contested battle was fought at Nisibis, which ended in a complete victory for Parthia (A.D. 218). The craven Emperor was the first to take to flight and his cowardly example was followed by his soldiers. This battle is said to have been the fiercest fought between Rome and Parthia and one of the longest and most creditable in which the latter was ever engaged.

Macrinus again sued for peace. A treaty was concluded, the Parthian king agreeing to give up his demand for the cession of Mesopotamia, and the Emperor agreeing to restore all the captives and booty carried away by Caracallus and to pay an indemnity of fifty million denarii (£1,774,298).

The campaigns carried on by Rome, then reputed the first power in the world, against the 'barbarians' of Parthia, for a period extending to nearly three centuries, thus ended in her buying an ignominious peace.

Strangely enough this brave and powerful monarch, Artabanus, who so utterly discomfited the Romans, was destined very shortly after this superb achievement to be overcome and his imperial ArshkĀnian dynasty fated to be overthrown once and for all by one of his own vassal princes.

It is a lesson and a warning which history furnishes that at the very time when a nation seems to be at the height of its power and prosperity there might be elements at work calculated to bring about its downfall with dramatic suddenness.

Benjamin (B. P., 169) takes the view that the Arshkânian dynasty, which had founded the greatness of the Parthian Empire, had been enervated by its successes and was crumbling to pieces through the sheer weakness produced by luxury, corruption, intrigue and civil war. But the very fact that not long after such a fearful slaughter of the Parthians by the Roman soldiery of the deceitful Caracallus on the plain near Ctesiphon, the Parthian king could collect and lead a considerable force of well-organised and disciplined troops and gain a decisive victory over the legionaries of Rome proves that neither the martial spirit of the king and his nation had deteriorated nor had the Arsacid race become exhausted. The following observations which Rawlinson makes in his general survey, at the end of his volume on Parthia (pp. 418-9), present a fair estimate of this ancient people:—"To judge fairly of the Parthians, we must view them, not in their decline, but rather in the earlier stages of their career, before decline had set in. . . . They possessed a military strength which caused them to be both respected and feared, while they were further noted for a vigour of administration rarely seen among Orientals. It is true that a certain coarseness and rudeness attached to them which they found it impossible to shake off, and this gave their enemies a plausible ground for representing them as absolute barbarians. But we must not be led by the exaggerations of prejudiced writers, who sought to elevate the fame and reputation of their own countrymen by blackening the character of their chief rivals. Except in respect of their military prowess, it is doubtful if justice is done to the Parthians by any classical author. They occupied the position of the second nation in the world from about B.C. 150 to A.D. 226. They were a check and a counterpoise to Rome, preserving a 'balance of power', and preventing the absorption of all other nations into the Tyrant Empire. They afforded a refuge to those whom Rome would fain have hunted down, allowed a freedom to their subjects which no Roman Emperor ever permitted, excelled the Romans in toleration and in a liberal treatment of foreigners, and gave the East a protection from foreign foes and a government well suited to its needs, for a period of nearly four centuries."

The early history of the Sāsānian Empire is not properly known, for Persians did not begin to write their own history before the reign of Khūšrau I, up to whose time there was nothing but oral tradition, besides the documents guarded in the Royal treasuries. (H. P., 35.)

In the time of Ardawān, the last of the Parthian monarchs, there seem to have been four native rulers in Pārs or Persis Proper, one of whom Pāpak, chief of the district to the south of the Niriz lake, near Shirāz, had overthrown king Ghozir, of the Bāzrangi house, and become master of Istakhr. In all probability, he had made himself master of all Pārs before he died.

Mr. Paruck (P. S. C., XI) mentions that although the general belief is that Ardeshir I was the first king of the Sāsānian dynasty, it can be asserted with certainty from coins and rock-inscriptions that Pāpak was the first king, Ardeshir having gradually risen to be King of Kings after succeeding his brother Shāpūr, king of Persis.

Pārs had remained loyal to Zoroastrianism, and at Istakhr stood the famous fire-temple of Anāhita. According to Tabari, Ardeshir* (Artaxerxes I), the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, was the son of king Pāpak, his grandfather Sāsān was head-priest of this fire-temple, and his grandmother Rāmbehist was a princess of the house of Bāzrangi. According to Firdausi's Shāh-nāmeḥ and the Pahlavi Karnāmak-i Artakhshir-i Pāpakān ("The Book of Deeds of Ardeshir Pāpakān"), which contains the life of king Ardeshir and relates some of his wars and the principal events of his reign, the father of Ardeshir was Sāsān, who was serving as a shepherd in the service of Pāpak, who had no suspicion of the poor shepherd's distinguished descent from the Kaiyānian king Bahman.

One night Pāpak had a dream, in which he saw the sun shining over Sāsān's head and bathing him in a glorious light. Next night he had another dream, in which he saw Sāsān riding on a richly caparisoned white elephant, holding a sword in his hand and receiving obeisance and blessings from all. On the third succeeding night he saw in dream a fire-worshipper bearing

* According to Avesta etymology the original form of the name is Arēta-kshatra, which means 'Righteous King.'

before Sāsān three blazing fires in his hand,—Fire Âzargûshasp (which represents the Warrior Class), Fire Kharrād (which represents the Priestly Class), and Fire Meher Barzin (which represents the Agricultural Class). Pâpak summoned sages to appear before him to interpret the dreams, and was told by them that the person whom he had seen in his dreams would raise his head above the sun as a mighty ruler of men, and, if not he, some one from among his sons would attain to the sovereignty of the world.

The king called Sāsān into his presence, and graciously seating him by his side asked him from what race and family he was. The humble shepherd remained silent for a moment, and then said, "King! if thou wilt give me thy hand and pledge thy word that thou wilt do no harm or hurt to me, I will acquaint thee about my quality." Pâpak gave the pledge and the shepherd revealed his secret that he was Sāsān, the son of Sāsān, and his descent was from Ardeshir, otherwise called Bahman, who was Asfendiyâr's son and Gûstâsp's grandson.

Pâpak was delighted to hear this and raised him to high honour and also conferred on him the hand of his fair daughter.

In due time the princess was delivered of a child like the radiant sun, whom his father named Artakhshatr (Ardeshir) and who is known in Oriental history as Ardeshir Pâpékân (or Bâbekân), *i.e.*, Ardeshir of the house of Pâpak, and in classical histories as the Sāsānian Artaxerxes I.

In an inscription in the neighbourhood of Persepolis Ardeshir calls Pâpak his father and gives him the title of King, and there are coins of his with his bust facing front on the obverse and that of Pâpak turned to the left on the reverse. The legend on the obverse is *Bagi Artakhshatr malkâ* (The divinity Ardeshir, the king); that on the reverse is *Bareh bagi Pâpaki malkâ* (son of the divinity Pâpak, the king). (P. S. C., 76.) The inscription of Ardeshir is confirmed by those of his son Shâpûr, who called Pâpak his grandfather. (R. S. O. M., 32.)

Ardeshir was taught all accomplishments, in which he soon excelled. As he grew up, the fame of his perfections reached Ardawân, the king of Parthia, who asked Pâpak to send him to his court, as he desired to make him an associate of his princes and

confer on him the position commensurate with his abilities. Accordingly, Ardeshir was sent to the Parthian court at Rai.

When Ardeshir came to man's state, he fled one night from Rai to Pārs, in the company of Ardawān's favourite slave-girl, the moon-faced Gūlnār ("Pomegranate-bloom"), who had fallen in love with him.

When in the morning Ardawān learned of the flight, he set off in pursuit of them with a body of four thousand soldiers. On arriving at a place from which ran the road to Pārs, he learnt from some people whom he found gathered there that the fugitives were riding fast in the direction of the desert and at their heels was a beautiful ram,* which was kicking up dust like a steed. Ardawān asked his minister to explain to him the mystery why the ram was speeding behind the fugitives, and was told, "It is the *farr* or *khoreh* (Glory) of Ardeshir, the wings that will exalt him to kingship through the favour of his auspicious stars. If this royal *khoreh* overtakes him and attaches itself to him, then great will be the difficulty of our task. It is necessary that we should hasten in pursuit of him and catch him before the *khoreh* reaches him." Still pursuing the fugitives, the next day the king learnt that they were speeding fast twenty-one farsangs ahead of him, and that beside one of them was seated a glorious looking ram, the like of which none had been pictured in the hunting scenes in the palaces. The minister advised the king to abandon the pursuit and to return homeward and get ready an army and the implements of war, inasmuch as the Kingly Glory had now settled itself on Ardeshir and it was impossible to overtake the fortune-favoured prince.

The proud Persians of the race of Cyrus and Darius were chaffing at the overlordship of the Parthians and were only waiting for the man to come who should deliver them from the foreign domination and lead them to independence and glory. Five centuries of vassalage had neither quenched their patriotism

* Dastur Dr. D. P. Sanjana reads the original Pahlavi word as *lūk*, which means an eagle or a royal hawk, and remarks that the Glory would be more properly represented by some bird. A ram would be a strange animal to keep up with a galloping horse. (D. S. K., 16.)

nor dulled their heroism. Adversity, indeed, had its uses. So, as Rawlinson puts it, in their 'scant and rugged fatherland', the people of Cyrus once more recovered to a great extent their ancient prowess and hardihood—their habits became simplified, their old patriotism revived, their self-respect grew greater.

Latterly, the Parthians had sensibly seceded from the old Zoroastrian tenets. They had taken to idolatry and deified their kings,—an unfortunate consequence of their close connection with the image-worshipping Greeks and Romans. The Zoroastrian religion was greatly endangered by the back-sliding of the Parthian rulers. This incensed the more conservative and puritanic Zoroastrians of Persis, and may be reckoned among the chief causes of their revolt. As Mommsen points out, this revolution in Iran was the outcome of national and religious aspiration, and substituted for the bastard and superficially Hellenized civilization of the Parthians the state-organization, faith, manners, and princes of that province which had created the old Persian Empire. (P. S. C., 24.)

In the youthful Parsi prince Ardeshir the people of Persis perceived the long waited for leader. A number of warriors and counsellors, including the kindred of Pāpak and the descendants of Sāsān, flocked to him and assured him that they were all devoted to him body and soul and since his quality from father and mother surpassed theirs he was most fitted for sovereignty and leadership, and they were prepared at his command "to turn the hills to plains and with their swords to make the streams run blood". Then the wise and experienced Banāk (the Tabāk of Firdausi), ruler of the city of Jharom, joined him with his seven noble sons and his troops.

Ardeshir appointed Banāk chief over his other men of note and named the district where he first met him Rāmishn-i-Ardshir ("Joy of Ardeshir"). He also founded there a city of the same name.

He proceeded to the fire-temples Rāambarzin and Kharrād, and offered up prayers to Ahūrā Mazdā imploring Him to guide him in all righteous deeds and fructify the tree of his greatness.

His muster-master counted his host, which comprised fifty

thousand horse and foot. They were armed and accoutred, given pay, and made ready for battle. Bahman, the son of king Ardawān, who came up with his troops to subdue Ardeshir, sustained a defeat and fell pierced with arrows.

Ardawān now himself set out at the head of his army, which was strengthened by contingents from Gilān and Dilam.

For forty days the fight between the Parthians and Persians continued. At length, in the last engagement which was fought in the plain of Hormazdgān* in Susiana, Ardawān was defeated, and he was made a captive by one Kharrād and taken to Ardeshir, who ordered his death. According to some accounts he was slain by Ardeshir in a hand to hand fight. Two younger sons of Ardawān fell on the battlefield and two elder sons escaped to India. Two years later Ctesiphon fell into the victor's hands. A relief is carved on the rocks of Naksh-i-Rūstam to commemorate these achievements, of which Huart (H. A. P. C., 122) furnishes the following description:—"The king, on horseback, receives from Ahūrā Mazdā, likewise on horseback, a great ring, the symbol of kingship, while Vologases and Artabanus lie under the horse's feet." There are inscriptions on the shoulder of the horse in Pahlavi and Greek which, according to Sarre, attribute the figure on the left to Ardeshir I, and that on the right to Ahūrā Mazdā. To these inscriptions we shall refer to later on in a little more detail.

Before proceeding with the history of the Sāsānian dynasty which Ardeshir founded, we will pause here, and give an account of another Persian House, the House of Pontus, which has made itself famous in history.

* The *Modjmal-al-Tawārikh* places the battle at Nehāvend, near Ekbatānā. (R. S. O. M., 87.)

CHAPTER X.

THE PERSIAN HOUSE OF PONTUS.

I AND II. MITHRIDATES I AND II.

Besides the Parthians and the Sāsānians, another Iranian house which figures prominently in Roman history is that of Pontus.

The province of Pontus was an extensive tract of country in the north-east of Asia Minor, bordering on Armenia and Colchis. The correct name of the kingdom of Pontus was the kingdom of Pontic Cappadocia, that is to say, that portion of Cappadocia which bordered on the Pontus Euxinus or the Black Sea. It was a land rich in cattle, sheep, horses, crops, and fruits and flowers, and also in metals.

The house of Pontus was a purely Persian dynasty. Mithridates I, who was its virtual founder, was, according to one story, descended from Otanes, one of the seven confederates who in co-operation with Darius Hystaspes brought about the overthrow of the Pseudo-Smerdis. According to another account, he was a direct descendant of Darius himself. The opinion of Rostovtzeff (*C. A. H.*, Vol. IX, 216) is that the dynasty of the Mithridatae belonged to the highest Persian nobility, but their claim to be descendants of the Persian king has no foundation.

Formerly the rulers of Pontus were satraps under the Persian Kings of Kings, but virtually enjoyed independent power. It was erected into a kingdom by a Persian chieftain named Ariobarzanes, whom the Persian monarch permitted to assume the title of king. Counting on Greek support, he and three other satraps, Datames, Artabazos and Orontes, revolted against the Persian sovereign, but they were defeated and the rebellion was easily suppressed. Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, assassinated Datames and betrayed his own father to the Persian king Artaxerxes III.

Cios, a Greek town on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmora, which Mithridates, the son of Orontobates, and father

of Ariobarzanes, had seized in B.C. 387, was taken by Alexander the Great from Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, who had come to the throne of Pontus in B.C. 337. But in his pursuit of the last Achaemenian king Darius Codomannus the Macedonian conqueror had no time to reduce the Pontic ruler to subjection.

During the civil wars that followed the death of Alexander, the last-named Mithridates took the side of Antigonus the One-eyed. But the latter suspected that the Pontic prince was intriguing against him with his enemy Cassander and had him assassinated (B.C. 302). Mithridates had reigned for 35 years and was 84 years of age when he was killed.

III. MITHRIDATES III.

Mithridates II was succeeded by his son Mithridates III. In B.C. 301 Antigonus was defeated and slain by the allies Lysimachus, Seleucus and Cassander. Whilst the latter were carving up the kingdom of Antigonus, Mithridates extended his sway over parts of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and, just before the battle of Courupedion (B.C. 281), assumed the title of Basileus (King). Seleucus despatched an army under the command of Diodorus, to overthrow the new dynasty, but it met with defeat. Antiochus I, who succeeded Seleucus on the latter's assassination by Ptolemy Keraunos, recognized the independence of Pontus. When Ptolemy II invaded Asia Minor, Mithridates espoused the cause of Antiochus and with a levy of Gallic mercenaries attacked and routed the Egyptian expeditionary force. He destroyed several of Ptolemy's ships and carried away their anchors as trophies. In commemoration of this event the Gauls settled in Asia Minor gave to their chief town the name of Ancyra, which in Greek means anchor. This Ancyra is the modern Turkish capital Angora.

The reign of Mithridates III lasted for 36 years. On his death in B.C. 266 he was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes.

IV. ARIOBARZANES.

This king added the town of Amastris to his domains. He ruled for 17 years and died in B.C. 249.

V. MITHRIDATES IV.

Mithridates IV succeeded his father Ariobarzanes. He was

only a boy at the time of his enthronement. He was much harassed by his turbulent soldiery during his minority. But within ten years he restored complete order and discipline.

He allied himself with the royal house of Seleucus by taking Laodice, the sister of Seleucus II, as his wife. His territories were augmented by the accession of Greater Phrygia, which he received as his queen's dowry.

On the occasion of the rebellion of Antiochus Hierax against his elder brother Seleucus II, Mithridates became a partisan of the former and with his Gallic troops won a great victory at Ancyra, over the latter's Macedonian phalanx, of whom twenty thousand lay dead on the field. During his long rule of 60 years he constituted Pontus into a well-organized and powerful kingdom. He died of an illness in B.C. 190, shortly after the battle of Magnesia, in which the Romans secured a decisive victory over Antiochus III, the Great. His two daughters, both named Laodice, were married, one to Antiochus the Great and the other to Achaeus, a dynast of Asia Minor.

VI. PHARNACES I.

Mithridates IV was succeeded by the talented and ambitious prince Pharnaces, who was either his son or brother. Seven years after his accession, he threw the Greek world into consternation by seizing the Hellenic town of Sinope, which he named Pharnaceia after himself. He forced within its walls the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns of Cotyora and Cerasus.* From that time Sinope became the chief seat of the kings of Pontus. Pharnaces also wrested some portion of his territory from Eumenes, king of Pergamus.

Eumenes entered into a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Ariarthes V, king of Cappadocia. Their combined army defeated Pharnaces and probably would have made a conquest of Pontus, but the Romans interfered and ordered Eumenes to withdraw from Pontus. Subsequently the five kings of Pontus, Armenia, Pergamus, Cappadocia and Bithynia made a treaty of perpetual peace.

* The fruit cherry derives its name from this town, the home of the cherry tree.

Late in life Pharnaces married princess Nysa, daughter or granddaughter of Antiochus III, which act was apparently inspired by the political motive of counteracting the progress of Rome. (C. A. H., Vol. IX, 221.)

VII. MITHRIDATES V.

Pharnaces died in or about B.C. 169, and was succeeded by Mithridates V, surnamed Euergetes ("The Well-doer"), his son by Nysa. For a period Mithridates Philopator Philadelphus, brother of Pharnaces, governed on behalf of the young Euergetes.

Euergetes was married to a queen who was probably a princess of the Seleucid house. M. Aquilius, consul of B.C. 129, sold to him the province of Phrygia in the most scandalous way. Rostovtzeff mentions that an inscription found near Synnada shows that Euergetes ruled over Phrygia until the end of his life, and that this suggests that he had both Paphlagonia and Galatia under his control. He occupied also Cappadocia and gave its throne to Ariarthes Epiphanes as his vassal, and married him to his daughter. He received in bequest the part of Paphlagonia which was ruled by its own kings from king Pylaemenes. (Ib., 222.)

In or about B.C. 121 he was murdered by his courtiers, during a banquet in his palace at Sinope, probably at the instigation of his ambitious queen, who wanted to exercise the ruling power. After the death of Euergetes Paphlagonia continued as before in independence and anarchy under many local dynasts. (Ib., 235.)

VIII. MITHRIDATES VI.

Now there ascended to the throne the last king's son Mithridates VI, surnamed Eupator ("The Well-fathered"), at the early age of eleven years. The ancient historians have invested him with a halo of romance. The following lines of Samuel Johnson about Charles XII of Sweden are equally applicable to him:—

A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labours tire.
No joys to him pacific terrors yield,
War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field.

This greatest, bravest and yet practically the last of the Iranian kings of Pontus, traced his descent on the paternal side from Darius Hystaspes and on the maternal side from Seleucus, the founder of the Seleucid empire. There is a tradition that on the day of his installation a most brilliant comet appeared which covered a quarter portion of the sky, and continued to appear for two months, shining at night like the sun.

His father by his last testament had appointed his mother and some near relatives as his guardians. But these very guardians plotted to murder him, and to save his life he had to flee from the palace. For seven years he led the hard life of a hunter, avoiding inhabited villages and preferring after a day of toil and danger in the pursuit of wild game to sleep under the open sky. His physique was powerful, as a rider he was unmatched and could overtake the fleetest deer, with change of mounts he could ride a hundred and twenty miles in a day, and as a charioteer he could drive a team of sixteen spirited horses with consummate ease. In feats of archery he had no rival in Pontus. His capacity for eating and drinking was marvellous. In short, he reminded one of the Pehelwāns of the Heroic Age like Rūstam, son of Zal.

His mental gifts were on a par with his physical abilities. He could speak twenty-five languages. He was a lover of Greek art and music, and was well read in the masterpieces of Attic literature. Greek poets, philosophers and historians crowded his court.

After seven years' enforced exile, he returned from his wanderings and seized the reins of government. His kingdom of some 2700 miles of territory was too small to content this vigorous and ambitious prince. At first he studiously avoided giving open offence to Rome, but recognizing the fact that sooner or later he would have to come into conflict with that power, he set about preparing a strong land force and also a navy.

The people of Bosphorus and Chersonesus, being not in a position to resist the attacks of the Taurians and the Scythians, appealed to Pontus for protection. Mithridates despatched an army under the command of Diophantus, son of Asclepiodorus,

against the Scythians. After his arrival at Chersonesus, Diophantus made an invasion of the Scythian country, and gained a brilliant victory over king Palacus, which opened to the arms of Pontus the way into the Taurian region and the Bosporan kingdom. After crushing the resistance of the Taurians, he entered Bosporan territory, and received the submission of its king, Paerisades. Then returning to Chersonesus, he reduced the Scythians to submission. Some time later, the Scythians made a bid for independence and started hostilities. But Diophantus marched into their country and achieved the conquest of the Crimea. (C. A. H., Vol. IX, 229-231.)

These and other expeditions of Diophantus and Neoptolemus, the Greek admiral of Mithridates, secured for him all the Greek cities of the Crimea and of the northern shore of the Black Sea with their territories. The city of Panticapaeum was made the Pontic capital of this region. (Ib., 232.)

Whilst his Hellenic generals were conquering for him Crimea and other Russian territories, the king himself set about conquering regions to the east, west and south of Pontus. He invaded Lesser Armenia, which king Antipater, son of Sisis, surrendered without a struggle. He joined to this country the coast of the eastern Paryadres with the city of Trapezus and the kingdom of Colchis, which opened to him the way to Iberia, Atropatene, and Greater Armenia. (Ib., 233.) Giving his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Tigranes, the king of Greater Armenia, he made an alliance with him to drive away the Parthians.

He now raised a claim to Paphlagonia, on the ground that its last Pylæmenid king had bequeathed it by a will to the Pontic king Mithridates Euergetes. The people of that country and the other claimants to its throne strongly protested, and there was also a weak protest from Rome; but he persisted in his claim and divided the country between himself and Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. The two kings then occupied Galatia and made it their vassal.

His brother-in-law Ariarthes VI, king of Cappadocia,* being

* The ruling house named after Ariarthes was of the same Iranian origin as the Pontic. (C. A. H., Vol. IX, 235.)

murdered by one Gordius, was succeeded by his minor son Ariarthes VII (B.C. 111), the government being conducted by the latter's mother Laodice in his name. By a *coup-de-main* Nicomedes of Bithynia suddenly took possession of Cappadocia, and married Laodice so as to be recognised as the legitimate king of that country. Thereupon Mithridates came up with a strong force and reinstated his nephew Ariarthes VII on the throne. Shortly, however, there was a disruption in the relations of the uncle and nephew. The armies of the two kings met in Cappadocia; but before there could be a battle, Mithridates got Ariarthes murdered, and the Cappadocian army fled and dispersed. Mithridates gave the vacant throne to one of his own sons, a lad of only eight years, who ruled, with the assistance of Gordius, for a few years until the people rose in revolt and called on the son of the last legitimate king of Cappadocia to rule over them. This new king, however, soon died, and Cappadocia became a Pontic possession again. (Ib., 236.)

In 92, Rome sent the famous Lucius Cornelius Sulla, proprætor of Cilicia, to order the evacuation of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Mithridates tactfully acquiesced and also promised to evacuate the Crimea. But no sooner Sulla's back was turned than he reoccupied the two kingdoms and made further conquests in the Crimea. Rome despatched a second envoy, Manius Aquilius, and on his report declared war. Thus arose the First Mithridatic War.

Aquilius made his camp in Galatia with an army of forty thousand horse and foot. Cassius, governor of Asia, encamped in Bithynia with a similar force. A third Roman commander, Q. Oppius, advanced in Cappadocia with an army of forty thousand men.

The king of Pontus was not behindhand in his preparations for trying conclusions with Rome. He assembled a well-disciplined army of 250,000 foot and 40,000 horse, together with 130 war-chariots. Four hundred vessels formed his fleet, which was further strengthened by a number of pirate ships that infested the Mediterranean.

The sympathies of all Asia were with Mithridates. A

number of Greek soldiers joined his ranks. Two of his principal captains were Greeks, Archelaus and Neoptolemus.

The Romans sent forward Nicomedes with his Bithynian troops to meet the main Pontic army. But he met with a disastrous defeat at the hands of Archelaus and Neoptolemus on the banks of the Amnias, a tributary of the Halys. Aquilius attempted to retreat to the Sangarius, but was brought to battle and defeated, and fled to Pergamum.

Cassius lost courage and dispersing his troops fled with some men to take shelter in Apamea.

Oppius also took to flight and reached Laodicea, where he prepared to stand a siege. But the inhabitants surrendered him to Mithridates.

Aquilius, who had fled from Pergamum, fell ill at Mytilene and was handed over with other Romans by the inhabitants to the Pontic king. Mithridates, in cruel mockery, and by way of rebuking Roman greed, had molten gold poured down his throat.

Bosporus and the entire Roman fleet there fell into the hands of the Pontic conqueror.

Save a few fortresses, the whole of the provinces of Bithynia, Phrygia, Mysia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other Roman districts and feudatory states, came into his possession.

Greece, wearied of Roman rule and groaning under the oppressive exactions of Roman tax-collectors and still more distressed by unscrupulous Roman traders, hailed the Iranian Mithridates as a liberator, the father of the people, and the saviour of Asia, and called him by the names of their gods Dionysus and Bacchus. Thus, as Kincaid (*M. M. V.*, 53) aptly observes, Europe saw the singular spectacle of a kinsman of Xerxes hailed as a liberator by the fellow-countrymen of Themistocles and Leonidas.

Mithridates cancelled debts and remitted the taxes for a period of five years, and instituted measures for the proper administration of the conquered territories.

He selected Pergamus for the capital of his empire, and made over the old kingdom of Pontus to be governed by his son Mithridates as his viceregent.

From Ephesus he issued secret instructions to the satraps and the city governments for the massacre of Romans and Italians. All the Latin-speaking population of Asia Minor, all the Roman officials and traders resident in the East, with their clerks and slaves, were put to the sword. The number of victims is variously stated from 80,000 to 150,000. Sykes says that this large number proves the accuracy of Seneca's observation that "wherever the Roman conquers he inhabits." (S. H. P., 3rd ed. Vol. I, 340.)

His son Ariarthes overran Thrace and Macedonia, the conquered countries were converted into Pontic satrapies, and military depôts were established at Abdera and Phillippi.

His fleet, commanded by Archelaus, entered the Ægean and drove the Roman flag out of that sea. Athens, first of all, declared for him, and Bœotia, Achæa and Lacedæmonia followed.

Establishing his head-quarters at Athens, Archelaus despatched from there an expedition to Delos, which was the chief commercial centre in the Ægean and the Roman slave-market. The island was taken and plundered, and made a gift of to Athens after the Romans were expelled from there or massacred.

This was followed by the capture of the island of Eubœa by the Pontic squadron under Metrophanes. An attack on Demetrias directed from Eubœa was repelled by the Roman proconsul of Macedonia, who also retook Sciathus. But he failed to keep off the Pontic flag from flying over Greece. Before the spring of B.C. 87 all Greece south of Thessaly, with the islands of the Archipelago, had fallen almost without a blow under the supremacy of Mithridates.

But when in the spring Sulla landed in Epirus with an army 80,000 strong, things took a different turn. He rapidly recovered central Greece, defeated Archelaus, and besieged Athens, which, after a vigorous defence, fell on 1st March 86. At Charonea (B.C. 86), and at Orchomenos (B.C. 85) Sulla gained decisive victories over Archelaus and Doryalus.

After the last battle the Romans carried out a massacre of the Boeotians in cold blood. At Ephesus, Tralles and other places the satraps of Mithridates were expelled or murdered. Sulla attacked Macedon and Thrace, and compelled the Pontic troops to evacuate Greece. His general Lucullus, with a fleet assembled in Syria and Egypt, took Cnidos and other towns from Mithridates.

These reverses which the king's troops suffered were sufficient to make the volatile Greeks rapidly change sides and seek the allegiance of Rome.

Hard pressed in Asia, Mithridates was obliged to sue for peace. He met Sulla at Dardanus, in the Troad, and a treaty was made, the king agreeing to give up Asia and Paphlagonia, cede Bithynia to Nicomedes and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and give a war indemnity of 2000 talents and 70 fully equipped ships (B.C. 84).

Thus ended the First Mithridatic War. Although Mithridates had to disgorge all his conquests, he had lost not one inch of his own territory. The treasures which he had obtained as booty in the course of the war were much more than the indemnity which he was obliged to pay, and while he had lost 160,000 men, he had destroyed a larger number of the enemy's soldiery and subjects.

During what is called the Second Mithridatic War (83 to 81), L. Licinius Murena, whom Sulla had left as proprætor of Asia and who was ambitious to gain credit by a victory over Mithridates, picked up a quarrel with him on the subject of certain parts of Cappadocia which he still retained, and, in defiance of the treaty, attacked Pontus. But his perfidy met with due reward. He was disastrously defeated on the Halys and was obliged to retreat hurriedly into Phrygia. Mithridates secured an additional slice of Cappadocia at the expense of Ariobarzanes, and hostilities were suspended for some years.

Mithridates incited his son-in-law Tigranes of Armenia to occupy Cappadocia, and the latter monarch deported some 300,000 inhabitants of that country to his capital Tigranocerta.

In B.C. 74, Q. Sertorius, the Marian governor in Spain, asked Mithridates to join the cause of the Marians, offering, if he did so, to recognise his claims to Bithynia and Cappadocia.* Mithridates accepted the offer and declared war against the Roman Senate. He sent a fleet of forty vessels, together with the sum of 3000 talents to Sertorius. The latter sent Marcus Marius and a Roman mission to help the king's military establishment.

Unhappily for the Pontic king, it so happened that just as the war began, Sertorius was foully murdered by his own officers in Spain (B.C. 72). All fear of attack from Spain being averted, the Senate was able to give full attention to the war with Mithridates.

In 75 or 74 B.C. Nicomedes III, king of Bithynia, died, bequeathing his kingdom to the Roman people. Mithridates ignored the bequest and invaded that country and subjected it to his own rule.

This furnished the cause for the Third Mithridatic War.

The Senate sent the consuls of 74, L. Licinius Lucullus and M. Aurelius Cotta, to Asia Minor. Lucullus was appointed governor of Asia, Cilicia and Cappadocia and given the command of five legions. Cotta was given the supreme command of the fleet and the Roman army on the Propontis. Simultaneously Antonius was invested with extensive powers over the Mediterranean coasts and was to clear the sea of the pirates who were in league with Mithridates.

At Chalcedon Mithridates obtained victory over Cotta both by land and sea. Sixty or seventy Roman ships were destroyed or captured, and four to eight thousand horsemen lost their lives, and the fortress of Chalcedon fell into the king's hands.

The king advanced towards Hellespont and the Propontis, seized Lampsacus, and invested, by sea and land, the rich free town of Cyzicus, which was the chief port of Asia on the Propontis

* According to Prof. Ormerod (C. A. H., Vol. IX, 358), it was Mithridates who opened the negotiations.

and was almost impregnable. This siege was a fatal move. Lucullus made his camp on the elevated land of Thracæia. He could render no help to the Cyzicans, but his plan was to reduce the Pontic army by starvation, by cutting off its supplies. The royal fleet that commanded the Black Sea was destroyed by a storm, and hunger and disease made serious ravages in the king's land forces. The storm wrecked his battering machinery and towers, and he could construct no new ones for want of timber. He was therefore obliged to raise the siege, and sailed to Sinope with the shattered remnant of his forces.

From Sinope he sailed to Cabeira, and by dint of great exertions raised from Scythia and other places a new army of 40,000 foot and 4,000 horse. In the spring of 72 Lucullus marched with three legions against the main army of Mithridates at Cabeira. The king sustained two defeats, and fled south towards Comana, but the Romans followed him in pursuit. With barely two thousand horse, he hurried on to Armenia and took refuge with his son-in-law, king Tigranes.

Lucullus now overran Pontus. The coast towns kept up a resistance, which lasted two years. In B.C. 70 the conquest of Pontus was complete.

Some seventy ships of Mithridates, which were returning from Spain and Crete, were attacked by the Roman admiral near Tenedos and destroyed. To add to his difficulties, his son Machares, viceroy of Pontus, rebelled and declared himself independent king of the Tauric Chersonese, and made a convention with the Romans (B.C. 70).

Lucullus sent his brother-in-law, Appius Claudius, to Tigranes to demand the surrender of Mithridates, but the demand was refused. He then besieged Tigranocerta (B.C. 69). Manæus ably defended the place, but a mutiny of the Greek mercenaries of the garrison enabled Lucullus to enter it, and he gave it up to pillage. He then advanced into Comagene and conquered its capital Samosata. From there he advanced to Southern Syria, where Greek, Syrian, Jewish and Arab embassies waited upon him offering their allegiance. He subdued the province of Corduyene, but was unsuccessful in Mesopotamia, which was

guarded by Guras, brother of Tigranes. He gave the kingdom of Comagene to a Seleucid prince, Antiochus, and that of Syria to another Seleucid, Antiochus Asiaticus.

Disconcerted by his defeat at Tigranocerta, Tigranes would have gladly made peace with the Romans. But the brave old soldier, his father-in-law Mithridates, who had reached the age of sixty years, but was still so agile that he could vault on horseback in full armour and in a hand to hand fight could overthrow the strongest warrior, would not allow him to yield, and took the command of the Armenian troops into his own hands. He incited the Asiatic nations to make common cause with Armenia in her struggle with the Romans, pointing out that this was no private war, but a contest between the East and the West. Seventy thousand men joined his standard, and he trained them on Roman lines. Avoiding open battle, he adopted the tactics of harassing the Roman legionaries while on the march and cutting off their supplies by means of flying squads of cavalry.

Lucullus pressed forward into Armenia. He was unpopular at Rome and was not supported by the government, and Pompey was intriguing to succeed him. His own soldiers, who hated him on account of his overbearing manners and harsh discipline, were instigated to mutiny by Publius Clodius, who was the brother of his notorious wife Clodia, with whom he had criminal intimacy. The rigours of the winter in the inhospitable and mountainous region of Armenia completed their disorganisation. Lucullus persuaded them in vain to have patience until Artaxata was taken, and was forced to abandon Armenia and retreat.

Tigranes attacked the troops which Lucullus had left to guard Armenia and besieged the fort behind whose walls they took shelter. Simultaneously, Mithridates re-entered Pontus with four thousand horse of his own and an equal contingent provided by Tigranes. Triarius, the commandant of the Roman garrison, threw himself into Gabria, but the place was taken and the garrison put to the sword. His subjects welcomed their old king with demonstrations of joy; and the neighbouring princes hastened to send him reinforcements.

In addition to Pontus, the old warrior-king made himself

master of Cappadocia and Bithynia. After having won a number of successes the Romans found themselves worsted in the end and were obliged to abandon Pontus and Armenia.

To Pompey, who had covered himself with glory by vanquishing the fleets of the Mediterranean pirates, who had raised themselves into a formidable maritime power and had been ravaging the coasts of Italy and beginning to cut off the corn supplies of the sovereign city herself, the conduct of the Mithridatic War was now transferred. He was invested practically with autocratic powers at once over the Mediterranean and over the eastern half of the world.

Mithridates and Pompey both courted the alliance of Parthia. At this juncture prince Tigranes, the son of Tigranes the Great, who had been tempted by the agents of the Roman general to rebel against his father, was obliged to quit Armenia and seek refuge, with a few partisans, in the Parthian court. Simultaneously other agents spread a rumour that it was Mithridates who had incited the young Armenian prince to revolt against his father. This led to a coolness between Tigranes the Great and Mithridates.

King Phraortes gave his daughter in marriage to prince Tigranes, and under the latter's influence formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Pompey.

Mithridates resorted to his old tactics of avoiding close engagement, and harassing the Romans with his cavalry as they marched. By a skilful strategy Pompey entrapped the Pontic army in an ambushade in a narrow defile in the mountains on the southern bank of the river Lycus. In this engagement, known as the battle of Nicopolis, ten thousand of the Pontic soldiers were killed and all the royal treasures and effects fell into the hands of the Roman general. Mithridates with great gallantry cut his way through the Roman ranks and fled towards Armenia with only two attendants and his brave and faithful wife Hypsicratia.

When he arrived at the fort of Sinoria he was joined by a number of his faithful friends and soldiers. Out of the treasures

which he had kept in this fort he distributed 6,000 talents among his loyal followers and bestowed rich dresses and other valuable gifts.

Crossing the Euphrates he entered Armenian territory, and sent envoys to king Tigranes to ask him to allow him refuge in Armenia. Tigranes on this occasion not only refused to receive him, but put the envoys into prison and made them over to the Romans. At the same time, either on account of his distrust of Mithridates, whom he suspected as the instigator of his son's revolt, or by his desire to ingratiate himself with the Romans, he set a price of 100 talents on the old monarch's head. The unfortunate fugitive recrossed the Euphrates and escaped into the Caucasus mountains and thence to the shores of the Sea of Azov.

Pompey pursued him, subduing on the way the Albanians, Iberians, and Colchians, who showed him opposition. But he sustained such losses at the hands of the hardy mountaineers of Georgia that he was obliged to fall back.

Mithridates continued his flight and entered Crimea, which was formerly a province of his empire, but which his rebellious son Machares, who had allied himself with his father's most inveterate enemy the Romans, had recently made into an independent kingdom. Frightened at the approach of his father Machares precipitately fled from Crimea, but being pursued took his own life. Mithridates sat on the throne of Crimea and was once more a king. His many reverses had not tamed the lion in him. Though so advanced in age, he made up his determination to put into execution the scheme that he had long meditated of invading Thrace and Macedonia from the east and at last to descend upon Italy and beat the enemy in his own country. For this purpose he built a new fleet and trained and equipped an army of thirty-six thousand troops, consisting of Scythians from Sarmatia and the Celts living on the banks of the Danube. He also sent ambassadors to the king of the Gauls to ask him to send him reinforcements when he reached the Alps in his march to Italy. Obviously it was a hopeless venture to undertake with the very small force which he had, but he counted upon the

Italians, the Sicilians, and the slaves, who were all weary of the oppressive rule of the Romans, rising in revolt against their oppressors simultaneously with his entry into Italy.

But even the best laid plans are often frustrated. Mithridates' own son Pharnaces proved treacherous and upset all his plans. The latter schemed to promote his own interests by making peace with the Romans. He gained over to his side his father's soldiers, who revolted and deposing Mithridates gave the crown to Pharnaces. Panticapaeum and all the other cities declared themselves in favour of the latter. The aged king was besieged in his own palace. He begged his son to spare his life, but in vain. So he determined to put an end to his own life by taking poison. But he* had so often before taken antidotes against poison, that the cup of poison which he now drank would not take effect. At last he called upon a strong-bodied Gaulic mercenary Batuitus, to drive his sword into his heart, and that faithful Gaul carried out his master's last request.

Thus perished at the age of 68 or 69, and after a long reign of 57 years (B.C. 120-63), one of the most powerful, enterprising, and energetic monarchs whom the East has produced, and with the exception of Hannibal the most formidable adversary ever opposed to the Romans. Mr. Kincaid (M. M. V., 58) calls him one of the most remarkable men who ever lived. For forty years this brave warrior king fought Rome and defeated many Roman generals. His kingdom stretched from the Mediterranean Sea to Poland and from the Adriatic to the Caspian. His flag flew over Greece, Macedonia, Paeonia, Thrace, Crimea, Caucasasia, Asia Minor, Cappadocia, and many other places. His fleet swept the Mediterranean and the Black Sea and its power was felt as far as the Straits of Gibraltar. The Hellenes adored him and looked upon him as their protector. He was a lover of Hellenic culture and employed many Hellenes in his service. The messengers who carried the news of this formidable king's death to the Romans at Jericho entered it crowned with laurel. The Roman soldiers upon hearing the news danced with undis-

* From the name of this king is derived the word 'Mithridatum,' the name of a confection supposed to be an antidote against poison and made from 72 ingredients.

guised delight and fell to feasting, "as if in the person of Mithridates alone there had died many thousands of their enemies." The joy of his enemy over his self-inflicted death was, says Mr. Kincaid (*Ib.*, 59), the noblest tribute to the greatness of the hero-king of Pontus.

IX. PHARNACES II.

The infamous Pharnaces sent the embalmed body of his father to Pompey, who, more generous than the son, honoured it with a magnificent funeral at Sinope. Treating the betrayer of his father with merited contempt, he did not allow Pharnaces to retain the kingdom of Pontus, but confirmed him as the vassal ruler of the little state of the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the shores of the straits that join the Black Sea to the Sea of Azov and formerly included in the Pontus kingdom.

Pompey formed the kingdom of Pontus into a Roman province, and founded eleven townships in it.

When the event of Pharsalia came to be known to Pharnaces, the ambition was awakened in him to wrest back from Rome the ancient patrimony of his House. He invaded Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia, and accepting a battle offered by the Roman general Domitius Calvinus gained a complete victory. A large number of Roman knights of illustrious family fell in the battle. Calvinus abandoned both Armenia and Cappadocia, and the old province of Pontus thus came once again under the rule of the House of Mithridates.

The year B.C. 47 saw Julius Cæsar in Syria and Armenia. His movements were extremely rapid. He confronted the troops of Pharnaces at Zela, where a bloody battle ensued, which ended in a complete triumph for the Roman arms. Pharnaces escaped, and fled to Sinope and thence to Panticapæum, where he was defeated and killed by his own rebellious general Asander. His kingdom was declared forfeited and bestowed upon the king of Pergamus. (*S. H. R.*, 750.)

Cæsar's five days' campaign which ended in the victory of Zela is that which that great Roman announced to his friend Aminthus in those three famous words *Veni, Vidi, Vici*.

CHAPTER XI

THE SĀSĀNIAN DYNASTY, AND THE LOSS OF THE EMPIRE.

I. ARDESHIR PĀPĒKĀN (ARTAXERXES I).



Ardeshir Pāpēkān.

schmid 227 as the year. According to Herzfeld, the decisive battle took place on the 28th of April in 224 A.D., and from that day on Ardashir assumed the title of Shāhānshāh-i-Ērān. (J. K. O. I., No. 7, 106.)

Returning from Rai to Pārs, Ardashir founded a new city with the name of Khūrre-e-Ardeshir ("The Grace or Glory of Ardashir"), the modern Firūzābād, and beautified it with palaces, parks and gardens. His victory over Ardawān is represented at Firūzābād in one of the finest of the Sāsānian sculptures. He also constructed a number of canals for irrigating the land with

We will now resume the account of Ardashir, the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, from where we left it (p. 379 *ante*).

Acting on the advice of Banāk, Ardashir took Ardawān's daughter to wife, and became the lawful possessor of Ardawān's throne, crown and treasure.*

Sir Denison Ross gives A.D. 212 as the year in which Ardashir overpowered the last Parthian king and proclaimed himself King of Kings. Nöldeke gives A.D. 224 and Gut-

* Herzfeld's theory is that Ardashir must have married Ardawān's daughter about 206, before his rebellion, even before Ardawān became Great King. (H. P., 172.)

water from a broad river, thus giving early evidence of his zeal as a Zoroastrian prince to encourage and improve the cultivation of the soil. A temple was erected on the bank of the river, and the celebration of the feasts of Jashné Sadeh and Jashné Meherangân was revived.

One of the earliest adventures of the young king was an expedition against the Kûrds of Mount Masius. The Kûrdish army, which outnumbered the Persians, hemmed them in. A fierce battle went on for a whole day and Ardeshir's men were routed. But getting together a force of three thousand horsemen and a thousand archers, he made a sudden night attack and overpowered the Kûrds, of whom large numbers were slain or made captives.

Another exploit of his was the reduction of Kermân, which was taken not so easily as Rawlinson's account (R. S. O. M., 36) of it would suggest, but, according to the Kârnâmak and the Shâh-nâmeh, after a hard contest and considerable loss in men, and not without a clever ruse. Its chief Haftânbokht (Haftwâd of the Shâh-nâmeh) and his eldest son and general Shahwi were caught and suspended on the gibbet. Much treasure was found which was sent to Khûrra-e-Ardeshir, a fire-temple was erected on the mountain, the Sadeh and Meherangân feasts were restored, and justice was spread over the land.

Whilst Ardeshir was engaged on this achievement, one Mitroké-anoshak-pâdân (Mehrak, son of Noshzâd, of the Shâh-nâmeh), of Jharom, gathered troops and marched to the king's capital and plundered the royal palace. When the king drew near Jharom, the traitor did not come out to battle and hid himself, but he was caught and received the punishment of death.

Rawlinson's theory is that Ardeshir had commenced his career of conquest and annexed Carmania and some of the outlying provinces of Media before the Parthian king Ardawân roused himself to take the field against his revolted vassal.

The decisive victory of Hormuzdan made Ardeshir the virtual master of the Parthian empire. But it is gathered from the coins of this period that one Artavasdes, probably one of Ardawân's sons, retained the empire for a while.

Several Arsacid princes found shelter in Armenia, whose king Chosroes was an Arsacid and owed his throne to Artabanus, who, according to some classical writers, was his brother. In Bactria also there was a powerful branch of that family.

Ardeshir ascended the imperial ivory throne at Baghdād,* assumed the imperial tiara, girt on the kingly sword, and held the *gorz* (mace) of the Shahs in hand (A.D. 226). He adopted the title of "King of the Kings of the Iranians" (βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀριανῶν). "These pompous titles," says Gibbon, "instead of gratifying the vanity of the Persian, served only to admonish him of his duty and to inflame in his soul the ambition of restoring, in their full splendour, the religion and empire of Cyrus."

We learn from Herzfeld's article "New Light on Persian History from Pahlavi", in J. K. O. I., No. 7, that, in pursuance of his success over Ardawān, Ardeshir at first undertook a campaign against Hamadān, Ādharbaidjān, and Armenia, returning by way of Mosul and Irāq, and subduing all those Arsacidan provinces, and having thus established his power over the whole of the West and South of the Empire, he turned to the East moving against Sijistān, and from there against Gurgān, Aparshahr (modern Khūrasān), Marv, Balkh and Khwārizm, upto the remotest borders of the countries joining the old Khūrasān, i.e., the East. The Kūshānshāh and the kings of Turan and Makrān are said to have sent envoys to declare their allegiance. As to Kūshānshāh, Herzfeld explains that it is not the Kūshān of old, but the later Kābūlshāh.

From the Indian point of view, we find, says Herzfeld, that the very year of Ardeshir's rise saw the decay, if not the collapse, of the Kūshān and the Andhra powers. V. A. Smith (S. E. H. I.) mentions this as a certain fact that two great paramount dynasties, the Kūshān in Northern India and the Andhra in the table-land of the Deccan, disappear together almost at the same moment, A.D. 226, when the Arsacidan dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sāsānian; and he

* According to Warner, the city here meant is Bih-Ardashir, the Seleucia newly founded by Ardeshir. There had been a city of Baghdād in Babylonian times, but the Arab city of that name was not founded till the days of the Khalifa Al Mansūr in A.D. 762.

hazards the conjecture that the three events may have been in some way connected, and that the Persianizing of the Kûshân coinage of Northern India should be explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion.

The statement of Gibbon that Ardeshir won some easy victories over the wild Scythians and the effeminate Indians is questioned by Rawlinson, who doubts whether that king ever made any expeditions and says that his coins are not found in Afghânistân and on the whole it is unlikely that he came into contact with either nation. But we find confirmation of Gibbon's statement in the *Shâh-nâmeh*. Firdausi mentions that Rûm, Chinese Tartary, Turkestân and Hind became (soft as) Rûmi silk before Ardeshir (that is, accepted his sovereignty), and tax and toll came in continually from every land, none having the power to oppose the lord of the world; and Ardeshir is reported to have said, in an oration he delivered from the throne to the assembled nobles of Iran, that from Rûm and Hind he took tribute and the world had grown like Rûmi silk to him. Mr. Paruck mentions in his excellent work on Sâsânian coins that Byzantine and Oriental historians assert that Ardeshir's empire extended to the Indus and the Oxus, and that Oriental writers do not hesitate to include Balkh, Khûrâsân, Cábûl and even India among the dominions of the Persian monarchs, which agrees with the conclusions suggested by a careful examination of historical probabilities and is confirmed to a certain extent by numismatic evidence. Tabari states that after his conquest of the countries bordering on Khûrâsân, Marv, Balkh and Khwârizm, Ardeshir returned to Fârs and halted at Gor, where he was visited by envoys from the kings of Kûshân, Turan, and Makrân, who expressed their allegiance; and Ferishta mentions that Ardeshir had invaded the Punjâb, advancing as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind or the Sutlej, and then retired after the principal Indian monarch had given homage and tribute. (P. S. C., 79-80.)

Two sons of the late Parthian sovereign Ardawân who had escaped and taken refuge with the king of Cábûl sent privily an epistle to their sister, whom Ardeshir had espoused, inciting her

to bring about her husband's death by administering to him a virulent Indian poison sent by them.

One day when Ardeshir returned from the chase tired and thirsty, the queen ran to him and handed to him a topaz cup full of cold water, sugar, and fine meal, wherewith she had mixed the poison. Ardeshir recited the *bāj* (the Zoroastrian prayer of Grace), and took the cup. But ere he could lift it to his lips it fell out of his hand and was shivered into pieces.* The queen's evident affright aroused the king's suspicions, and he sent a slave to fetch four fowls. The moment these fowls ate the meal they died. Ardeshir sent for his Head Priest and Minister and put him the question, "O holy man! tell me what punishment is meet for the woman who contrives her husband's death?" The wise man answered, "O king! mayst thou live long and attain to thy object. She who attempts to kill her husband is worthy of death and must be beheaded." Ardeshir ordered the traitress to be removed and beheaded at the hand of the common executioner.

As the Head Priest, whose name Tabari gives as Abarsām, was taking her away, the queen told him that she was with child by Ardeshir and asked him to wait till her babe was born and then carry out the king's command. The holy man came back and told this to Ardeshir, who curtly replied, "Don't stay a moment; kill her." The Head Priest, however, reflecting that the king was sonless, and, though full of wrath at the moment, would afterwards repent, decided to save her life.

At due time the queen was delivered of a noble son. The Head Priest had so managed that no folk knew of it. He named the babe Shāpūr (*i.e.*, Shah's son) and brought him up with care for seven years.

It happened that one day the Head Priest found the king in a deep state of melancholy. "O king!" said he, "May thy soul triumph over care and grief! Now the time is for joy and wine, and not for solicitude. The world's seven climes

* The *Karnāmak* relates that as the king was about to drink, the sacred fire Ādar Farohbā descended on the cup in the shape of a red hawk, and it fell from the hand of Ardeshir to the ground.

are under thy sway ; army, state and policy, all these are thine." The king sadly replied, "Holy and faithful minister ! my sword has set the age straight ; grief, affliction and distress have disappeared from all quarters. My years amount to 51, my musk-black hair has turned camphor-white, and my cheeks have lost their roses. A son I ought to have before me now, —a comfort to my heart, a strength to my arms, and a guide. A sonless father is a fatherless son whom strangers press to their breast. After me my crown and treasure will descend to a foe, and all my gains will be dust, pain and affliction."

Now is the time to speak, mused the sage Priest. He confessed how he had not carried out the king's order for the queen's death and spared her life and how a son had been born to her who was handsomer and more graceful than any other lad or royal prince. The king marvelled at this tale, and directed him to select a hundred boys of the same age as Shâpûr and resembling in face, stature, breast and limb, and all clad in exactly similar dress, and to set them to play at polo. "When these fair youths are there," said he, "my soul will yearn for love upon my child, and my heart will be a witness to the truth and make me know my son." The next morning a hundred boys, all similar in stature, mien, and dress, were assembled ; and as they played, Shâpûr so distinguished himself in the game that the king pointed him out to the Head Priest and said, "Behold, a young Ardeshir is yonder !" The Priest said, "Shah ! thy heart has borne testimony to thy own son. But wait till the youngsters drive the ball near thee." At the king's bidding, a servant drove the ball towards the king, and the boys as swift as arrows followed it, but when they neared the king, they stood still, awed by his presence. That bold lion, Shâpûr, alone came on, seized and carried off the ball from before his father and restored it to his fellow-players. Great was the king's joy, and the horsemen raised Shâpûr from the ground and passed him on from hand to hand to his royal sire, who clasped him to his breast, and kissed him on his head and face and eyes, and blessed the Lord Ahûrâ Mazdâ.

Ardeshir bestowed largesses on the poor who lived by labour,

and gave the holy Priest and Minister the gift of a seat inlaid with gold, together with many gems and much wealth. The queen was pardoned and she resumed her high station in the palace. New coinage was struck, with the king's own name on one side, and the minister's on the other. A site where thorns and brambles grew was chosen, and there a fine new city was raised and given the name Jund-i-Shâpûr.* The *Karnâmak* mentions that a town of the name of Rakhsh-i-Shâpûr was founded, and there ten fire-temples were erected and many pious acts were ordered. The best men of the place were employed to teach Pahlavi to the young prince, and to train him in courtly ways and dignified behaviour, in equestrian skill and the deft use of the lance from horseback, and in all other martial exercises and the command of troops and conduct of warfare. He was also taught to quaff the grape-wine, so beloved of the Persian kings and warriors, to give largesses, and to entertain at feasts.

Chosroes, the Arsacid king of Armenia, with whom several of the Parthian Arsacids had taken refuge after the fall of the Parthian empire, negotiated with Bactria and Rome and made arrangements with the barbarians upon his northern frontier for their aid, and brought an invasion on the new Persian kingdom on the north-west.

The Armenian historian Moses of Chorene mentions that Ardeshir not only lost Assyria and the adjacent regions in this conflict, but after the struggle of a year or two was obliged to fly ignominiously to India. Agathangelus, an earlier writer, makes no such extreme assertion. Still he says that Ardeshir maintained the struggle, with constant ill success, for twelve years; and Patkanian mentions that Chosroes ravaged the Persian territory as far as Ctesiphon and continued the war for ten years, from A.D. 227 to 237. Rawlinson points out the worthlessness, when unconfirmed by other authorities, of the assertions of

* E. G. Browne attributes the foundation of this city to Shâpûr I. He says, in his book "Arabian Medicine", that after Shâpûr I had defeated Valerian and retaken Antioch, he built a city at the place called Syriae Beth Lapat, which he named Veh-az-Andev-i Shâpûr, or 'Shâpûr's Better than Antioch', a name which was gradually converted into Gunde Shâpûr or in Arabic Jundi Sabûr.

Armenian writers, whose narratives are deeply tinged with the vitiating stain of intense national vanity. (R. S. O. M., 38, 39.)

The *Karnâmak* and the *Shâh-nâmeh* both mention that Ardeshir had not a day's repose from warfare, and was constantly engaged in excursions against various petty kings. No sooner was order restored on one frontier, then the people of another frontier rose up in perfidious revolt. Was it or was it not destined for him by the Providence to bring all Persia under one rule, mused he. Just as the Greeks and Romans used to consult the Delphic and other oracles in cases of dilemma and danger, Ardeshir to set his doubts at rest sent a high-born youth of ready wit as envoy to the Kaid of Hind, who was reputed for his great skill in divination, to inquire from him whether it was destined for him or not to bring the whole empire back again under one sceptre. The Kaid observed the stars and informed the envoy that if the line of the king blended with the line of Mitroké-anoshak-pâdân (Mehrak, the son of Nûshzâd) the Shah would compass all his heart's desire.

Ardeshir was vexed when he was apprised of this answer, and said, "Never be it that I should see my descendants from the seed of Mehrak. Am I to bring my foe out of the street inside my house to avenge himself on my realm?" But we shall see that the Kaid's prophecy did come true.

It was known that the only survivor of Mehrak was a daughter, but no one had seen her. The king sent out horsemen to Jharom and in all other directions to find out and seize her. The girl escaped and lay concealed with a village headman, who held her in high honour and affection. As she grew up, she had no peer in grace, beauty, vigour, and wisdom, and there was no so tall a cypress in the realm.

One day, in the course of a hunt, prince Shâpûr reached the same village with some riders and halted at the headman's quarters. He saw a maidenauteous as the moon plying a wheel and bucket at a well. When the maid saw the prince she showered blessings upon him and made him welcome. She offered to draw and give water to his courser, who was athirst, saying that all the water in the village was brackish, but here

it was cold and sweet. Shâpûr replied, "O moon-faced one, what words are these? I have attendants and they shall draw the water." The maid turned her face from the prince and sat by a stream. Shâpûr bade an attendant to fetch a bowl and draw. Rope, wheel and bucket were there, but the man could not raise the bucket howsoever he strove, for it was heavy. Shâpûr came up and reproached him, and took the rope himself, but discovering the bucket's heavy weight, he mused that the girl who could raise a bucket of such weight must be of royal descent. When he had drawn the bucket the maiden came and said, "Mayst thou live happily till time shall last! May wisdom ever be thy guide! By the virtue of Shâpûr, son of Ardeshir, the water in the well is turned milk." "O moon-face! how knowest thou I am Shâpûr?" asked he. She answered, "I have often heard from the mouth of honest folks that Shâpûr is a warrior and has the strength of an elephant, and in bounty is like the river Nile. He is straight as the cypress and his body like brass and in all respects he is the copy of Bahman." Shâpûr said, "Moon-face! speak the truth of what stock art thou, for on thy face I trace the signs of royalty." The girl asked guarantee for her life, and then revealed her identity as the daughter of Mehrak, son of Nûshzâd, and said that for fear of Ardeshir she had turned servant and become a drawer of water.

Shâpûr summoned the headman into his presence, and asked him to give the girl to him in marriage with Heaven as witness. The headman acceded to his desire, and the prince and the maid were married with all the rites of the Worshippers of Fire.

The prince conveyed her to his palace and cherished her with great love. A son was born who was tall and the very image of Asfendiyâr or the famed Ardeshir. Shâpûr named him Hormazd and kept him hidden from Ardeshir. One day when he was seven years of age he went to the playground with some sons of the king's courtiers to play at chaugân (ball and bat). The king with his Head Priest and many nobles and grandees, was watching the play. Here history repeats itself. In the

course of the game when a boy struck the ball it rolled near the king. All the boys stopped short and dared not go near him for awe of him. But Hormazd rushed forth, picked up the ball, and struck it back boldly, shouting

که چوگان و میدان و مردی مراست
ابا جنگیاب هممردی مراست

("Mine are the game of changân, the play ground and manliness. For me is the battle with the warriors.")

By the king's command the minister bore the boy before him. Ardeshir asked, "O boy of noble descent! of what lineage art thou?" In a distinct tone the lad answered, "My name and origin I need not conceal from thee. I am the son of Shâpûr thy son, and the daughter of Mehrak is my mother." Ardeshir called up Shâpûr before him. The prince was terrified, and his cheeks paled. But the king smiled and said, "Hide thy child from me no more. We need a son, and whencesoever he comes he is lawful since, so they say, he is a prince's son." Shâpûr replied, "Be blest! the lad comes from my loins and he is named Hormazd. I have concealed him from thee for a while until the fruit-tree should bring forth fruit. His mother is Mehrak's daughter, and he is my child beyond all doubt."

Ardeshir was well acquainted with the proud past of the people of Persis, his fatherland, and the achievements of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and other Kings of Kings, who had made Persis so renowned throughout the world, and whose descendant and lawful heir he regarded himself. His patriotic soul burned within him with a bright flame, and he yearned to revive the pristine eminence of his race and land.

Four hundred of the tallest and most handsome of the Persians, whose splendid horses, rich arms, and costly apparel displayed the opulence and magnificence of their country, were sent by him to Alexander Severus, Emperor of Rome, to deliver to him his dignified message, which was a command from him to the Romans to take their departure instantly from all the provinces of his ancestors and, yielding to the Persians the empire of Asia, to content themselves with the possession of Europe.

Such a message meant revived Persia's challenge to the greatest European power of the time for supremacy in the East by the arbitration of arms. Disregarding the sacredness of the persons of ambassadors, Severus deprived the Persian envoys of their rich arms and attire, treated them as prisoners of war, and settled them as agricultural colonists in Phrygia.

The Persian troops crossed the Tigris and overran Roman Mesopotamia, meeting with little resistance. The Roman emperor sent ambassadors to Ardeshir with a missive, wherein he said that the king ought to confine himself to his own territories and not seek to revolutionise Asia, that it was unsafe, on the strength of mere unsubstantial hopes, to commence a great war, that every one should be content with keeping what belonged to him, that the king would find war with Rome a very different thing from the contests in which he had been hitherto engaged with barbarous races like his own, and that he should call to mind the successes of Augustus and Trajan and the trophies carried off from the East by Lucius Verus and by Septimius Severus. (R. S. O. M., 41.)

In the spring of 232 the Romans crossed the Euphrates. They recovered Mesopotamia, and made arrangements for invading Persia simultaneously from three directions. The Emperor Alexander Severus commanded the third division, which was designed to support the attack of the other divisions by invading the centre of the Persian kingdom. The first or northern division traversed Armenia and threatened Media. The second or southern division crossed Mesopotamia and threatened Persia proper.

An army under the personal command of Ardeshir confronted and completely destroyed the southern division. This, according to Herodian, was the greatest disaster which had befallen the Romans.

The northern division suffered considerably from climate, and the army which the emperor led in person was also incapacitated by sickness from vigorously carrying on the campaign, and a peace appears to have been made. According to Niebuhr Rome lost many parts of her Eastern possessions. But Rawlinson

points out that the numismatic evidence is in favour of there having been no loss. (R. S. O. M., 49, f. n.)

As Chosroes, the Arsacid ruler of Armenia, had joined the Romans in their invasion of Persia, Ardeshir determined to subdue him. The former put up a successful defence; but he was treacherously assassinated by Anak, an Arsacid prince of Persia. The Armenian satraps solicited succour from Rome and received a contingent, but the Persians easily defeated the allied troops. The satraps fled and took shelter in Roman territory, and Armenia became a part of the Persian dominions.* King Ardeshir caused to be rekindled the sacred fire which the Arsacid rulers of Armenia had allowed to become extinguished.

Like his eminent Achaemenian predecessors on the throne of Iran, Cyrus and Darius, this great Sāsānian sovereign attributed his kingdom and all his good fortune to the grace and favour of Ahūrā Mazdā; and equally with them he was an earnest denouncer of the Lie. To his son and successor Shāpūr he gave this advice: "Let no lie pass current. The Lie darkens a man's face: never will he be great and famous." The following four qualities he considered essential in a king, namely, high aspirations, affability, self-restraint in anger, and high regard for the life and properties of his subjects.

Gibbon describes the character of Ardeshir as marked by those bold and commanding features that generally distinguish the princes who conquer, from those who inherit, an empire. His good fortune did not inflate him with arrogance or conceit. Many sagacious maxims of this king are preserved. Gibbon cites one of these in particular which discloses a deep insight into the constitution of government. "The authority of the king," he declared, "must be defended by a military force; that force can only be maintained by taxes; all taxes must, at last, fall upon agriculture; and agriculture can never flourish except under the protection of justice and moderation." Mirkhond, in his *Rauzat-us-Safā*, gives this maxim as follows:—"A kingdom cannot subsist except by men, and men cannot subsist except

* Gibbon puts the assassination of Chosroes and the subjugation of Armenia in the time of Ardeshir's successor Shāpūr.

by property, and property cannot subsist except by civilization, and civilization cannot subsist except by justice." (M. R. S. R., 328-9.)

It was the custom of this king to go at daybreak to the public ground where all who sought redress could come. There his subject or his own son was impartially judged.

Where land lay waste or streams ran dry the taxes were remitted, and thus facility was given for the improvement of the holding. Agriculturists in financial difficulty or in reduced circumstances were supplied with implements and cattle from the king's stores and were not suffered to be ousted from their holdings.

Good laws were framed, and justice was blended with mercy. In a unique Pahlavi text of which only one manuscript is found and which purports to record the tradition of the "auspicious" letter which Dastūr Yūnan had addressed to King Naushirvān the Just, the Dastūr makes allusion to Artakhshir Pāpékān as a monarch during whose reign if they sought one beggar in the whole kingdom he was not to be found, the good lived without fear and with joyful hearts, and the wicked were full of dread and fear.

Firdausi narrates that the justice of Ardeshir prospered the whole world and all the subjects' hearts rejoiced in him; and from Rawlinson we learn that there is a remarkable consensus of authors, Armenian, Latin, and Persian, on the point of his love of justice. Ardeshir himself compares an unjust ruler to a ravening lion upon the pasture-land, and mentions three things that vex the royal throne, namely, first, the unjust sovereign, second, the exalter of the worthless over the worthy, and third, he who weddeth the treasure and striveth constantly for more.

There were schools and colleges in every quarter of the towns. Everywhere men of guidance were sent to say, "He who has a son should not allow him to grow up in ignorance. Teach him horsemanship and the manner of fighting with the mace, the bow, and the shafts of poplar-wood." Youths trained in this way to be strong and efficient came from their districts

to the king's court, whereupon the muster-master registered their names and assigned them quarters. On the outbreak of war these recruits went forth under the command of a *pehelwân*.

When an official proceeded to his district charge, the king dictated to him the advice to hold money vile and never to sell the independence of a subject for the sake of money, to seek after truth and wisdom, to abstain from avarice and lust, and not to take with him any of his kith and kin, the host of subordinates which His Majesty had put at his disposal being friends enough. He was further charged to distribute largess monthly to the needy, but to give nothing to the malefactors, and to increase general prosperity by administering impartial justice.

Whenever his army went forth to war, the king gave donative to each soldier so as to keep all contented, and the command was given to a paladin who was wise, watchful and of serene disposition, and aspired for fame.

Ardeshir never resorted to arms light-heartedly, but exercised prudence and caution and first sent a wise envoy to the adversary, charging him with a courteous message to learn his case, lest there be unjust strife. If the foe or rebel cheerfully submitted, he was rewarded with honours, riches and grants, but resistance was fatal to the refractory. The paladin was accompanied by a scribe, whose duty was to see that the soldiers did no wrong and were not wronged by the commander; and a man, with a stentorian voice, seated on an elephant, used to proclaim to the war-chiefs the royal commands that no harm must come to poor or rich and noble, that the worshippers of God should not touch another's goods, and that all provisions must be paid for at each stage, and the thanks of the people earned.

Wise, shrewd and kindly *mobeds* were sent to different parts to build new cities, and expend large sums on the works, so that every homeless, indigent and unfortunate individual might have maintenance and a dwelling place, and so increase the number of the king's subjects. Altogether about eighteen towns were built or rebuilt by Ardeshir; and the remarkable fact is that as many as eleven of these are ports, lying on the coast or on navigable rivers,

—a fact which displays his great concern for the development of the empire's trade.

When Ardešhir reached the age of 78 years, he was taken ill. He summoned prince Shāpūr to his bedside and gave him his testamentary advice. Among the grave counsels which he gave was this that the altar and the throne should be considered inseparable and must always sustain each other. This counsel accords with the dictum mentioned in the Dinkard (D. P. S., Vol. VIII, 451) that the glory and the splendour of the state are darkened in the sight of men by the degeneracy of the state-religion, but they are attracted to it by the purity of the state-religion.

We are reminded by Gibbon that during the long servitude of Persia under the Macedonian and Parthian yoke, the nations of Europe and Asia had mutually adopted and corrupted each other's superstitions. The Zoroastrian Magian or priestly order had been depressed, the fire-altars were suffered to fall into ruins, temples of the sun and the moon were everywhere, images to Mithra were set up, and the tenets of Zoroaster and the essential Zoroastrian rites and rituals were forgotten or disregarded.

One must agree with Max Müller that without constant reformation, that is to say, without a constant return to the fountain-head, every religion, however pure, must gradually degenerate. In the words of R. Bosworth Smith (B. S. M. M., 265), a religion which is not waiting for a revival is waiting only to be swept away. And, indeed, Iranian tradition itself tells us that in Iran from ancient days great Reformers, the Soshyants, have taken birth from time to time, and will yet arise, in order to reform and re-establish religion and revivify the world.

"Depuis l'origine de leur dynastie jusqu'à son déclin," writes J. Labourt in *Le Christianisme Dans L'Empire Perse, sous La Dynastie Sassanide*, "les rois Sassanides, par nécessité politique autant que par inclination personnelle, demeurèrent fermement attachés à la religion nationale des Iraniens : le mazdéisme".*

* Transl., "Since the origin of their dynasty till its decline, the Sāsānide kings, as much out of political necessity as from personal inclination, remained fervently attached to the national religion of the Iranians, which was Mazdeism."

On all coins of the Sāsānides we find the symbols of fire-worship the altar and its attendant priests, their legends being no longer Greek, as those of the Arsacidae, but in the ancient language of Persia. (V. P. A., 157.)

Ardeshir, the founder of this new dynasty, conceived it his mission not only to restore the Parsi empire to its pristine glory and grandeur, but under the full persuasion that the altar and the throne were interdependent, he deemed himself called upon to re-establish the national religion, the Faith of Zoroaster, in its pristine purity and primitive splendour and to bring back to the practice of the original religion all schismatics and waverers and all those who had taken to idol-worship. His was a double task; he had to cleanse the national religion of the superstitious elements which encrusted it as concomitant of the long Parthian rule as well as to contend against the Hellenistic polytheistic influences.

He summoned a synod of pious and learned *mobeds* from all parts of the empire for a two-fold purpose,—to demonstrate irrefutable proofs of the sublimity, purity and perfection of the original Zoroastrian creed, and to collect the precepts of that creed into a volume for uniform adoption. Forty thousand *mobeds* assembled in the fire-temple of Ādar Farobāh in the city of Cābūl, where the king met them and explained the object of the convention.

The synod was reduced, by a process of selections, first to four thousand, then to four hundred, then to forty, and at last to seven, who were the most highly respected for their learning and had always trodden the path of purity and piety. These seven finally selected out of themselves a young priest of the name of Ardā Virāf, who was unsurpassed in knowledge, learning and piety.

It is right to mention that it is not possible to fix exactly when this Ardā Virāf flourished. The Pahlavi Virāf-nāme places his time after that of Dastūr Ādarbād Mārēspand, who lived in the reign of Shāpūr II (A.D. 309-379), the later Pāzend version of the book makes him a contemporary of King Vishtāspa and places his vision after the death of Zoroaster in that king's

time, and the still later Persian version makes him a contemporary of King Ardeshir Pāpékān. Dr. Sir J. J. Modi (M. D. P., 6-7) makes out that Virāf lived at some time in or after the reign of Chosroes I (531-579).

After undergoing elaborate ablutions, Virāf received from the hands of the other holy *mobeds* three small cups of a sacred somniferous drink,* which he quaffed, saying Hūmata (Good Thoughts) when drinking the first cup, Hūkhta (Good Words) when drinking the second, and Hūvrashta (Good Deeds) when drinking the third. He soon fell into a sleep or trance, in which he remained for seven days and nights. Upon awaking, he made ablutions, and, after refreshing himself with some food, he dictated to a scribe an account of the visions† he had seen during his trance and his exposition of the Faith of Zoroaster for the benefit of all generations. Though this Virāf legend may not be taken literally, it points to a reconstruction of the Avesta literature through the principal instrumentality of this pious and learned priest. The Avesta language had long since ceased to be spoken and understandable by the people, and so a translation and commentary in Pahlavi, the language of the time, were undertaken and carried out. Still the fact should not be lost sight of that the imperfections in the text of the Avesta as we have it now are very numerous. On this point Westergaard, whom Bleek quotes in the Introduction to B. S. A., XI-XII, writes:—

"From the fall of the Achaemenians to the rise of the Sāsānian dynasty, more than five centuries had gone by. This is a space in which much may be forgotten and mistaken even by the most tenacious memory, much be lost and corrupted in spite of the greatest carefulness, and this even under favourable circumstances, much more so when distress and contempt prevail. That this actually has been the case tradition confesses, stating as it does that most of the ancient texts were actually lost. This the texts

* According to Mr. Vicaſi Dinshaw, a learned Parsi doctor, the 'Mung' three cups of which were given to Virāf to drink was the delicious ambrosia of the gruel made from the pulse of *Phaseolus Roxburghii* or *Phas.*: Mungo. (J. K. O. I., No. 28, 108.)

† Virāf's first visit, in the company and under the guidance of the Yazats Ādar and Bracsha, is to Heaven, and the souls of the just, afterwards to the Inferno, finally back to the throne of Ahūrā Mazdā in Grotmān.

also indicate by their fragmentary state (which is no doubt greater than it appears), by the unintelligible passages, mutilated sentences and uncouth words, where recollection must have failed, or where only defective pieces of written documents were preserved."

Mainly through the efforts of Tansar, the head priest and prime minister of Ardeshir, the lost Avesta fragments were gathered together and compiled in the present form and translated into Pahlavi.

With the overthrow of the Parthian rule and the re-establishment of the national sovereignty, there was a revival not only of the national religion, but also of art,—a token, as Rawlinson (R.S.O.M., 68) says, that Aryan intelligence was beginning to recover and re-assert itself, in all the various fields in which it had formerly won its triumphs.

The official language of Persia during the Sāsānian period was Pahlavi, that is to say, the language of the Pehelwāns, or the Warriors of Old.*

Gibbon, who is followed by Rawlinson (R. S. O. M., 60) and Benjamin (B. P., 177), says that by an edict Ardeshir severely prohibited the exercise of every worship, except that of Zoroaster, the temples of the Parthians, and the statues of their deified monarchs were thrown down with ignominy, the sword of Aristotle (that is, the polytheism and philosophy of the Greeks) was easily broken, and the flames of persecution soon reached the more stubborn Jews and Christians, nor were the Persian heretics and schismatics spared. This spirit of intolerance, remarks the same historian, reflects dishonour on the religion of Zoroaster.

* Dr. Martin Haug mentions that the Parthians, who were the actual rulers of Persia for nearly five hundred years, had made themselves so respected and famous everywhere by their fierce and successful contests with the mightiest nation of the ancient world, the Romans, that it is not surprising that the name which once struck terror into the hearts of Roman generals and emperors was remembered in Persia, and that everything connected with antiquity, whether in history, religion, letters, writing or language, was called Pahlavi or belonging to the ancient rulers of the country, the Parthians. (H. E., 79, 80).

Sir Percy Sykes very happily points out (Ch. 86, "Renaissance of Persian Power and Culture", (U. H. W., Vol. IV) that to prove the esteem in which this word is held, the able soldier who overthrew the Kajar dynasty in October 1925, crowned himself as Shah Riza, Pahlavi, and furthermore ordered that the name of the chief port on the Caspian Sea should be changed from Enzeli to Pahlavi.

However, from what we know of the disposition of the great founder of Sāsānian power, as gathered from his sayings and precepts that have been preserved, and, especially, when we observe that all the old writers agree as to his great love of justice and his spirit of fair treatment toward friend and foe, we have reason to put no faith in the story of the persecutions. The fact which Gibbon himself acknowledges that the persecutions were productive of no civil commotion strengthens our distrust of the story. There is no doubt that active propaganda was undertaken and all proper and possible measures were adopted by this devoted advocate of Zoroastrianism for the promulgation and adequate exposition of the truths and tenets of the "Good Religion" far and wide; and these so far succeeded that the number of schismatics throughout his vast empire soon dwindled down to the inconsiderable number of eighty thousand. All this, however, was peacefully brought about.

Whilst believing in the story that in a very short period the edicts of Ardeshir against any other than the state-religion resulted in the closing of every place of worship in his dominions except those of the fire-worshippers, Benjamin frankly admits that the example of the Christians of the early church acts as a palliation of this intolerance of the Zoroastrians, for almost from the outset intolerance of any belief but their own has been the practice of the various Christian sects, enforced, as we know, for many ages by fire and torture and the sword. Even if Ardeshir did practise intolerance as alleged, it is not right to blame his religion for it. Human nature, as Benjamin rightly observes, seems to be pretty much the same everywhere, in spite of the teachings of religion.

According to Masoudi and Tabari, Ardeshir towards the close of his life, withdrew altogether from the government and with his own hands placed the crown on his son Shâpûr's head. On the coins of silver and copper struck by Ardeshir at the end of his reign the youthful head of this prince appears along with the king's likeness. (P. S. C., 78.)

The Anjûman-ârâ-i Nâseri assigns to king Ardeshir the authorship of a book called Kâristân, which dealt with philosophy, divine knowledge, divine worship, and other subjects.

Malcolm says that Ardeshir was learned as well as wise, and is the reputed author of two remarkable books. The first, entitled the *Karnâmak*, gives an account of his travels and enterprises. The second was a work upon the best mode of living, in which rules, drawn from his own experience and judgment, were prescribed for all ranks of men. This book was greatly admired, and King Naushirvân had copies of it made and circulated with a view to establishing order and morality in the empire.

Sir Percy Sykes (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 397-8) says that as a monarch Ardeshir stands out as a sane, wide-minded ruler, who was ever anxious that his subjects should be happy, who realized that the basis of good administration was justice, and who worked incessantly to carry out his principles.

For the great empire of the Sāsānides which Ardeshir founded and which terminated at the Arab conquest, we notice in Arab authors sincere admiration as one that was a model of political art in the East. Amongst all nations the Persian kings are renowned as the most powerful kings of the world. They possessed high judgment and intelligence and as for the organization of the empire no one among kings had their equal, says Abūl Fedā. (J. I. A., July 1920, 80.)

In a bas-relief at Tāk-i-Bostān ("Arch of the Garden"), near Kermānshāh, which bears no inscription, Ardeshir is represented as handing the diadem to Shāpūr, while a third figure, which is of a richly dressed person, with a halo of Glory (Av. *Hvareno*) around his head, a sword or baton in his hand, and his feet resting on a sunflower, witnesses the transaction of the bestowal of the emblem of sovereignty with approving eyes. Sir John Malcolm and Sir Ker Porter, who in the last century, made the picture of the bas-relief available to us for the first time through their books, suggested that the radiated figure might be the prophet Zoroaster. Porter also hinted that it might be a personification of the Mithraic religion. Flandin and K. R. Cama, the pioneer Parsi philologist of Bombay, also thought it to represent Zoroaster. Thomas and Rawlinson hold the view that it is a representation of Ahūrā Mazda, while Dr. Justi's opinion is that it is the angel Mithra or Meher. Sir J. J. Modi, after a

personal inspection, finds himself unable to support the conjecture that the figure is that of the Prophet. Another Parsi scholar, Sir Jehangirsha C. Coyajee, argues strongly that it represents Verethragna (Behrām), the angel of victory; while the hypothesis of the learned Dastur Dr. Maneckji Nusserwanji Dhalla (M. M. V., 67) is that the sculptured figure with *hvareno* darting its fiery rays over its head and with its feet resting on a sunflower, reminiscent of the Mithraic origin of *hvareno*, represents *âtarsh spenta rathashtâra yazata pouru hvarenangha*, 'Âtar the holy warrior, the full of glory,' either in his incarnation as Fire Farnbag or as Fire Bahrām witnessing his royal protege receiving the emblem of power from the hands of Ahūrā Mazdā.

In the course of his testamentary monitions to Shâpûr referred to before, Ardeshir is said to have foretold that after five hundred years had passed away, the dynasty would end and Shâpûr's descendants and their kinsmen would turn aside



Ahūrā Mazdā bestowing the token of royalty on Ardeshir.

(The poet Faurast-e-Shiruzi in his work *Âsar-e-Âjam* describes this token as *Halka-e-Mauhada*, i.e., the Ring of Alliance, symbolical of success, peace and excellence of Religion.)

from his (Ardeshir's) wise counsels, neglect the advice of sages, practise injustice, oppress the subjects, scorn the pious, and grow up in the faith of Ahriman, whilst the pure Faith which he

had revived would be fouled and desolation would be brought over the land.

On the bas-relief at Takht-i-Rûstam, in which Ardeshir is represented as receiving the Persian diadem from the hands of Ahûrâ Mazdâ, there are two inscriptions, both in Persian and Greek. The longer of these two inscriptions runs as follows:—*Pathkar zani Ahura mazda Mazdisn bagi Artakakshatr malkân malkâ Airan Minuchitri min Yazdan*. Rawlinson translates it:—"The Ormazd-worshipping Divine Artaxerxes, King of the Kings of Iran, heaven-descended, of (the race of) the gods." The shorter inscription runs:—*Pathkar zani Ahura Mazda bagi*. Rawlinson observes that, from the commencement of their sovereignty, the Sāsānian princes claimed for themselves a qualified divinity, assuming the title of BAG or ALHA, 'God', and taking, in the Greek version of their legends, the correspondent epithet of ΘΕΟΣ, and he explains that *Baga* is the term used for 'god' throughout the Achaemenian inscriptions and is there applied both to Ormazd and the inferior deities, and that the *bag* or *bagi* of the early Sāsānians represents this word is generally agreed upon. (R. S. O. M., 68 ff.)

The dictum that the Sāsānian princes claimed for themselves a qualified divinity we are not prepared to accept. Such a claim would be distinctly contrary to the tenets of Zoroastrianism. They adopted the appellation of *bagi* in order to be recognized as the representatives of God on earth. We find from the inscriptions that the Achaemenians, as well as their successors the Sāsānians attributed their regal authority, their successes, and their good fortune to God's special favour. In the *Ayâdgâr-i-Zarirân*, we find king Vishtâspa addressed by his courtiers as *lekâm bagân*, which Sir J. J. Modi (M. S. A., 4) considers as equivalent to 'Your Majesty'. *Bagân* is the plural of *bag*. Another likely explanation is that furnished by Dr. J. M. Unvala in his article "The Winged Disk," (M. M. V., 503). Taking into consideration the Hellenic influence, which was very prevalent among the later Parthians, this writer considers it as highly probable that Ardeshir desired only to impose on the minds of the subjugated Parthians familiar with images of

divinities the importance of his victory and of his legitimate claim to the throne of the Achaemenides by this bas-relief, on which he represented himself accepting the crown with fillets from the hands of Ahûrâ Mazdâ on the battlefield. He observes that when the necessity which forced Ardeshir to adopt this iconic representation of Ahûrâ Mazdâ on his bas-relief passed away, it was completely abandoned by his successors, with the exception of Shâpûr I and Narses, and that here we see nothing else but the borrowing of the motif and no iconic conviction of Ardeshir, whose zeal for the reform of the Zoroastrian religion is attested by historians.

II. SHÂPÛR I.

Ardeshir was succeeded by Shâpûr, whose probable date of coronation, according to Nöldeke, was 20th March 242. Firdausi gives him a reign of 30 years and 2 months.



Shâpûr I.

Armenia made an attempt to regain independence, but the movement was easily suppressed.

Menizen, king of Hatra, also raised the flag of independence, and annexed the entire country between the Euphrates and the Tigris. But he was betrayed into Shâpûr's hands by his daughter, after extracting a promise from Shâpûr that he would take her into marriage.

Masoudî and Tabari speak of Shâpûr marrying her; but Malcolm mentions that the king handed over the traitress of her father to the executioner.

At this time Rome was torn by internal dissensions. Taking advantage of this Shâpûr determined to resume his father's design of relieving Western Asia from the Romans.

In A.D. 235, during his campaigns against the Germans on the Rhine frontier, Emperor Alexander Severus, the opponent of Ardeshir, was murdered by his soldiers, and Maximin, the leader of the mutineers, a savage Thracian peasant, who, by his extraordinary strength and valour, had attracted the notice and favour of Alexander and had been raised by him to the highest military command, was proclaimed Emperor.

From this time forward the Roman Empire became "the chattel of the soldiers". The different armies one after another proclaimed their commanders as emperors, deposed them on the flimsiest pretexts, and plundered the prosperous provinces at their will. Within the period of half a century (A.D. 235 to 285) there were twenty-six Romans who were given the imperial purple, and only one of them died a natural death.

Maximin was of a most suspicious, sanguinary and unrelenting nature. On the slightest suspicion or accusation, the noblest Romans who had rendered distinguished services to the empire, were chained on the public carriages and hurried into the emperor's presence. Several of the victims of his wrath were ordered to be sewed up in the hides of slaughtered animals, others to be exposed to wild beasts, and others again to be beaten to death with clubs. The degradation of Rome, writes Merivale (*M. G. H. R.*, 557), might now seem complete, when its chief was a mere illiterate barbarian, ignorant even of the Greek language, the common vehicle of all polished thought for so many centuries.

Africa was the first of the provinces to rise in revolt against this human monster, Maximin. The prefect Gordianus, who was a descendant of the Scipios and was known both for his virtues and his learning, was forced to assume the purple against his own will. Being a very old man, he associated with himself his son as joint emperor. Both received warm support not only in Africa but also at Rome. Shortly afterwards they were assailed in Carthage by Capelianus, governor of Mauritania. The son was killed in battle, and the father, hearing of his defeat, in despair took his own life.

The rule of the Gordians had not lasted for more than thirty-six days. In their place the senate chose out of their own number

two new emperors, Maximus and Balbinus. The city mob, out of gratitude to the noble father and son who had sacrificed their lives for the republic, insisted upon the association with the two new emperors of a member of the family of the Gordians as Cæsar. The senate yielded to the demand and invested a grandson of the elder Gordian, a mere boy of thirteen, with the purple.

Maximin hastened from the frontiers to confront Maximus who was leading the army of the senate. He advanced as far as Aquileia and laid siege to it, but the place made a gallant resistance. The soldiers of Maximin, who were suffering from want and sickness, mutinied and murdered him in his tent.

On 15th July 238, when the whole city was employed in the Capitoline games, some discontented Prætorian guards surprised the emperors Maximus and Balbinus, stripped them of their garments, and dragging them through the streets, cut them in pieces, and saluted Gordian as sole emperor. The greatest empire of the period was under the rule of a boy.

Shâpûr was not slow to take advantage of the distresses and degeneracy of the Roman empire brought about by her disastrous internal dissensions. He crossed the middle Tigris and invaded Mesopotamia. Nisibis, which was a well fortified and well defended Roman colony, was taken, and the Persian army then overran Syria and seized Antioch, the rich metropolis of the Roman East.

The youthful emperor Gordian's minister and father-in-law Timesitheus (Misitheus), though a man of letters, was a person of such versatile talents as to display considerable military genius when raised to the dignity of Prætorian Prefect. He persuaded Gordian to quit the luxury of Rome and march into Asia at the head of a considerable army. As the Romans advanced the Persians retreated from the cities which they had captured, and retired from the Euphrates to the Tigris.

Timesitheus died of a flux, or perhaps of poison administered by a rival. With his death Gordian's fortune deserted him. As a consequence of the discontent of the army, which was fomented by Julius Philip, an Arab by birth, who in his earlier career was a brigand by profession, and had succeeded Timesitheus in the

Præfecture, Gordian was murdered at a place called Zaitha, about twenty miles from Citesium, on the frontier of the two empires (March 244). The soldiers proclaimed Philip emperor, and the senate and the provinces gave him their ready obedience.

Philip, who is claimed by some of the early Christian writers as a convert to their faith, made peace with Persia (A.D. 244), and left for Rome. Under the terms of this peace Armenia was left to the Persians and Mesopotamia to the Romans. According to some ancient writers the terms of the treaty were very disgraceful to Rome. The remark of Rawlinson (R. S. O. M., 78) that Niebuhr's conclusion seems to be just, namely, that Philip concluded a peace with the Persians which was as honourable to the Romans as circumstances would allow, suggests that the terms of the treaty must have been decidedly much in favour of the Persians. It seems to us that it is these peace-negotiations that Firdausi speaks of in the following lines :—

“The Kaisar dispatched an experienced envoy to Shâpûr with the following message :—‘How much blood dost thou shed for the sake of dinârs? What answer wilt thou give and what excuse wilt thou make when questioned by the Just Judge and Guide on the Day of Reckoning? Add not to our distress. We will remit to thee the customary tribute and submit to thy orders. We will furnish many hostages from our own kinsmen. It is meet that thou withdraw from Pâlâwina (Cappadocia). In addition to tribute we will send to thee what thou wilt.’ The Kaisar sent to Shâpûr ten ox-hides all filled with gold and dinârs of the Kaisar’s coinage and many other valuable gifts, besides a thousand male and female Rûmi slaves and countless pieces of brocade.”

The most notable event in the short reign of Philip was the magnificent celebration, in A.D. 248, of the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Rome by Romulus.

Within the short space of five years (249-254) four emperors, Philip and his successors Decius, Gallus and Æmilianus, all met with violent deaths. Valerian, who was of noble birth and a senator of reputation, was invested with the purple by the unanimous voice of the Roman world. Owing to his old age he associated with him his son Gallienus as his colleague. During the reign of these emperors various warlike tribes, the principal of

which were the Goths, the Alemanni, and the Franks, were making a series of attacks on the frontier and ravaging some of the finest provinces.

After an interval of fourteen years following on the conclusion of the treaty with Philip, king Shāpūr undertook a second invasion of the Roman provinces (A.D. 258). Advancing into Mesopotamia, he seized Nisibis, Carrhae and Edessa, crossed the Euphrates, and took Antioch with such rapidity that her people who were absorbed in the enjoyment of theatrical and other performances first learnt the city's fall on the exclamation of some actors that the Persians were in possession.

While his unworthy son was consuming his time in the indulgence of vicious pleasures, the aged Valerian girded on his sword and hastened to the defence of the Euphrates, retook Antioch, and secured some more initial successes. But soon the events took a decidedly disastrous turn for the Romans. Macrinus, the Prætorian prefect, who aspired to the purple, led the Roman army into a trap near Edessa. The emperor sent envoys to Shāpūr to purchase escape by the payment of an immense amount of gold. Shāpūr rejected the offer with disdain, and advancing in the form of battle to the foot of the Roman rampart insisted on a personal conference with the emperor. The conference ended in the seizure of Valerian (A.D. 260). The Roman troops laid down their arms and surrendered or scattered. Cyriades or Miriades, a Syrian fugitive in the Persian camp, was chosen by Shāpūr to be invested with the purple, and the victor's choice was accepted by the Roman soldiers with acclamations. The prisoners of war were interned in the city of Jund-i-Shāpūr.

As concerns Shāpūr's treatment of his imperial captive, Gibbon notes that the voice of history reproaches the king with a proud abuse of the rights of conquest, but at the same time he makes the shrewd remark that this voice is often little more than the organ of hatred or flattery. This voice of history says that as long as Valerian was alive, he was constantly exposed to the gaze of the multitude, bound in chains and invested with the purple and whenever Shāpūr mounted his horse he set his foot on the kneeling emperor's neck. There is also a myth that when

Valerian died Shâpûr had his body flayed and the skin, inflated with straw in the form of a human body, was for ages kept hung up to view in one of the most frequented fire-temples of Persia. Gibbon reflects that the tale is moral and pathetic, but its truth questionable. On the face of it the story is lacking in truth. The hanging up of a dead body in a holy fire-temple—and the skin filled and kept in human shape was not likely to be taken by the populace as anything other than a corpse—would have been deemed the grossest defilement of the sacred place. Besides, an autocrat like the monarch of Iran was the most unlikely person to degrade publicly and bring into the ridicule of the common people the majesty of royalty. This myth is not told by any of the writers nearest to the time, but is related by writers of half a century later. In the circumstances Gibbon has reason to be sceptical, and Rawlinson points out the fact that Oriental monarchs, when they are cruel, do not show themselves ashamed of their cruelties, but usually relate them in their bas-reliefs, and the sculptures ascribed to Shâpûr do not contain anything confirmatory of these stories.

If, as Warner holds, Valerian is identical with Shâpûr's Roman captive Bâzânûsh mentioned in the *Shâh-nâmeh*, then we learn from that epic that wherever Shâpûr went it was his wont to have the company of this Roman emperor, whose counsels he heeded and who constructed for him, by the aid of Roman engineers, a great dam, twenty feet broad and twelve hundred feet in length, across the river Kârûn flowing by the town of Shûster, on the completion of which work, after three years, Shâpûr permitted him to depart for his own country. The dam exists to this day and is known by the name of *Band-i-Kaisar* (Cæsar's Dam). According to Tabari and some other writers not only the dam but the town of Shûster itself was built by the Roman captives. The Pahlavi treatise *Shatroihâ-i-Airân* however, attributes the foundation of this town to the Jewish queen of King Yezdegard I.

The indolent and voluptuous Gallienus survived his father's capture eight years (A.D. 260-268). The period from A.D. 251 to 268 is known as the Age of the Thirty Tyrants, on account of

the number of pretenders who sprung up in every part of the Roman Empire and assumed the purple. One of these was Cyriades of whom mention has been made before, and another was Ingenuus, who had assumed the purple in Illiricum. To those European writers who are never tired of having a fling at Oriental savagery and chicanery we present the following mandate which the civilized Western Emperor Gallienus wrote with his own hand to one of his ministers in respect of the latter rival:—

"It is not enough that you exterminate such as appeared in arms; the chance of battle might have served me as effectually. The male sex of every age must be extirpated; provided that in the execution of the children and old men you can contrive means to save our reputation. Let every one die who has dropt an expression, who has entertained a thought, against me, against *me* the son of Valerian, the father and brother of so many princes. Remember that Ingenuus was made emperor, tear, kill, hew in pieces. I write to you with my own hand, and inspire you with my own feelings."

Shâpûr marched on Antioch and once more captured it. Gibbon mentions that the splendid buildings of this great town were either pillaged or destroyed, and the numerous inhabitants were put to the sword or led away into captivity. But the more probable story is the one which Rawlinson (R. S. O. M., 82) relates on the authority of the fragment of the anonymous continuator of Dio's Roman History, in the *Fr. Hist. Gr.*, Vol. IV, 192, namely, that the more prudent citizens had withdrawn from the city, but the bulk of the people not displeased at the turn of affairs, remained and welcomed the conqueror, and here Miriades was installed in power.

Shâpûr's irresistible forces then made a raid into Cilicia and thence into Cappadocia. Tarsus, a great city of learning and emporium of trade, was captured, and the passes of Mount Taurus, which were ill defended by the Romans, fell into the king's hands. Cæsaria, the capital of Cappadocia, which was supposed to have a population of four hundred thousand souls, put up a gallant defence under its governor Demosthenes, but Shâpûr had friends within its walls, who betrayed it into his hands.

It seems that on Shâpûr's advance into Syria, Odenathus, a most opulent Syrian or Arab chief, who occupied a position of

some independence at the flourishing city of Palmyra, sent an embassy to him, accompanied by a long train of camels laden with the most rare and valuable merchandise. Odenathus' epistle to the king was respectful but not servile. Shâpûr took offence at its tone, tore it to pieces, and trampling it beneath his feet haughtily exclaimed, "Who is this Odenathus that he thus insolently presumes to address his lord? If he hopes to lighten his punishment, let him come and fall prostrate before me with his hands bound behind his back. Should he hesitate, swift destruction shall be poured on his head, on his race, and on his land." By his command all the valuable presents from Palmyra were cast into the Euphrates.

This arrogance of Shâpûr turned Odenathus into a deadly enemy; and when the Persian army, encumbered with its spoils and captives, was making its slow retreat to the Euphrates, he hovered about with a body of Syrians and Arabs and harassed it, cutting off the stragglers and capturing much of its spoils, besides a number of women of the royal household.

Gallienus acknowledged this bold chieftain as his colleague, and entrusted him with the government of the East, conferring upon him the title of Augustus. Odenathus himself assumed upon his coins the title of King of Kings.

In 263 Odenathus once more took up arms against the Persians, and captured Carrhae and Nisibis. But his design to lay siege to Ctesiphon was frustrated and in several engagements he received defeat. He was forced to retreat, but he retained possession of Mesopotamia, which remained a part of the kingdom of Palmyra, until it was captured in 273 by Aurelius from the famous widow and successor of Odenathus, the valiant and beautiful Zenobia, who had boldly assumed the title of Queen of the East and bade defiance to Rome.

According to Firdausi, Shâpûr built a city for his Roman captives on a great highway in Khûzistân (Susiana).

His reign lasted for a period of thirty years and two months (A.D. 240 to 271, or 241 to 272). He was succeeded by his son Hormazd. In his testamentary counsel to the latter he advised

him ever to rule with justice and keep in mind the monitions of Ardeshir as he himself had done.

Besides being one of the greatest warrior-kings Iran has produced, Shâpûr ranks as one of the greatest builders of the day. He built a new capital and gave it his own name. In its ruins that crown the height can still be traced the extensiveness and imposing grandeur of that once imperial city and its citadel. They contain a number of remarkable bas-reliefs and rock-inscriptions. Besides these, there exist many fine memorials set up by him at Hâjiâbâd, Naksh-i-Rajab and Naksh-i-Rûstam, near Persepolis, at Dârâbgerd in south-eastern Persia, and elsewhere.

Among the tombs of the Achaemenides at Naksh-i-Rûstam there are a number of rock carvings, in one of which Valerian is shown as kneeling before Shâpûr and suing his grace. At Dârâbgerd a large tablet exhibits Shâpûr on horseback in the act of presenting Cyriades to the Roman troops as their emperor, Cyriades himself raising his right hand and taking an oath of fidelity to his Persian suzerain. Mr. Paruck observes (*P. S. C.*, 81) that few, if any, events in history have produced a greater effect than the capture of an emperor of Rome by the monarch of a young dynasty.

There exists in the ruined city of Shâpûr a colossal statue of this king on the right hand bank of the river, but far high up, at the entrance to an enormous cave in the face of the cliff. It lies now broken and defaced beside the huge pedestal on which it stood. The pedestal is ten feet in diameter and five feet high. The sandalled feet that once stood upon it are thirty-nine inches in length. The full height of the statue must have been some twenty feet. (*B. B. T. P.*, 86-7.)

In a bi-lingual inscription at Hâjiâbâd Shâpûr records a feat of bowmanship performed by himself in the presence of the nobles of his court.*

In a tri-lingual inscription at Naksh-i-Rajab the Sāsānian

* In one place Huart attributes this feat of bowmanship to Shâpûr I, but in another place he says that the exhibition of bowmanship was probably by Behrām II (*A D.* 276-293).

Pahlavi text* runs as follows:—*Patkali zaneh Mazdayasn bagi Shâhpâhri malkân malkâ Airân ve Anirân minochitri min yastân bareh Mazdayasn bagi Artakhsatr malkân malkâ Airân, minochitri min yastân nâpi bagi Pâpaki malkâ* ("This is the image of the Mazdâ-worshipping Divinity Shâpûr, King of Kings of Iran and non-Iran, of spiritual origin from the sacred beings, son of the Mazdâ-worshipping Divinity Ardeshir, King of the Kings of Iran, of spiritual origin from the sacred beings, grandson of the Divinity Pâpak, the King"). Count Gobineau (G. M. R. C., 19) gives the explanation that Yezd, and its various forms, (which occur very frequently in the formulæ which are found on coins as well as on engraved stones) are ascribed to divine origin, but in the ancient dialects it expressed a superiority of nature, which was attributed to kings and men of noble race, as well as to celestial beings themselves.

In Shâpûr's bi-lingual inscription at Hâjîâbâd he has the same titles as in the Naksh-i-Rajab inscription. (P. S. C., 83.)

Since Shâpûr calls himself lord both of Iran and non-Iran, Rawlinson concludes that he probably held some Scythic tribes under his sway, probably in Segestân or Sistân, south and east of the lake Hamûn. Without entering into details, Herzfeld says, that there are a few coins probably issued by Shâpûr I as governor of Khûrâsân, with the simple legend Shâhpûr in Kûshân script and language and there are a good number of coins belonging to Behrâm I and II; hence we learn that during the whole of the third century all the heirs to the throne occupied the position of 'Great Kûshânshâh' before their accession to the throne, and this explains perfectly the adoption of the title Shâhânshâh-i-Erân ut anérân by the Sasanian kings, from Shâpûr I onwards. (J. K. O. I., No. 7, 111.)

Arab historians give him the surname of Al-Janûd ("Of the armies"). Still in military talents he was not equal to his

* Herzfeld's (H. P., 86) transcription of this inscription is as under:—

1. pathari EN Mazdân bage š (â) hpahre šâhân
2. Šâh érân UT anérân KE šitre AZ yazdân
3. PUS mazdân bage artayšatr Šâhân Šâh
4. érân KE šitre AZ yastân nâpe bage pâpake
5. ŠAH

distinguished father and predecessor. In administrative ability he compares favourably with any other prince of his line. He was a patron of art and encouraged talent. Besides the public works already mentioned, he constructed the great bridge of Dizful, which has 22 arches and is 450 paces long.

His features were not handsome and he was distinguished for great personal courage and munificence. According to Tabari and Mirkhond he only desired wealth that he might use it for good and great purposes. In the *Shāh-nāme* we find him telling the people that he had every happiness, his treasury was full, and whilst he wanted nothing for himself, he would take from the agriculturists no more than one-thirtieth share of their income for paying his troops.

It is mentioned in the fourth book of the *Dinkard* that Shāpūr had caused books on philosophy, hygiene, geography, astronomy, astrology, the abstract philosophy of the original creation, and other subjects to be prepared in the Pahlavi language from the ancient Persian writings and from Indian, Greek and Roman books, and kept one copy of each in the royal archives.

He was as ardent a Zoroastrian as Ardeshir. There was no greater religious ferment in the East than during his reign. Zoroastrianism was revived, Christianity was making rapid progress, Judaism was taking a new form, and Māni was endeavouring to inculcate a new creed.

Māni, son of one Pāték, was born in Babylon in A.D. 215-216 and received good education at Ctesiphon.* He was at first inclined to Christianity, and is said to have received holy orders and to have ministered to a congregation. But when he put forward his pretensions that he was the Paraclete or Comforter promised by Christ and that the gospel, called the *Ertung*, which he had composed and illustrated by pictures drawn by himself, should supersede the New Testament, he was expelled from the church.

The Manichaeans were not permitted to injure any living

* See M. Cumont's account, in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* of March and June of 1933, of certain Manichaean books recently discovered in the Fayoum district of Egypt, and referred to in Dr. J. M. Unvala's article at pp. 46-47 of K. I. H. of 1st Oct. 1933.

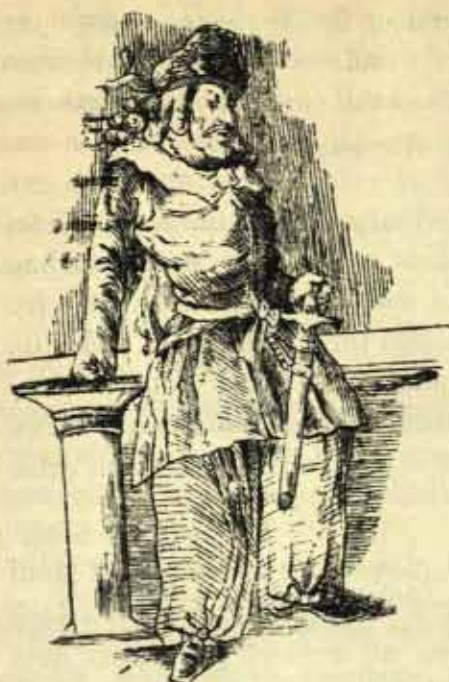
thing, whether animal or vegetable, for the sake of obtaining food. The Manichæan church made a distinction between the 'elect' or 'perfect', who practised the most extreme asceticism, and the 'hearers' (*auditores*) or 'catechumens', who were bound only to avoid idolatry and witchcraft, to lead virtuous, straightforward lives, and, above all, not to take life in any form. Mâni taught that everything was evil in an evil world, and he consequently denounced marriage and the propagation of the human race. The doctrine relating to the hereafter formed the central point to which his religious and ethical teachings gravitated and in which they culminated with the promised reward for the sanctified.

Besides the doctrines of Christianity, Mâni had made a deep study of the Zoroastrian and Levitical tenets, and was familiar with the philosophical system of Sakya Mûni; and he promulgated a synthetic creed combining the essential truths of all these faiths. Shâpûr was at first inclined to favour Mâni, but when he came to understand what his teaching really was, he rejected it and proscribed Mâni, who betook himself to another country.

The following are among the maxims of Shâpûr I which Mirkhond has recorded. "The conversation of a wise man is wealth, but the words of a fool are a loss to the hearer." "There is no innocence except by the grace of God, no meekness except by his support, and no decision except by consultation."

III. HORMAZD I.

Hormazd, the son of Shâpûr, by the daughter of Mehrak Nûshzâd, ascended the throne in A.D. 272 or 273. When he was governor of Khûrâsân, to which post Shâpûr had appointed him, he is said to have subdued the kings of the adjoining countries and there gained the surname of *al-batal*, *al-jari* ('the hero'). (H. P., 45.) During his reign, which lasted a little over a year, Mâni returned to Persia after long journeys during the course of which he visited Kâshmir, Tibet, Turkestan and China. The king received him with favour and allowed him to propagate his doctrines. Mâni succeeded in spreading his doctrines among the Christians of Mesopotamia, and in founding the sect of



Hormazd I.

Manichaeans, who for centuries gave considerable trouble to the Christian church.

The saying, now a commonplace, "Walls have ears," was first expressed by king Hormazd in his inaugural address to the nobles and chiefs of his land. The following is a saying of the same king :—"A man not possessing these five qualities is unworthy to be a sovereign, namely : (1) He must have foresight enough to perceive the sequels of affairs in the beginning ; (2) he must be cautious enough to abstain from all improper acts ; (3) he

must be confident of his own powers and bravery as not to be disconcerted in any emergency ; (4) he must strictly fulfil whatever he promises ; (5) he must be strong-minded enough not to be influenced by any superstitions or rumours." (M. R. S. R., Pt. I, Vol. II, 335.)

Hormazd combined the two important festivals of Nauroz (or, New Year's Day, the day Hormazd of the month Farvardin) and Khordād-sāl (the festival of Khordād on the sixth day of the same month), ordering that the intermediate days should also be holidays, and he commanded that great fires should be so built on high places, regarding this practice as being of good omen. Huart (H. A. P. C., 189), who gives this information, mentions that a rationalist explanation adds that it was also to purify the air.

The great Zoroastrian Head Priest, Ādarbād Māhrespand, flourished in the time of this king. By his miracles and his religious explanations he brought over the several non-Zoroastrian nations of Persia to the Zoroastrian religion and firmly established their faith in it. He wrote several works in Pahlavi and composed

many prayers in Pahlavi and Pāzend, a number of which are extant. (P. S. G. A., XVIII.)

IV. VRAHRAN (BEHRĀM I).

Hormazd was succeeded by Vrahran or Behrām (Av. Vêrê-thraghna), who, according to Firdausi, was his son, and, according to Abû Obeidah, his brother. He was the most skilled veterinary surgeon of his time. His reign lasted three years (A.D. 272-276). He put Mâni to death, great numbers of whose followers were massacred by the Magians. Mâni's body stuffed with straw was exposed on one of the gates of Jund-i-Shâpûr, which came to be called the Mâni Gate.

Birûni, Yâ'qûbi and Tabari place the assassination of Mâni during the reign of Behrām I; and this is confirmed by a book of historical character, containing an account of the last days of Mâni, recently discovered, along with certain other Manichæan literature, in the district of Fayoum in Egypt, and described by M. Cumont in the "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions" of March and June 1933. In a paper on the "Religious Influence of Persia" read by him before the Persia Society, London, on 20th May 1914, Prof. Browne mentioned that the Manichæans would never have suffered the pitiless prosecutions to which they were repeatedly exposed had it not been that their Malthusianism was regarded as a danger to society, and, indeed to the continuance of the human race. When King Behrām gave orders for Mâni to be put to death, his words were significant in this respect. "This man," said he, "has come forward calling people to destroy the world. It is necessary to begin by destroying him, before anything of his plans shall be realised."

Firdausi places the event in the reign of Shâpûr II. According to his narration, Mâni proclaimed himself a prophet and the greatest of the world's evangelists and adduced the excellence of his paintings as proof of his mission. He spoke with such effusive fervour that Shâpûr was filled with misgivings and calling an assembly of *mobeds* addressed them thus:—
"This eloquent man of Chin has plunged me into doubts about

his religion. Hold discourse with him. Perhaps his arguments might incline you to his Faith." At the convocation the words and arguments of the Head Priest nonplussed the pretender and he was confused. The king ordered Māni to be dragged from the court and his skin to be flayed and stuffed with hay and hung upon the city-gate so that no one else might make like pretensions.

Rawlinson (R. S. O. M., 103-4) points out that in this case, as in other similar ones, there is no sufficient evidence that the process of flaying took place until the culprit was dead, the real object of the excoriation being, not the infliction of pain, but the preservation of a memorial which could be used as a warning and a terror to others.

It is stated in the Dinkard that through the counteractive coming of Sraosha the Pious, the sovereign was filled with hatred towards Māni which sovereign was a protector of those with good living, not with evil living and a hater of the wicked. From this we can see that the arrival of the blessed Sraosha (*srōš-ahrāē*), personifying the priestly class, was timely, and was successful in combating the heresy. (A. V. Williams Jackson's article "Allusion to Māni in Dēnkart", M. M. V., 35-36.)

A. Upham Pope (P. I. P. A., 100) mentions that when Māni's books on which he had levied excessive pains were judged heretical and cast into the flames, rivulets of gold, according to the contemporaneous records, streamed from the fire, the pathetic residue of the gorgeous bindings.

Though killed in Persia, the land of its birth, Manichaeism lived for about a thousand years in Central Asia.

Benjamin (B. P., 188) tells us to remember that Māni was not only the founder of a great religious sect, but was one to whom Persia owes a great debt for the vast impulse he gave to the progress of arts in that country when he returned from China. He says that this impulse, given at a period when the government was ready to encourage its growth, was incalculable, and may be said to be felt even to the present day, and that we know that soon after occurred a great revival in the decorative arts of embroidery

in Persia and that carpets of wool, of great beauty of design and exquisite texture, were made in that country, which has ever since that period been famous for its textile fabrics and fine needlework. Shâpûr I as a patron of art aided the impulse given to it by Mâni by importing artists from Greece and Byzantium.

Aurelian, emperor of Rome, whose talents were better suited to the command of an army than to the government of an empire, declared war on Persia without any fresh ground of complaint (A.D. 274). Evidently his object was to keep the restless legions engaged in a foreign war and at the same time retrieve the glory of Rome which had been tarnished by the defeat and capture of her emperor Valerian. But his project was suddenly frustrated by his assassination, during a march between Heraclea and Byzantium, by the hand of a trusted general of his, Mucapor, the outcome of a conspiracy fomented by one of his secretaries.

V. VRAHRAN II.

King Vrahran I was succeeded by his son Vrahran II, who,



Behrâm Gûr and his Queen holding the Halka-e-Mauhada (the Ring of Alliance)
(carving at Naksh-i-Rûstam).

according to Firdausi, ruled for nineteen years, according to Agathias and Mirkhond for seventeen years, and according to Tabari for no more than four. At first his rule was so tyrannical that the disgusted Persian nobles wanted to compass his death,

But the Head Priest interposed, the king recognized his wrong conduct, and for the remainder of his reign he ruled with such wisdom and moderation as to win for him the affection of his people. Masoudi mentions that he abandoned himself to pleasure and idleness and spent his time in hunting and other amusements; and Rawlinson (R. S. O. M., 108) assumes it as a sign of his soft and pleasure-loving temperament that he alone of the Sāsānide princes places the effigy of his wife upon his coins, and that the emplacement implies association in the kingdom. We find the queen's features beautiful, dignified and intellectual, and we may surmise that the king displayed her portrait on his coins alongside his own out of devoted love and regard for her abilities. His subjection of the inhabitants of Segestān, a most warlike people of Scythian origin, attests that he was not devoid of courage and military ability. He nominated his son as Sakānshāh or Viceroy of Segestān or Sakastān.

Regarding the conquest of Segestān, Herzfeld (H. P., 43) says that in spite of the rivalry of the Kūshāns, not only the suzerainty of the Saka Empire over the territory reaching from Sistān as far as to the mouth of Indus and to Bombay and Rajpūtānā, had been maintained until A.D. 284, but it had passed over to the Sāsānian viceroy of Sakastān (afterwards Vrahran III), all the easier, since the power of the Kūshāns themselves had previously been destroyed or seriously weakened by Ardeshir and Hormazd I. According to this authority, after the conquests of Vrahran II in A.D. 284, the Sāsānian Empire actually comprised the following possessions in the East, namely, Gurgān and the whole of Khūrāsān, in its restricted sense (that is, the small district of the modern province of Sistān), perhaps including Khwārizm and Soghd, Sakastān in its widest limits, including Makrān and Turan, the lands at the middle course of the Indus and its mouths, Kachh, Kāthiāwār, Mālwa and the adjoining hinterland of these countries. The only exception was the Cabūl valley and the Punjāb which continued to remain in the possession of the Later Kūshāns. Hence, in the East, the Sāsānian Empire during the 3rd century A.D., all but equalled the extent of the Achaemenian Empire, surpassing even the limits of that Empire in various directions.

At the time when the bulk of the Persian army was detained

on the frontiers of India and Persia, and Persia was distracted by the rebellion of the king's brother Hormazd, the Roman Emperor M. Aur. Carus recommenced hostilities with Persia and crossed the Euphrates (A.D. 283). He was a veteran general, sixty years of age, and a scholar.

Vrahran opened negotiations for peace, which however failed. The enemy rapidly overran Mesopotamia, recovered it, ravaged the entire tract between the rivers as far south as the latitude of Baghdad and seized Seleucia and Ctesiphon without finding serious resistance.

The sudden death of Carus, under circumstances which frightened and unnerved the superstitious Roman soldiers, put a stop to the further progress of the Roman arms. The terrified soldiers demanded Numerian, who had accompanied his father Carus to Persia and who and his brother Carinus had been elected by the senate as joint emperors on the death of Carus, to lead them away from the inauspicious scene of war.

It has been related before that when king Ardeshir seized Armenia from king Chosroes and annexed it to his own dominions, the Armenian satraps fled and took shelter in Roman territory. Chosroes' infant son Tiridates was saved by the fidelity of his friends and brought up under the protection of the emperors of Rome. This Arsacide prince had distinguished himself in every martial exercise and by the display of matchless strength and valour. In A.D. 286 Emperor Diocletian took up the prince's cause and seated him on the throne of Armenia, which so long had remained under Persian subjection. The Armenians were in great elation at having once more an Arsacid king and received Tiridates with joy and acclamations.

Tiridates routed two Persian armies which were sent against him and freed the towns and fortresses from Persian garrisons. He carried his excursions even into the heart of Assyria and made annual raids on the north-western provinces of the Persian empire. The exploits of this warrior prince as narrated by Armenian historians are reminiscent of the prowess and adventures of the Iranian *pehlwâns* of the Heroic Age.

VI. VRAHRAN III.

On the death of Vrahran II, which occurred in 292 or 293, the throne was occupied by his son Vrahran III, the Bahrām Bahrāmyān of Firdausi. He was of a weakly constitution, and his rule, according to Masoudi and Firdausi, lasted for the short period of four months. Tabari gives him a reign of four years. The monument at Paikuli, which has been mentioned before (p. 310 *supra*), bears a long inscription written by the order of his successor Narsi, the subject of which is the war between him and Narsi, which led to the supersession of the former by the latter.

VII. NARSI.

Narsi, Narsih or Narses (293-303) now came to the throne. His relationship to the last king is doubtful. Firdausi calls him his son, Tabari and Masoudi say that he was the son of Vrahran I, and Mirkhond makes him the son of Vrahran II. In an inscription of eleven lines on the rocks of the city of Shâpûr the king calls himself the son of Shâpûr and grandson of Ardeshir. According to Herzfeld he was the third son of Shâpûr I. (J. K. O. I., No. 7, 104.)

On the solitary authority of a Latin writer, Gibbon mentions that Narsi's brother Ormuz (Hormisdas) disputed with him the right to the throne and summoned the hordes of northern barbarians to his aid. But he was worsted in his attempt, and Narsi found himself so firmly seated on the throne that he now turned his arms against Tiridates, King of Armenia, thus throwing out a challenge to Rome, whose vassal and protege he was. The heroism of Tiridates availed not against the power and resources of the Persian king, and he was obliged to abandon his kingdom to him and take refuge once more at the Roman court.

Persia's reconquest of Armenia was cause enough for Emperor Diocletian to declare war (A.D. 296). Taking up his station at Antioch, he directed the military operations from there. His son-in-law and colleague in the government, Galerius, engaged the Persians in three great battles. The first two were indecisive, but in the third the Persians won a complete victory. Galerius and Tiridates both escaped, but there was a great slaughter of the

soldiers. This victory was achieved on that very battlefield in Mesopotamia where the Parthian Surena had administered a signal defeat to the Roman general Crassus many years before.

In the following year Galerius resumed the campaign with a picked force of twenty-five thousand veteran soldiers, including a body of Gothic auxiliaries. By rapid movements he took the Persian army by surprise which elated by success had become negligent and remiss. A great massacre ensued, and Narsi, who commanded in person, received a wound, but was able to effect his escape to Media. Several of his wives, sisters and children and his military chest and much other valuable booty became the prize of Galerius, and many illustrious Persian nobles were made captives.

Narsi set himself to levy another army, but at the same time sent Apharban as ambassador to Galerius to sue for peace and the restoration of his family. Galerius dismissed the ambassador with the reply that Narsi would soon receive a Roman envoy authorised to communicate to him the conditions on which he might obtain from the clemency of the emperors a lasting peace and the restoration of his family.

The two emperors Diocletian and Galerius held a conference at Nisibis, and sent Sicutrius Probus, one of the secretaries of state, with a train of attendants into Media, where the king had made his headquarters, to acquaint him with their final resolution. The five conditions on which the emperors were prepared to conclude peace were:—(i) the cession to Rome of five provinces beyond the Tigris, the most important of which was Cordyene, (ii) the Tigris to be the boundary of the two powers, (iii) the boundary of Armenia to be extended to the fortress of Zintha lying on the frontier of Media, (iv) Persia to relinquish to Rome her protectorate over Iberia (the modern Georgia), whose kings should owe the insignia of their kingship to the Romans, (v) the city of Nisibis to be alone the place for the exchange of trade between the two empires.

Narsi accepted the first four conditions, but refused consent to the fifth and insisted on commerce being made to flow in its natural channels. The envoy withdrew this condition, and a solemn peace was concluded between Rome and Persia (A.D. 297).

As to this treaty, the conditions whereof were so glorious to

Rome and so necessary to Persia, Gibbon remarks that the history of Rome presents very few transactions of a similar nature, most of her wars having either been terminated by absolute conquest, or waged against barbarians ignorant of the use of letters. The Roman frontier was pushed from the Euphrates to the Tigris. Diocletian made Mithraism the state religion, and adopted the procedure of the Persian court.

Four years after this treaty, Narsi retired into private life and abdicated the throne in favour of his son Hormazd (Hormisdas II). For his devotion to the chase, Narsi was given the cognomen of Nakhjirkan or Hunter of wild beasts. On his coins his head-dress is found adorned with horns, either of the ibex or the stag, an ornamentation adopted by no other Sāsānian monarch. Curiously enough, four years later his antagonist Diocletian also put off the imperial purple and passed the last nine years of his life in a private condition.

VIII. HORMAZD II.

The reign of Hormazd II (303 to 310) was a most uneventful one. He engaged in no wars and minded the welfare and prosperity of his subjects. He repaired or rebuilt dilapidated homesteads and cottages, and no town or village was suffered to remain in ruins. In Susiana some new towns were constructed. In his inaugural address on the occasion of his coronation he had expressed a hope that justice might ever fill his heart and his subjects' hearts might rejoice, and, accordingly, one of his most noteworthy acts was the establishment of a new Court of Justice, expressly for the hearing of causes where complaints were made by the poor of wrongs done to them by the rich. To increase the authority of this court and to secure its impartiality, the king often presided over it himself.

The gold coins struck by Hormazd on the occasion of his marriage to the daughter of the Kūshān monarch of Cābūl bear the legend *Mazdayasn bagi Ahūrmazdi rabā Kūshān malkān malkā* ("Mazdā-worshipping divinity Hormazd, the great king of kings of the Kūshāns"). A small copper coin of his also bears the legend *Ahūrmazdi rabā rabān Kūshān malkā* ("Hormazd, the great king of the Kūshāns"). On the reverse of one coin

the Indian Siva and his Bull are portrayed, and on another an Indian altar is observed. (P. S. C., 89, 90.)

IX. ĀZAR NARSI.

Hormazd II was succeeded by his son Āzar Narsi, but after a reign of only a few weeks the nobles deposed and slew him, probably for his cruelty, and also threw another son Hormazd into prison, and blinded a third son.*

Firdausi says that the people mourned for Hormazd II for forty days, regardless of the throne which for a while remained unoccupied. Meanwhile an archimage surveyed the royal seraglio and found that one of the king's wives, a most beautiful lady, was with child. There was a great rejoicing among the people. The archimage brought her with joy and set her on the lofty royal throne. The nobles ceremoniously suspended the gold crown over her head and showered down coins on it. In due course she gave birth to a son who was resplendent like the sun. The Head Priest named him Shâpûr.

X. SHÂPÛR II.

The reign of this monarch, the date of whose accession had preceded that of birth, was as glorious as it was long (310 to 379).

When he was forty days old, the chiefs and nobles set him upon his father's throne beneath the golden crown, and making due homage showered gems upon him. A wise, apt and potent Mûbad (priest) of the name of Shêhrûyé ("Kingly-faced") undertook the duties of minister. He administered the realm with wisdom and justice and collected troops and treasure.

Oriental writers record an interesting instance of the wisdom of this precocious prince. When he was five years old, he was sitting one evening in his capital Ctesiphon attended by his priestly minister. A din rose at the way over the river Arvand (Tigris). He asked the minister, "Is this the din of their greetings?" The latter replied, "Illustrious and valiant sovereign! the merchants

* Benjamin (B. P., 191) finds it singular that there is no clear record of the entire period that elapsed between the death of Shâpûr I and the reign of Shâpûr II. For example, we may infer, but have no precise proof, that Hormazd II had a son who incurred the resentment of the nobles and was by them imprisoned on the death of his father and deprived of his succession.

and workmen are returning home from their shops. The bridge being narrow, they fear to jostle as they pass each other, and so crow like cocks at drum-beat."* The boy king said, "O sapient sages and counsellors! there should, then, be two bridges, one to go, the other to return, so that our subjects, both soldiers and civilians, may cross at ease. Let ample funds be drawn from our treasury." Accordingly, a second bridge was constructed forthwith. Tabari relates that the second bridge was constructed on the same day as that on which the command for its erection was given. (W. S., Vol. VI, 321.)

Shāpūr in his early years rapidly picked up the etiquette of courts, trained himself in all manly exercises, made himself proficient in the art of war and in the game of polo.

During his minority, Persia was subjected to severe trials. The neighbouring tribes, Arabs, Rumans, Turks and others, especially the tribe of Abdulqais, continually raided and plundered the country. Tāir or Thair, whom some writers describe as the king of Yemen and others as a Mesopotamian Sheikh, bringing together a large force surprised and plundered Ctesiphon, and carried away Nusha, an aunt of the king, as prize. Tāir had to rue the day of his audacious adventure, for woeful was the fate eventually meted out to him by Shāpūr.

At the early age of sixteen, Shāpūr took the reins of government into his own hands, as well as the personal command of the army. From the first, success crowned his efforts. First of all he rid the country of all marauding bands and secured the internal safety of his dominions. Two years later he took the offensive against the presumptuous Aiyāniān Arab chief Tāir. With twelve thousand picked soldiers he attacked and routed the Arabs, and beleaguered the fortress where Tāir had fled and sheltered himself. Malika, Tāir's daughter, had seen Shāpūr from her castle walls and fallen in love with him at first sight. She contrived to put herself in secret communication with Shāpūr, and one night she plotted with her father's wine-server to ply him and his chief warriors with highly intoxicating liquor

* From old times it was the custom in Persia to beat drums at the gates of the royal palace, at sunrise and sunset as emblem of sovereign power.

and make them dead drunk. When one watch of the night had passed, she got her slaves to undo the castle-gate. Shâpûr rushed in with his men, made Tâir captive, and carried on a massacre of the Arabs. In the morning the Arab chief was decapitated by the executioner.

Gibbon, following an apocryphal tale related by D'Herbelot, mentions that Shâpûr used his victory with so judicious a mixture of rigour and clemency, that he obtained from the fears and gratitude of the Arabs the title of Doulacnaf, or protector of the nation. But Mirkhond, Firdausi and other writers relate that his real epithet was Dhoulactâf of Zoulactâf (Lord of the Shoulders), from his practice of dislocating the shoulders of the Arab pirates of his maritime border or removing their shoulder-blades or stringing the men together in couples by boring their shoulders and passing a rope through them. Warner's theory is that originally the title may have been one of honour only, "the broad-shouldered," like *Dirâzdast*, "the long-handed." Hamzâ of Isfahân states in his Annals that Shâpûr, who was called Dhû'l-aktâf by the Arabs, was named by the Persians Hûya Sunbâ (هویا سنبه) from *hûya* 'shoulders' and *sunbâ* 'perforated'. (H. H. P. N., 64-5.)

Having tested his strength in the war with the Arabs, Shâpûr, with his nascent military genius and bold disposition, could not fail to conceive the ambitious and honourable design of challenging Rome and wresting back from her the provinces which forty years before Narsi had been compelled to surrender to Diocletian and Galerius. Moreover, the interference in Persian affairs of Emperor Constantine, who had embraced Christianity, and his tactless assumption of a protecting interest in the Christian subjects of the Persian king furnished another aggravating cause for renewal of hostility.*

In A.D. 323 or 324 Licinius, the Emperor who ruled in the Balkan Peninsula, was defeated and slain and Byzantium was

* Sir Percy Sykes (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 412) quotes the following passage (given by Eusebius) from a letter written by Constantine to Shâpûr:—"You can imagine then how delighted I am to hear that Persia, too, in some of its best regions, is adorned and illustrated by this class of men, on whose behalf I write to you—I mean the Christians—a thing most agreeable to my wishes."

taken by Constantine, the Emperor of the West, who now became the sole ruler of the Roman empire. For a long number of years Rome had been a most inconvenient residence for the emperors. It was a bad position from which to direct the defence of the Danubian frontier. Constantine appraised the value of Byzantium as a rival metropolis to Rome. It was more conveniently placed to be the administrative and military centre for the empire. It stood on the border of Asia and Europe, and commanded the entrance to two seas, the Black and Mediterranean. A plan for its development was drawn out and on 11th May 330 a festival was held to celebrate its dedication and consecration. By an imperial edict the title of New Rome was given to it, but from the first it became known as Constantinopolis after the name of its imperial founder.

It is related in the *Shāh-nāmah* that before commencing open hostility with the Romans, Shāpūr wanted to visit Rūm secretly and find out for himself the state of the Cæsar's army and treasury and his personal puissance. He arrived in Rūm (*i.e.* Constantinople) with ten caravans of camels loading thirty camels with gold coins and the rest with brocade and jewels. He asked for and was granted audience by the emperor. There was at this time an evil dispositioned Persian refugee in the imperial court, who recognized Shāpūr and denounced him to the emperor. The emperor ordered Shāpūr to be seized, sewn up in an ass's hide and incarcerated in a dark cell, where he was to be given bread and water "lest his soul pass too soon".

Dr. Merivale, in narrating the events from A.D. 29 to 37 (M. H. R. E., ch. XLVI, Vol. V) mentions that on the subject of death by starvation the Romans seem to have had a peculiar feeling which we can hardly understand, that more particularly we may observe in the imperial murders which have been recorded that the victim was often left to die of mere want, and untouched by the sword, and that a superstitious notion may have been current that death by famine was a kind of divine infliction, as it might seem like simply leaving nature to take its appointed course.

Warner (W. S., Vol. VI, 324) identifies the denouncer of Shāpūr as the Persian prince Hormazd who was imprisoned by

the nobles after the death of his father Hormazd, son of Narsi, but had afterwards escaped and fled to the court of Constantine (A.D. 323).

After a long captivity Shâpûr effected his escape with the aid of a damsel of Iranian descent in the service of the Cæsar's wife.

Constantine died in the summer of 337 and his vast empire was portioned out among his three sons, Constantine, Constantius and Constans, each of whom assumed the title of Augustus. Constantius, a raw youth of twenty, got the government of the Roman princes of the East, Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Shâpûr had recovered from Chosroes II, king of Armenia, the portion of Media Atropatene, which had been ceded under condition (iii) of the treaty between Narsi and the Romans, and imposed an annual tribute. His principal aim now was to recover Mesopotamia and push back the Romans from the Tigris to the Euphrates. The strongly fortified town of Nisibis, which was the key of the Roman position in the East, was invested, but Shâpûr was baffled and forced to raise the siege after sixty-three days' operations.

The war lingered for several years. Nine bloody engagements were fought, in two of which Constantius commanded in person. The Persians were constantly successful and the fame of Shâpûr's valour and military skill rang throughout the world. Yet up to the close of A.D. 340 he had effected no permanent gain and struck no decisive blow. The reason given is that the Persians, like their Parthian predecessors, were not skilful in the conduct of sieges, and so, while their bravery in the open field was indubitable, their attacks on the numerous fortified posts which the Romans had set up in these regions mostly failed.

In A.D. 341, Shâpûr won over Armenia to his side by consenting to the conferment of its throne on Arsaces, son of King Tiranus of Armenia, who was a captive in Persia, and bound that prince to his cause by oaths.

Five years later he assailed Nisibis for the second time, but after seventy-eight days' futile operations he was obliged to retreat.

In 348 he crossed the Tigris and invaded Central Mesopotamia. Constantius had posted his army on the Sanjar hills, contiguous to the town of Singara. The battle commenced at midday. The advantage lay with the Romans, and their victory seemed assured. But when darkness approached, Shâpûr took the opportunity for which he had planned. With his light troops, which had remained securely posted on the hills, and were fresh, he advanced in silence and surrounded the Roman camp. The Persian archers rained down arrows on the Roman legionaries, who perished where they stood. The Romans disgraced themselves by an atrocious act of revenge. Shâpûr's son and heir apparent had fallen into their hands in the course of the day. This unhappy youth, who as Gibbon says, might have excited the compassion of the most savage enemy, was beaten with whips, tortured and killed with a hundred blows by the inhuman Romans.

In 350 Shâpûr for the third time marched against Nisibis with an army which was strengthened by a body of Indian allies. Count Lucilianus put up a stubborn defence, and Bishop St. James kept up the enthusiasm of the soldiers to the highest pitch by his exhortations. The Persians lost upwards of 20,000 men in this siege, but if Shâpûr had persevered, the town might have eventually fallen or the people might have been starved to submission, a fate from which they were saved by a fortunate circumstance. The king had received alarming news that the powerful tribe of the Massagetæ had made an invasion on his eastern provinces, in consequence of which he was obliged to abandon the operations against Nisibis and march with all diligence to the banks of the Oxus in order to repel the invading hordes.

On his part, Emperor Constantius was also obliged to leave the East and hasten back to Europe, owing to the outbreak of a civil war. After the termination of this war, he was engaged for a considerable period in conducting campaigns against the turbulent barbarians beyond the Danube who were distressing the Illyrian frontiers.

Whilst Shâpûr was thus engaged in defending his frontiers

in the far East and Constantius was occupied in Europe, a tacit truce existed between Persia and Rome for a period of well nigh eight years (350 to 358). Two of the principal Roman officials in the East, the Prætorian prefect Musonian and Cassian, Duke of Mesopotamia, conceiving that the time was favourable for converting the precarious truce into a stable peace, made certain overtures of peace through Tamsapor, the Persian satrap of Adiabene. These overtures, as well as the negotiations conducted by Constantius by means of three envoys, Prosper, a count, Spectatus, a tribune and notary, and Eustathius, a Cappadocian sophist and orator, sent by him to the court of Otesiphon, failed. Antoninus, an important Roman officer of Syria, who, to escape from the claims of pretended creditors, had taken refuge in the Persian court and was received into favour by Shâpûr and even admitted to his table, used every art to frustrate the negotiations and pressed the king, who had succeeded in bringing the enemies on his frontiers to terms and secured them as allies, to seize this favourable opportunity whilst the Roman emperor was embroiled in the Danubian regions to overrun and wrest from Rome her Eastern provinces.

By a bridge of boats thrown over the Tigris Shâpûr crossed the river, accompanied by his allies, the king of the Chionites (Huns) and the king of the Albanians, with their respective troops.

In an important battle near Amida (the modern Diarbekr) the Persians defeated the Romans, and also stormed two castles which were among the defences of that town. Shâpûr had hoped to carry the place by assault, but failing in this he laid a regular siege. After seventy-three days a large breach was effected by the battering-ram, and the besiegers forcing their way in put the garrison and such inhabitants as had not time to escape to the sword. During the course of this siege Shâpûr had lost thirty thousand of his best troops, among the slain being a beautiful and valiant youth, the only son of his ally Grumbates, king of the Chionites (A.D. 359).

In his next year's campaign, Shâpûr captured the fortified town of Singara, which was situate on the verge of the desert

and was valued by Rome as an outpost from which the enemy might be watched. He then assailed the strongly fortified and well garrisoned town of Bezabde or Phœnica, which was the principal place in the province of Zabdicene, one of the five provinces which Narses was compelled to cede to Rome. He dismantled the fortifications of Singara, but regarding the important situation of Bezabde he carefully restored its defences and garrisoned it with some of his best veterans and filled it with abundant provisions. Many other forts fell to his victorious arms, but towards the close of the year he suffered a check in his attack upon the impregnable fort of Virta, which was on the most distant border of Mesopotamia.

After subduing or pacifying the Danubian barbarians, Emperor Constantius proceeded to Asia to check the progress of Shâpûr. At Edessa he assembled troops and collected stores, and then marched to Bezabde, to which he laid siege. He employed the most powerful engines to shatter its walls, and the town was reduced to the last extremity. But the gallant Persian garrison stoutly held out and by frequent bold sallies destroyed the Roman works. At the approach of the rains, the discomfited emperor beat a retreat into Antioch.

On his way from Antioch to Constantinople, Constantius was taken ill at Mopsucrene, in Cilicia, and expired after a reign of forty years.

He was succeeded by his cousin, Julian, whom the Christians gave the hateful surname of Apostate (or deserter from the faith), a prince in the flower of his youth, who had distinguished himself in the wars with the Franks and the Alemani. He was a scholar and a philosopher and a great general. His ambitious spirit was inflamed by the glorious deeds of the heroes of the past and he desired to emulate them. Toward the end of May 362 he quitted Constantinople and proceeded to Antioch, and made mighty preparations for the invasion of Persia. Ships were collected or built, provisions were laid in, and military engines and stores made ready. Among his generals was prince Hormisdas, the elder brother of King Shâpûr, a refugee at the Roman court.

Shâpûr was averse to a renewal of hostility and sent an embassy to the Roman court at Antioch to negotiate peace. The emperor tore up the king's autograph letter and insolently said that there was no occasion for an exchange of thought between him and the king of Persia by messengers since he had determined to visit speedily the court of Persia. This haughty reply of young Julian reminds one of the boastful answer of Marcus Licinius Crassus to the peace ambassadors of Orodes, king of Parthia, and of that arrogant and greedy Roman general's woeful end.

Julian left Antioch on 5th March 363 and crossed the Khabour on 7th April. A party of his forces consisted of Arabs and some Hunnish tribes called Khazars. A few days' journey brought him to the fortress of Anathan, the residence of an Arab Emir, the people whereof showed a disposition to hinder the further progress of the Roman troops. Julian's attempt to take it by surprise by a night attack failed. But at the persuasion of Hormisdas the Persian garrison delivered the fort to the emperor and placed themselves at his mercy. Julian transported them to a settlement near Chalcis in Syria.

When Julian came up to the populous and well fortified town of Anbar or Perisabor (Fîrâz-Shâpûr), fifty miles from Ctesiphon, Hormisdas was sent to treat with the inhabitants. But he met with insults and the just reproach that unmindful of his royal birth he had turned a traitor to his country and his king. When the Roman battering engines brought down one of the corner towers, the brave defenders retreated into the citadel, which was of great height, and from there harassed the Romans, who had occupied the town, with an incessant fusillade of darts, arrows and stones. Julian caused a movable tower of vast height, known as helepolis, to be constructed which overtopped the walls. The defenders, seeing resistance now of no avail, surrendered on terms.

Julian pushed on towards Ctesiphon, which was now his objective. But owing to the impeding tactics of the Persian cavalry and their frequent dashes upon his extended line, and the country being laid under water by artificial inundations, his

progress was slow. His march was further obstructed by a strong and well garrisoned fort at a place, within about ten miles of Ctesiphon, variously mentioned as Maogamaleha, Mahoz Malpa, or Pesuchis. The Romans invested it, but were unable to effect a breach, and great damage was done to them and their siege-equipment by blazing balls of bitumen shot by the defenders from their lofty towers. So Julian hit upon the plan of digging a mine under the walls, and was able to introduce through it secretly three chosen cohorts into the heart of the city. Thus the place was taken, and a general pillage and indiscriminate slaughter followed. So barbarous was the conduct of the Romans that, as Rawlinson puts it, there was no extremity of savage warfare which was not used, the fourth century anticipating some of the horrors which have disgraced the nineteenth.* The brave commander of the fort, who had done but his duty to his master and his country in defending it to the last to the utmost of his power and had yielded on a promise of mercy, was at first spared, but soon after was burned alive on the trumped-up charge of having defended the place after promising to surrender it and the further frivolous accusation of having called Hormisdas a traitor. The fortifications were totally destroyed and not a vestige of the city was left.

The neighbourhood of Ctesiphon was adorned with royal hunting-seats, surrounded by gardens, which were adorned by symmetry of flowers, fountains and shady walks. There were also parks or 'paradises', containing lions, bears and wild boars, kept there for the pleasure of the royal chase. Julian got the park walls pulled down and delivered over the pleasures to his soldiers, who killed the wild beasts with their darts, trampled the flowers and shrubs beneath their feet, and reduced the palaces to ashes. Gibbon (G. D. F. R. E., ch. XXIV) observes that Julian, on this occasion, shewed himself ignorant, or careless, of the laws of civility, which the prudence and refinement of polished ages have established between hostile princes. Yet, at the same moment, he says that these wanton ravages need not excite in

* The reference is to the similar measures adopted by Marshal Bugeaud against the Arabs of Algeria, in the middle of the nineteenth century, which were generally reprobated. (R. S. O. M., 211.)

our breasts any vehement emotions of pity and resentment, and he takes pains to improve the occasion further with the remark that a simple naked statue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artist, is of more genuine value than all these rude and costly monuments of barbaric labour. Does not Gibbon here betray the prejudice against the Orient which lurks in the breast of even such a great Western historian as he and bursts out now and then ?

Julian reached Coché, the western suburb of Ctesiphon and the only remaining quarter of the once famous Selencia. By clearing out a cutting which one of his predecessors had made from the Nahr-Malcha, he brought his fleet into the Tigris above Coché and advancing with his army encamped upon the right bank. At dawn of day a hand to hand fight began between the Roman and Persian troops. After standing their ground for twelve hours the latter fled and took shelter within the walls of Ctesiphon.

The classical writers put the loss of the Persians in this engagement at 2500 to 6000 men, and that of the Romans at the insignificant number of 70 or 75. They assert that the Persians as they fled in wild confusion were closely pursued by the Romans upto the very foot of the walls. Why did they not pursue them still further and enter the city ? The explanation that is put forward is that they would have entered and captured the city, but fell back as they were recalled by their general Victor, who was dangerously wounded by a dart from a catapult.

Julian allowed himself to be guided by a council of war to abandon the idea of beleaguering Ctesiphon as a fruitless and pernicious undertaking and to retreat to the Roman province of Cordyene, which was not more than 250 miles distant from Ctesiphon, for fear of being attacked by a relieving army under the Great King himself.

Before the retreat was begun, another embassy came from the king to Julian with proposals of peace. But the ill-fated emperor did not accept the negotiations.

Julian in a single hour destroyed his entire fleet with the exception of the pontoon ships ; and commenced the retreat on

16th June 363, in the hottest season of the year. At dawn the retreating army was attacked by the Persian and Saracenic cavalry, but the attack was repelled and the march continued. At every turn the enemy's flying columns inflicted great loss and retarded the march. In the meantime the Persian army under the command of two sons of Shāpūr and his general Meranes approached and pressed upon the rear of the retreating army. A battle took place in a tract called Maranga. According to the Roman accounts the Persians were routed after a long and bloody struggle, but were not pursued by the Romans very far, being prevented from doing so by the weight of their arms and the fiery heat of the summer sun. Gibbon says that this action at Maranga was marked by a considerable loss of satraps and elephants, perhaps (—mark this great historian's fling at the Persian king!—) of equal value in the eyes of their monarch.

We have reason to be sceptical as to the veraciousness of the Roman accounts of these engagements. If in these conflicts Julian was invariably successful, as the Western chroniclers make out, then we are faced with the problem as to why, as was indeed the case, this learned warrior-Emperor should have lost confidence and given way to melancholy forebodings? If Firdausi's *Shāh-nāmah* is to be relied upon, Shāpūr, after his escape from Constantinople, was successful all through his campaigns against the Romans and received no reverses whatever.

As the Romans were approaching the hills, not far from Samarra, the Persians, who had secretly occupied the hills, delivered a sudden and tremendous attack (26th June 363). Both sides suffered heavily. The Romans had to mourn the loss of their brave emperor, who died in the midnight of a wound received from a Persian horseman's javelin which transpiercing his ribs had reached the liver. The losses of the Persians included two generals, Menares and Nohodares, and fifty satraps and nobles.

The valiant, learned and virtuous Emperor died in the thirty-first year of his life and after a reign of one year and eight months.

Comparing the campaign of Julian against Persia and the

invasion of Russia by Napoleon Bonaparte, Benjamin (B. P., 204) observes that the tactics of resistance employed by Shâpûr and the Russian generals possess many points of resemblance, and says that it is greatly to be regretted, for the glory of Napoleon, he did not, like Julian, close his career on the battlefield, instead of in exile on a lonely isle of the sea.

On 27th June Jovian, a Christian of the Nicene creed, who was no more than the *first* (the *primus*, or *primicerius*) of the domestics and was hitherto unknown to fame, was saluted by the army as Emperor and Augustus and invested with the purple. There was another scuffle with the Persians, who were repulsed, and Jovian with his army continued the retreat for four days more and arrived at Dura, eighteen miles north of Samarra.

Firdausi relates that Bâzânûsh (Jovian), soon after his enthronement, sent an embassy to Shâpûr to sue for peace, knowing that to strife further with the king was to court disaster. According to the Roman accounts the negotiations were started by Shâpûr, who sent the Surena with another satrap to Jovian at his camp at Dura. They intimated to the Emperor that the Great King in consequence of his clemency was not averse to signify to such envoys whom Jovian would nominate for the purpose the terms on which he would consent to spare and dismiss the Emperor with the relics of his army. Jovian accordingly appointed two high officers, the general Arinthæus and the prefect Sallust, to discuss the terms with the Persian plenipotentiaries.

The terms agreed upon were: (1) the restoration to Persia of the five provinces east of the Tigris which Narses had been compelled to yield to Rome, with fifteen fortresses; (2) the surrender of three places in Mesopotamia, Nisibis ("the bulwark of the provinces of the East"), Singara, and a fort called Castra Maurorum ("the Camp of the Moors"), which was one of the strongest places of Mesopotamia; (3) the abandonment by Rome for ever of the king and kingdom of Armenia, the Romans being precluded from lending aid against the Persians to King Arsaces III. The duration of this treaty of Dura was fixed at thirty years. One of the stipulations was that the Romans of the

ceded fortresses had liberty to withdraw and go to others under the control of their own sovereign. As regards Nisibis, Singara, and Castra Maurorum, it was further stipulated that not only the Romans but the inhabitants generally might retire, with all their movable effects, before the Persians entered into possession. Tabari mentions that in Nisibis the Romans were replaced by twelve thousand natives from Istakhr and other places. The surrender of the three places in Mesopotamia implied the surrender of the country which they commanded.

Great efforts were made to move Shāpūr to grant some concessions, but they were sternly refused. Classical writers speak of the treaty with grief or indignation. Ammianus, who shared in the expedition, exclaims that it would have been better to have fought ten battles than to have conceded a single one of this shameful terms; whilst Eutropius, who was present in a military station, admits that the peace, though disgraceful, was necessary (*necessariam quidem sed ignobilem*). Libanius, the sophist of Antioch, admires the moderation of Shāpūr in contenting himself with so small a portion of the Roman empire, and says that if he had stretched as far as the Euphrates the claims of his ambition, he might have been secure of not meeting with a refusal, and that if he had fixed as the boundary of Persia, the Orontes, the Cydnus, the Sangarius, or even the Thracian Bosphorus, flatterers would not have been wanting in the court of Jovian to convince the timid monarch that his remaining provinces would still afford the most ample gratifications of power and luxury. (G. D. F. R. E., ch. XXIV.)

Firdausi's version of the treaty is as follows. The Cæsar went before the Great King with a hundred Roman nobles and laid before him sixty ass-loads of drachms, gems, and full-dress robes, besides thirty thousand dinārs for largess. The King said, "If thou wantest full pardon, thou must pay a tribute of two hundred thousand Ruman dinārs thrice every year, and surrender Nisibis." The Cæsar answered, "Iran is thine, as also are Arabia and Nisibis. I agree to render the heavy tribute thou demandest, for we cannot withstand thy wrath and revenge."

In this war which had lasted for twenty-seven years, Shāpūr

had fought nine battles, had humbled the greatest empire of the time, and enormously raised the prestige of the Persians and of the Persian empire. Of the many pitched battles in which he personally engaged in this long war he lost not one. He distinguished himself both by his personal bravery and his consummate skill as a general. Rawlinson (*R. S. O. M.*, 240) ranks him very properly as among the greatest of the Sāsānian monarchs, superior to all his predecessors and to all but one of his successors, namely Naushirvān. Benjamin (*B. P.*, 204) profoundly admires his conduct and observes that in the course of his long military career he displayed the qualities which make a great commander.

If we are to believe the Armenian historian Moses of Chorene, Shāpūr wrote a letter to Arsaces Tiranus, king of Armenia, persuading him to come to his court so that they could consult concerning their common advantage and promising him a safe return home, but when he came, Shāpūr had him seized in the midst of a splendid entertainment and thrown into the Tower of Oblivion at Ekbatānā, blinded and fettered with silver chains.

Pharandzem, the wife of Arsaces, and Bab or Para, his son, threw themselves into the fortress of Artogerasa and prepared to offer resistance to the Persian king. Shāpūr directed two renegade Armenians, Cylaces and Artabannes, to lay siege to that fort, and proceeded himself to invade Armenia's ally Iberia. He expelled the Iberian king Sauromaces and gave the vacant throne to one Aspacurus.

Cylaces and Artabannes proved traitors and going over to the other side made a surprise night attack on the Persians, who were compelled to retreat. Shāpūr took the operations into his own hands, conquered Artogerasa, captured the queen, forced Para to come to terms, and reduced Armenia to the state of a Persian province.

Emperor Valens dispatched the Duke Terentius, with twelve legions, to reinstate Sauromaces in the Iberian throne. Aspacurus carried on negotiations with the Duke and arranged a partition of the country between himself and Sauromaces

(A.D. 370). In the following year Shāpūr attacked the Romans near Vagabanta, but was repulsed. A sort of guerilla warfare went on for some years without decisive advantage to either side. Eventually the hostilities were terminated by a peace.

Three or four years after this peace, Shāpūr expired. His reign had lasted for the long term of seven decades, during which period ten emperors successively ruled the Roman empire.

In administration as in war Shāpūr had displayed extraordinary genius and ability. He brought the Parsi empire to the highest zenith of power and glory that it had yet attained since Alexander. In his panegyric on this king, Firdausi says that Shāpūr made the world so happy that in the garden no thorn was seen alongside the rose and such were his justice, wisdom, and foresight and so brave, so bounteous, so energetic and so skilful in war he was that in no country was there left an enemy, and no abode was left for evil to dwell in.

It is recorded in the Pahlavi Dinkard that Shāpūr, the son of Hormazd, propagated the knowledge of the religion of Zoroaster by means of lectures and admonitions, and his chief Dastur, Ādarbād Mārēspand, by means of arguments based on the scriptures and by performing the miracle of having molten bell-metal poured on his body without the slightest harm to it, brought non-Zoroastrians to appreciate the truths of that religion and to embrace it. In an edict of his, Shāpūr said that since the Law was clearly proclaimed, let no one relapse into a false doctrine.

In a paper on the Bactrian and Mithraic coins in the cabinet of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, published in the first volume of the Society's Journal, Mr. James Bird mentions, on the authority of the Rājatarangini, that in about 319 A.D. the ruler of Ujjain, in the country of Mālwa in India, was Sriman Hersha Vikramāditya, and that he was the same as Shāpūr II of Persia. (M. G. R. B., 38.)

The great prosperity in which Shāpūr left his empire continued during the reigns of his three successors Ardeshir II, Shāpūr III and Vrahran IV, who were unenterprising princes. Their reigns occupied a period of not more than twenty years in the aggregate.

XI. ARDESHIR II.

Ardeshir (Artaxerxes) II was, according to Firdausi, Mirkhond, and Masoudi and some other historians, Shâpûr's brother. But the Armenian writers make him his son. He reigned from A.D. 379 to 383, and is known as Nikoukar or "The Beneficent", and Al Djemil or "The Virtuous".

Among Shâpûr's testamentary advice to him were these wise words, which he seems to have taken as his guide, namely, that "The heart and brain of men are the two kings of his body; the other members of the body are the soldiery. When the heart and brain are in conflict, the man in despair goes astray from good advice, and the soul within such a body is distraught; how can kingless and chiefless troops live on happily? Left without light they are dispersed and cast, as corpse, to dust. So when a king becomes unjust, the world is turned by him all upside down. On his death the people will denounce him as accursed and he will be known as 'The impious king.' Keep thy body and thy eye in the Faith, for the Faith is the maintainer of thy body and thy hopes."

Shâpûr had bequeathed the kingdom to Ardeshir on the condition that when the former's son, who also bore the name of Shâpûr, came to man's estate, the latter should resign to him the throne and crown and treasure. After a rule of four years Ardeshir surrendered the reins of government to Shâpûr III.

XII. SHÂPÛR III.

In A.D. 384 a treaty was concluded between Shâpûr III and Theodosius the Great, Emperor of Rome, for the partition of Armenia. Persia and Rome annexed such of the outlying districts as could be conveniently absorbed into their own empires and divided the rest of the country into two unequal portions. Rome took under her protection the smaller or western portion and gave it to Arsaces, son of Bab (Para). The eastern and more extensive portion was ceded to Persia and was thence called Persarmenia. Shâpûr appointed as its ruler an Arsacid prince, Chosroes II, who was a Christian, and gave him one of his sisters in marriage.

The amicable relations established by this treaty continued undisturbed for a period of thirty-six years.

A war waged by Shāpūr with the Arab tribe of Yād procured him the cognomen of "The Warlike."

When five years and four months of his rule had passed by, he one day went out to hunt. In the night as he was taking his repose in his tent, a strong gale blew, which snapped the ropes so that the woodwork of the tent fell down and crushed him to death (A.D. 388). Tabari says that his death was not due to the accidental fall of his tent, but to a revolt of his troops, who cut the ropes and caused the tent to fall upon him.

XIII. VRAHRAN IV.

Vrahran IV, who was either the brother or son of Shāpūr III, succeeded to the throne. The appellation of Kermān-shāh (King of Carmaniā) belongs to this prince, and not to Vrahran III as mentioned by Firdausi. He was the governor of Kermān during Shāpūr's lifetime and the title of Kermān-shāh stuck to him.

There is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire an onyx seal of this king before he climbed the throne of Persia, which bears the following Pahlavi inscription:—*Vrahrān Kirmān malkā, bareh Mazdayasn bagi Shāhpūri malkān malkā Airān va Anirān, minochitri min yazdān* ("Vrahran, king of Kermān, son of the Mazdā-worshipping Divinity Shāpūr, king of kings of Irān and non-Irān, of spiritual origin from the sacred beings"). The seal bears his profile bust with plaited hair and beard wearing a helmet adorned with a device. A dark onyx seal, with well-preserved surface film of white, obtained by Cunningham at Rawalpindi and now in the British Museum, bears a full-length protrait of the king in the act of spearing a Roman. (P. S. C., 95-6.)

At the death of Arsaces, who was king of that portion of Armenia which was feudatory to Rome, the Roman emperor annexed his territory and delegated the military command to the Count of the Armenian frontier.

About A.D. 390, Chosroes obtained the Armenian countship

from Theodosius and thus succeeded in combining under his rule both portions of Armenia; and later on he renounced his allegiance to Vrahran and placed his entire domains under the suzerainty and protection of Rome. Vrahran, however, subdued the recalcitrant prince and consigned him to the Castle of Oblivion, and gave the throne to his brother Vrahran-Shâpûr (A.D. 391).

Vrahran IV died in A.D. 399. Firdausi attributes his death to illness; but according to other authorities he was shot to death by his mutinous soldiers.

XIV. YEZDEGARD I.

Yezdegard I, who was either the son or brother of the last king, now occupied the throne. In the Pahlavi treatise *Shatroihâ-i-Airân* he is called Shâpûhrân, that is, son of Shâpûr. He assumed the novel title of "Râmshatras", which Rawlinson renders as "The most quiet" or "The most firm". Mr. Paruck gives the epithet as "Râmshatri" and translates it "Delight of the Realm". Drouin translates it "Prosperity of the Empire".

At this period the Roman territories in the East and the West were being ravaged by the Goths, Vandals and Germans, and the Emperors of the East and the West, Arcadius and Honorius, sons of Theodosius, were both weak and unwarlike. The former was only 18 years of age and the latter not more than eleven. If Yezdegard had elected to unsheathe his sword and crossed the Euphrates with his army, he would have met with no serious opposition and would have been able to expel the Romans from Asiatic soil. But he did not avail himself of the opportunity and abstained till the last from all military undertakings.

Emperor Arcadius finding his end approaching committed by a testamentary deed the guardianship of his son not to his own brother Honorius or to any of his relations or subjects, but to King Yezdegard and bequeathed to him a thousand pounds weight of pure gold, which he begged his brother of Persia to accept as a token of his goodwill. Yezdegard faithfully carried out the trust.

It is remarkable that whilst the Roman emperor finds Yezdegard worthy of such great trust, in the Pahlavi "*Shatroihâ-i-*

Airān", he is stigmatized as a *dafar* (i.e. 'stinking'), and we learn from Masoudi and Tabari that his own subjects gave him the epithets of *al-athim* ('the wicked') and *al-khashan* ('the harsh'). The following stinging words put by Firdausi in the mouth of the *dabir* (scribe) Gūshasp, when addressing a gathering of chiefs, reveal how hateful this king had made himself to the Iranians:—

جهاندار ما تا جهان آفرید کسی زین نشان شهریار ندید
 از این شاه تا پاکتر کس ندید نه از بهلوان بیشین شنید
 (" Since our World-Creator created the world,
 None has seen a king of this sort,
 Neither has any man seen a more wicked monarch,
 Nor heard from the paladins of yore.")

Theophanes, who wrote in A.D. 812, mentions that Marutha, Bishop of Mesopotamia, and Abdaās, Bishop of Ctesiphon, had great influence with Yezdegard and he listened with approval to their teaching and at one time contemplated baptism. At the instigation of Christian Bishops he commenced a persecution of his own national religion. In 409 he issued a *farman* permitting Christians to worship openly and to rebuild their churches. Sir Percy Sykes considers this decree as much important to the Persian Church as was the Edict of Milan to Christians in Europe. The first Christian synod was held with his permission in Seleucia under the leadership of the Bishop of Byzantium (A.D. 410), a church was allowed to be erected at Ctesiphon, and Christian bishops were employed by him on diplomatic service.

Later on Yezdegard repented of his Christian leanings. Bishop Abdaās in his bigotted zeal committed the sinful folly of burning down the great fire-temple of Ctesiphon. The king ordered him to reinstate it, which the obstinate divine, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom, refused to do. Yezdegard suffered the Persians to retaliate by a general destruction of the Christian churches; and for five years the Christians in Persia were subjected to torture and slaughter.

While Oriental chroniclers are unanimous in their condemnation of this 'wicked' monarch, some Western writers eulogise him for his magnanimity and virtue, his peaceful temper, his faithful guardianship of Theodosius, and even his piety.

Yezdegard was exceedingly well disposed towards the Jews. Huna bar Nathan had considerable influence with him; and Ashi of Sorā, Mar-Zutra of Pumbeditha, and Amemar of Nahardea, the three representatives of the Jews of Babylon, presented themselves at his court on the days of homage. The Jews had their own political chief, known as Resh-Galutha (The Prince of the Captivity), who was a dignitary of the Persian empire ranking fourth from the king.

According to the *Shatroihâ-i-Airân*, Yezdegard had taken in marriage a Jewish princess, Shisindokht, a daughter of Resh-Galutha, called in that book Reshé-Yahûdkân or Yahûdkân-Shâh, that is, the king of the Jews. This lady was the mother of prince Behrâm, who afterwards came to the throne as Vrahran V. During Yezdegard's reign there have been two Resh-Galuthas, Kahana and Houna. The former was in authority from A.D. 390 to 410, and the latter from 410 to 448. The latter prince was in all probability the father of Shisindokht.

Not only Jewish princesses, but other ladies of that sect, had begun exercising considerable influence over the Persians in one way or another, for which reason it is that the marriages of Persians with Jewish maidens are deprecated in the Pahlavi Dinkard. (Sir J. J. Modi's article XI, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, LIV, Vol. XX.)

Shish and Shûster, two well-known towns of Khûzistân, owe their foundation to queen Shisindokht, and in Gae (Isphâhân) a Jewish colony was established at her desire. In the time of Yezdegard Isphâhân was considered the head, Pârs and Kérmân the two hands, and Râé and Hamadân the two feet of the Persian empire.

The palace at Firûzâbad, the ruins of which are still extant, is believed to have been built by Yezdegard in or about A.D. 450.

A strange tale is related about the death of this king. A stately horse, black of belly, raven-eyed, with a trailing tail and crest and mane, and with black hoofs, made its sudden appearance before the palace-gate. A herdsman with ten rough riders attempted to catch it and saddle and bridle it, but the furious beast would not allow any one to come near, upon which the

king himself took up the saddle and bridle and drew near it, when it totally changed its mood and appeared altogether quiet and allowed the saddle and bridle to be put on, but as Yezdegard was arranging the crupper, it neighed and suddenly dealt him a kick on the head, which instantly killed him. The animal then galloped away 'like flying dust' and vanished. Tabari says that the Persians regarded the occurrence as an answer to their prayers; and most of the Oriental writers speak of this fate of Yezdegard as a proper punishment from God for his wicked conduct. The probable truth is that which Nöldeke conjectures, namely, that conspirators took advantage of the absence of the king in distant Hyrcania to murder him and then, to cover themselves, spread abroad a fiction to account for his death. (See W. S., Vol. VI, 373.)

XV. VRAHRAN V (BEHRĀM GŪR).

Yezdegard's son Shāpūr, who was viceroy of Armenia, hearing that his father had fallen into ill-health, hurried to the Persian court, and on the king's death pressed his claims to the throne. Yezdegard had made himself so obnoxious to his Persian subjects that all the chieftains, paladins, and chief priests swore mighty oaths that they would not have any prince of his race to rule over them. Shāpūr was foiled in his expectations and slain by the *grandees*. Alānshāh, the commander-in-chief, Biward, the paladin of Pārs, Behzād son of Barzin, of the race of Rūstam, the hero Saum, a descendant of the Kaiyānian king Kai Kobād, and several other mighty persons advanced their pretensions to the crown. Chiefs, paladins, and *mobeds* met in Pārs to select a king and allay the trouble of the time, since, as they said, a kingless country was a barren waste. Their choice descended upon an aged person of noble lineage, Khūšrau, who was of generous instincts, brave, ardent, and opulent.

Vrahran, son of Yezdegard by the Jewish queen, known in Persian lore as Behrām Gūr on account of his passion for hunting *gārkhars* (onagers), had been entrusted by his father from his infancy to be bred up and trained by Munzir (Al-Mondhir), the ruler of Yemen. The prince persuaded his Arab guardian to espouse his cause, and marched upon Ctesiphon with

Arab troops led by the latter; but he made no use of these soldiers and, with a praiseworthy desire to avoid a civil war, called upon his rival Khûsrau to a trial of a strange character. He harangued the Persians concerning his own kingly qualifications and told them to bring forth the throne of ivory and set the imperial crown over it and then bring two savage lions and chain them on each side. "He who aspires to kingship," said he, "should advance, lift the crown from the throne, and placing it upon his head, beset himself on the throne between the lions." "We will," he declared, "have none else as king, provided, of course, he be just and holy. If you reject my proposal then here are myself and Munzir, our maces, and our sharp scimitars. We will send the dust up from your king of kings and strew your heads up to the moon." He called upon his rival to step forth and take the crown but the latter declined and said, "He that demandeth the kingship should be the first to try. Moreover, he is young and I am old, and too feeble to resist the furious lions' claws." Vrahran took an ox-head mace and advanced. But first, following priestly advice, he fortified himself with a prayer in the prescribed ritualistic way. As he advanced with the mace, one of the lions snapped his chain and charged, but the bold prince brought him down with a single formidable blow of his mace, and going to the other beast dashed out its brains. Then he seated himself upon the ivory throne and put on the crown. All acknowledged him sovereign, Khûsrau being the first to take the oath of allegiance.

On the day of Ard or Arshesang in the month of Khordâd, A.D. 420, Vrahran was installed on the imperial throne, when he was no more than twenty years old. Two of his first acts were to order Gûshasp, the scribe, and Jawânûr, the chief accountant, to write off all arrears of revenue due from his Iranian subjects, totalling fifty-seven million dirhams, and to recall from banishment all those whom his relentless father had banished unjustly. These measures procured him much popularity. On his brother Narsi he bestowed the chief military command.

It has been alleged that Vrahran threw himself into the hands of the hierarchical party and began such a cruel persecu-

tion of his Christian subjects that they quitted the country in large numbers and took refuge with the Romans. The tyrannous behaviour attributed by the classical writers to this king is not in agreement with his public pronouncements. Soon after his coronation he had announced his policy that his treasures would not afford him so much pleasure as his people's happiness and contentment, he would seek no joy in the woe and distress of others, never would he be a tyrant, his aim would be to seek the bliss of heaven by his own good deeds and by sowing nothing but the seeds of benevolence, he would remain steadfast in the Faith of Zoroaster and guide the people to it, and he would not abandon the path of his fathers, but would surpass them in justice, and deal fairly even with the perverse.

Vrahran sent ambassadors to the Roman court at Constantinople, to demand the surrender of the refugees, but Theodosius indignantly rejected the demand. This refusal, which was aggravated by commercial disputes, served Vrahran as *casus belli* and he declared war. The campaign is said to have gone against the Persians, but both parties were anxious for peace, and in A.D. 422 a treaty was concluded, whereby religious freedom was guaranteed to the Zoroastrians in the Roman territory, Vrahran consenting to cease his persecution of the Christians and allow the Romans to harbour Persian Christians if they pleased.

Since A.D. 418 or 419 the Persian portion of Armenia had remained without a king. Soon after the termination of hostility with the Romans, Vrahran set up Artasires, a prince of the old Arsacid dynasty on the Armenian throne. But he proved so bad a king that the Armenian nobles urged Vrahran to sequester Armenia and make it a district of the empire. After hearing Artasires' reply to the charges made against him, Vrahran dethroned him (A.D. 428). The descendants of Artasires were degraded from the royal dignity and Persian Marzbāns (Lords of the marches) ruled that country.

Rumours went floating to Rūm, Ind, Turkestan and China that the king of Persia was leading a life of ease and occupying himself with nothing better than the pursuit of sport to the utter

neglect of state affairs and the defence of the realm. A warlike monarch, of whom Firdausi makes mention as the Khākān of Chin, levied an army of select soldiers from Chin and Khotan, and crossing the Oxus, invaded Persia and began ravaging some of its most fertile provinces. He crossed the Elburz and entered Khûrāsān and penetrated as far as Rāē. The people took alarm, and a number of chiefs, who felt irritated at the supineness of Vrahran, approached him and pressed him to give up his pursuits of pleasure and to collect his forces and advance against the invaders. "O King!" they cried, "whilst other kings are intent on war, thy heart is intent on sport and convivial assemblies. In thy eyes the throne and crown are worthless and so are this our country of Iran and its treasures and army." To this his reply was short: "God, the Master of the World, Who is higher than the wisdom of the wisest sages can conceive, is my Helper. By the conquering virtue of great kings I will protect Iran from the claws of the wolf, and by my own good luck and with my soldiers, my sword and my treasure, I will avert travail and calamity from this land." He said no more, and to the disgust and dismay of the chiefs went on taking his pleasures.

Vrahran held a council with a few noted warriors and collecting a force of a hundred thousand select Iranian soldiers, gave their command to his brother Narsi, to whom he also entrusted the charge of his throne and treasury and the administration of the country. For himself he chose twelve thousand mail-clad cavaliers and proceeded to Āzarbaijān (Media Atropatene) intent, as the people thought, on his favourite pursuit of hunting.

The people approached Narsi and told him that since the king whose business was to protect them had abandoned them and was seeking his own pleasures, the only course now left to save the country from utter destruction by the invading army was to sue for peace and offer homage and tribute to the Khākān. "Far be it," replied Narsi, "that I should proffer subservience to the foreigner. Never shall it be so. We have enough troops and arms and our brave soldiers know how to use their sharp-edged swords."

Nevertheless the people, who were seized with consternation, despatched a well known *mōbed* of wisdom of the name of Hūmāi, together with certain nobles, to acknowledge the Khākān's supremacy and arrange for the payment to him of a tribute. The Khākān mightily rejoiced when this embassy informed him that Vrahran had precipitately hurried away with a small body of troopers. Turning to his Turkomans, he exultingly exclaimed, "O my men! this day we have saddled the revolving sky. Who ever took Iran without a fight, save we by our wisdom and counsel and patience." To the Iranians he sent an answer that he accepted the proffered submission and would wait in Merv for the promised tribute, on receiving which he would evacuate the country.

Exulting at this easy subjugation of Persia, the Khākān and his men, whilst waiting in Merv for the tribute, spent their nights and days in hunt, high carousals, and minstrelsy. His soldiers were scattered and no watch was kept.

All this while Vrahran was on the alert and preparing to sweep down upon the Khākān in an unexpected way. Not a moment was he spending in hilarious assemblies. His scouts were everywhere, and he was watching his opportunity to deliver the enemy a staggering blow. His original small force was strengthened by some troops from Armenia. By the way of Ardabil he brought his men to Āmūl and thence proceeded to Hyrcania and came to Nishāpūr. He marched swiftly by night by unfrequented paths and took every precaution to conceal his movements. When he reached the vicinity of Merv, a scout brought him intelligence that the Khākān, unapprehensive of danger, was at Kashmihan diverting himself with the chase. Giving the men and horses a day's rest, Vrahran marched to the last named place and delivered a surprise attack. A large number of the Tātār soldiers were either killed or made prisoners, and the rest fled, but were pursued by Vrahran for thirty pharsangs. The Khākān was made a captive by a Persian warrior named Khazrvān,* and his queen, Khātūn, was also among the captives. Much rich booty was seized, all which the king generously gave away to his soldiers.

* Mirkhond's account is that the Khākān was slain by the king's own hand.

Vrahran followed up this success with an expedition into the enemy's own country and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Tatars, who surrendered and sued for mercy, promising to remain as his tributary subjects. Vrahran took hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions of peace and erected a stone column to mark the boundary which no Turk or Khalaj might cross and enter into the lands of Iran without the Great King's permission. He set up a noble in his army, of the name of Shoreh, in command of the frontier district, and appointed Narsi governor of Khûrâsân, with orders to make Balkh his headquarters and restrain all attempts of the Tatars to make excursions across the Oxus.

Who were the people of Chin and Khotan whom the Khakân had led? Firdausi indifferently calls them Chineyân (Chinâmen), Turanian, and Turkan or Turks. They were also known by the names of Euthalites, Ephthalites, Haitalites, Nephthalites, etc. Some Greek writers mention that they were "White Huns." Rawlinson doubts whether the term 'Hun' is more appropriate to them than that of Turk or even of Chinese and, on the authority of Procopius, points out that the people in question were a not ill-looking, light-complexioned race of agriculturists, with good laws and a tolerable civilization, whereas the Huns were decidedly swart and hideous and were nomads and savage; but we learn from John Pigot's "Persia—Ancient and Modern" (p. 21), that they were settled on the fertile plains of Sogdiana, on the eastern side of the Caspian, and received their name white from the change in their complexion which took place when they became more civilized.

Tabari derives the name Haitalite from the word 'Haital', which in the Bokharian language means 'a strong man'. According to Sykes, the name of the race known to the Chinese as Yatha, to the classical writers as Ephthalites or White Huns, and to the Persians as the Haital, is in all three instances apparently derived from Ye-tai-li-to, the chief. Though of a similar stock, they were entirely distinct from the Yue-chi. (S. H. P., Vol. I, 3rd ed., 433.)

Those who had taken the lead in sending ambassadors to the

Khākān for the purpose of surrendering him the empire confessed their error and implored the mercy of the Great King, who magnanimously forgave them.

Vrahran proceeded with his nobles and chief persons to the Fire-temple at the city of Shiz or Canzacin Āzār-ābādġān (Āzarbaiġān) to do obeisance and offer up prayers. He gave largesses to the holy men there, and as an act of thanksgiving remitted all taxes for seven years. He then went to Istakhr.

Such bridges and sarais as were seen or reported to be out of repair, Vrahran ordered to be thoroughly repaired out of his privy purse and without forced labour. He never tired of helping widows and orphans and the needy and indigent. The gems and pearls which decorated the Khākān's crown which had been seized, were taken out and employed in decorating the walls of the Fire-temple and the pedestal of the Fire-vase. He also sent to the Fire-temple his own sword inlaid with pearls and jewels, as well as many other ornaments. From Istakhr he proceeded to Ctesiphon and sat on the golden throne.

He wrote despatches in Pahlavi to his feudatories and governors announcing the remission of taxes for a period of seven years and giving much good counsel and strict directions for the proper administration of justice and the furtherance of the public weal. In these despatches he attributed his victory over the Khākān to God's favour and expressed his fervent hope that he would employ himself always in the service of God and never harbour an unrighteous or unworthy thought.

One day in the course of an address to his ministers and courtiers he gave the advice, so characteristic of the solicitude of the Iranian kings for agricultural prosperity, "It is a shame to lessen the agricultural cattle of the country, so slay them not unless they are old and decrepit and have ceased to be useful to their owner. Nor should the lives of pack-oxen be taken, or else the land will grow void of grace."

According to the Oriental writers Vrahran went disguised as an ambassador to the court of the Indian king of Kanouj, Vāsūdev (called Shangal by Firdausi), who was at that time a powerful prince. Tabari assigns his motive for visiting India to

his desire to see whether by annexing a portion he could lighten the taxes of his own subjects. There his majestic looks and certain deeds of personal prowess won him the signal favour of the Indian king, who married him to his beautiful daughter Sapinûd, although at that time he was unaware of his son-in-law's august rank. On his return with Sapinûd to Iran, he went to the great Fire-temple of Āzar-Goshasp, the holy priest whereof instructed her in the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion, and purified her soul from the taint of idolatry by the rites of ablution.

Shangal (Vāsûdev), by a deed of gift which he gave to Sapinûd, left his country of Kanouj, his throne and all his treasure to Vrahran, and at the king's request sent to Persia twelve thousand male and female musicians of the Lûreyân* or Gipsy tribe, who were skilled in playing the barbat. Vrahran directed these Lûreyâns to move about the country and regale the poor villagers with their music. They intermarried with the Persians and became the ancestors of the Jats, who are nearly all musicians. (M. R. S. R., Pt. I, Vol. II, 357.)

Vaux (V. P. A., 171) is of the opinion that if the story of Vrahran's voyage to India and marrying an Indian princess be true, it is most likely that India means Belûchistân, or else the country at the mouths of the Indus.

Wilford ("Asiatic Researches", IX, 147-151) says that Gândharva referred to in the Agni Pûrâna and known as the Gadhâ-rupa in Indian history, was the same as Behrâm Gour, and Sir J. J. Modi agrees with him. Wilford further says that Hindus "show to this day (1809) the place where Behrâm Gour (Gadhâ-rupa) lived about one day's march to the north of Broach, with the ruins of his palace". In old records this place is called Gadhendra-pûri or the town of the lord of asses. Wilford's opinion is that the dynasty of the Gardabhin kings is probably that of the descendants and successors of Behrâm Gour in Persia. There is a painting in the Ajanta caves referring to a Persian embassy to India. Modi thinks that this also refers to Behrâm Gour, who, according to Firdausi, came in disguise as his own ambassador. (M. As. P., Pt. II, 49, 50.)

* "Lûreyân" seems to be a contracted form of 'Bûlûreyân', which means makers or traders of glass beads.

Firdausi and Mirkhond give Vrahran's reign a duration of sixty-three years, but other writers assign him a reign of from eighteen to twenty-three years. He died in 438, 439, or 440. According to the *Shāh-nāmah* he died peacefully in his palace. But Tabari and Mirkhond relate that he was hunting the wild ass, when his horse came suddenly upon an underground watercourse and either fell into it with his rider or threw him into it and he never reappeared.

He was one of the best of the Sāsānian sovereigns. Oriental writers delight in narrating the adventures and exploits of this king, who, as Warner (*W. S.*, Vol. VII, 1) states, was a "King of the Commons", like James V of Scotland. Like Haroun-al-Rashid of the Arabian Nights fame he was in the habit of visiting his subjects in disguise and see things for himself. He was fond of the chase, music and dancing. Still he never suffered his amusements to make him neglectful of public affairs. His magnanimity was boundless. He never appropriated for himself any portion of the booty seized from the enemy and gave it all to his army. There is the following story related of him which shows his generous nature and his solicitude for the helpless and the indigent. One day while he was hunting, a farmer approached him and gave him information that if excavations were carried out in that locality much ancient hidden treasure was likely to be found. After a good deal of spade work, a strong, brick-built house was discovered. In it were found two golden buffaloes near by a laver of the same precious metal, strewn with emeralds and rubies. The buffaloes were hollow and filled with pomegranates, apples and quinces containing pearls of fine water. There were besides golden lions and wild asses, some having ruby and others crystal eyes. There were also golden peacocks and pheasants, whose breasts and eyes were all gems. One buffalo bore the impress of Shāh Jamshid's seal, from which it was understood that the whole treasure was the property of that great Peshdadian monarch. Vrahran gave one-tenth of this treasure-trove to the informant as his share, and getting the remainder converted into cash bestowed it all for the relief of the indigent, the widows, the orphans, and those burdened with debts, keeping nothing for himself or his soldiers.

He was a patron of learning and art, and rewarded men of science and letters with pensions. It is related that one day accompanied with his beloved Dilārām, he was out hunting, when on killing a beast of the forest he spoke about his achievement in a measured line and there and then the lady capped the verse with an appropriate compliment. Daulatshāh and other native biographers record this as the beginning of the poetical literature of the last thousand years and more. (See D. J. Irani's art. "Persian ladies in the literary line", S. V. A., 1932; and B. L. H. P., 12.) According to Masoudi, Behrām Gūr composed a number of poems in Persian and Arabic, and a book of his verses is said to have been seen and read by Awfi in Bokhara. (See Dr. Daudpota's art. "Persian and Arabic Poetry," M. M. V., 345.)

The account of his career which has been related above shows that his military genius and diplomatic ability were both of a high order.

Excavations carried out at Kish in 1932 by the Oxford Field Museum Expedition have unearthed a large rectangular building in the Sāsānian quarter, the imperial bath of Behrām Gūr, together with two large Sāsānian houses.*

We will close our account of this renowned king with the following lines of Omar Khayyam in which he illustrates his view of the transientness of the world by referring to Behrām Gūr:—

بهرام که کور می گرفتن همه عمر بنکر که چه گونه کور بهرام گرفت

(i.e., "Behrām who used to capture the *gūr* (onager) the whole of his life, look how the *gūr* (tomb) has now captured him!")

XVI. YEZDEGARD II.

Behrām Gūr was succeeded by his son Yezdegard II. Of this king's reign, which lasted eighteen years, Firdausi records no events, save that he sent out troops in all directions to keep the empire secure from invasions, and bequeathed the crown to his second son Hormazd in preference to Pirūz, the eldest, on the

* See the Bombay Sunday Chronicle of 28-8-1932. The famous archaeologist Prof. Stephen Langdon calls Kish "that mighty treasure-house of antiquity" and says that modern research proves it to have been the oldest capital city in Western Asia, and, most probably, in the world. (T. I. of 18-1-1934.)

ground of superior merit. However, we find from classical writers that his reign was certainly not eventless.

As the Roman forces were being concentrated near Nisibis, Yezdegard suspected their design, and anticipated the Roman invasion of Persia by precipitating an attack on the Roman territories. Count Anatolius, prefect of the East, repaired alone and on foot to the Persian camp, and arranged a treaty, whereby it was agreed that neither party should construct any new fortified post near the common frontier and that Rome should make an annual payment to Persia in consideration of which the latter undertook the maintenance of a strong force at Darband.

Yezdegard made his headquarters at Nishâpûr, and from there directed annual expeditions, from A.D. 443 to 451, into the country of the Transoxanian Ephthalites, who had been causing trouble. In 451 their ruler received a complete defeat and was obliged to abandon the open country and take refuge in the desert.

About A.D. 300 Tiridates, the king, and the people of Armenia had been converted to Christianity by St. Gregory, the Illuminator. In order to make the Armenians recognise their interests as one with Persia, it was of first importance that they should be induced to abjure Christianity and embrace Zoroastrianism. A manifesto was issued pointing out the merits of the latter religion and calling upon all to embrace it. In a great assembly convened by the patriarch Joseph in A.D. 450 a determination was arrived at that the Armenians should continue Christians at whatever cost.

Yezdegard summoned to his court Vasag, the Armenian Marzpân or Lord of the Marches, Vartan, the commander-in-chief, Vazten, the Prince of Iberia, Vatché, the king of Albania, and other principal chiefs, and under threat of immediate execution made them renounce Christianity and embrace Zoroastrianism. Then they were sent back to their own lands with injunctions to make their people adopt the latter faith.

Armenia and Iberia revolted. In 455 or 456 a great battle was fought between the Christian Armenians and the Persians with their Armenian partisans, which resulted in the latter's victory.

The patriarch Joseph and other bishops were conveyed to Persia, where they wore the crown of martyrdom. All the Armenians accepted the religion of the conquerors, save a few who fled to the mountains of Kûrdistân or took refuge in Roman territory.

Once more Yezdegard had to march against the Ephthalites, who were making aggressions in Khûrâsân. His attack was so vigorous that they had to recross the Oxus and flee to their own country. But when he pursued them there, his army was ambushed and he had to retreat with serious losses.

This able and martial king died in 457. He was known as the Sipâh-dost or Friend of the Soldiers. He is said to have been a bitter persecutor of the Christians; but since he was known to his subjects as "The Clement," Rawlinson's opinion is that where religious considerations had not come into play, he was fair and equitable, mild-tempered, and disinclined to harsh punishments.

XVII. HORMAZD III.

The throne was now occupied by Yezdegard's son Hormazd III (457-459), who, though younger than his brother Pirûz, was considered by Yezdegard better qualified to be king.

Pirûz sought the help of the Ephthalite king Fagânish, (called also Chagâni Shâh and Shâh-i-Haitâl by Firdausi), and obtaining from him a contingent of thirty thousand troops, on condition that he would restore the cities of Tirmid and Visâgard to the Ephthalites, attacked and defeated Hormazd and made him a captive. According to Armenian writers, Pirûz's commander-in-chief Rahâm, of the great house of Mihrân, caused Hormazd to be put to death. But Mirkhond as well as Firdausi mentions that Pirûz spared his life and treated him kindly.

XVIII. PIRÛZ I.

The first act of Pirûz (459-484), after his accession, was to subjugate his sister's son Vatché, king of Aghounak or Albania, who taking advantage of the civil war between the two brothers, had thrown off his allegiance and declared his independence.

Then for five years there was peace and prosperity throughout the empire.

In the seventh year from the date of the death of Yezdegard II, Persia was afflicted by a most terrible drought. Streams and brooks all failed, the wells were empty, and even the mighty rivers Oxus and Tigris were dried up. The beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, the brutes of the forests, and all reptiles perished. This dreadful calamity lasted for seven years. In the eighth year, in the first month Farvardin, the skies bore clouds, a rainbow was observed, and there was a most welcome downpour of rain.* Such were the wise and beneficent measures adopted by Pirūz that during this unprecedentedly long woeful period not a single soul perished by hunger and not a single man emigrated. All the secret storehouses of grain in every city were opened and their contents given away to all. A royal proclamation directed the owners of cattle and the rich people to relieve the prevailing distress by giving their cattle and hoarded stores of grain to the people, for which they would receive full payment from the royal treasury. All governors and tributary kings were required to see that food was supplied from their barns to those that were in need and were threatened that if in any village or city any person, young or old and feeble, died of want he would put the possessor of the grain-store to death. From the third year Pirūz stopped the collection of taxes and revenue of every kind from his subjects. Money was also distributed from the royal treasury to those in need, and vast imports of corn were made from Greece, India, the valley of the Oxus, and Abyssinia.

In 481 Iberia and Armenia unfurled the standard of revolt. The people of the former country slew the Zoroastrian king Vazken and installed Vakhtang, a Christian, on the throne. The Christians of the latter country besieged and seized Artaxata and made themselves masters of Persarmenia. A national government was set up, with Sahag as king and Vahan as sparapet

* It is related that Pirūz went in person to the fire-temple of Ādar-Khūra in Fārs and implored Ahura Mazda to put an end to the calamity. His prayers were heard. Hardly had he reached a desert plain in those parts when a cloud rose over the horizon and rain fell copiously. In gratitude for this blessing, Pirūz built a village in the neighbourhood and gave it the name of Kāmfirūz, 'the desire of Pirūz (has been satisfied)'. People joyfully threw water at each other and this act of spontaneous gaiety became the characteristic rite of the feast of Afrejagan, 'the Pouring of Water', which the people of Ispahān used to celebrate on the 30th day of the month Bahman. In other cities it was held on the day of the first rain. (H. A. P. C., 190.)

or commander-in-chief. Ādar-Veshnasp, the Persian governor of Armenia, who had gone to Iberia to put down the rebellion there, returned with a small army, but met with defeat and was slain. In the following year two armies were sent, one under Ādar-Nerseh against Armenia and the other under Mihrân against Iberia.

The Iberians were so hard-pressed by Mihrân that their king was obliged to seek aid from Armenia. But when the Armenian troops arrived, Vakhtang treacherously betrayed them into Mihrân's hands and sought his own peace. King Sahag was killed and his sparapet Vahan fled. Mihrân had however to leave Armenia suddenly as the Persian king required his aid against the Kushâns, who at this period inhabited the maritime provinces of the Caspian Sea; and Vahan returned and took possession of the country. But in the spring of 483 the Persian general Hazaravougđ drove him away and reoccupied most of the country.

At the king's command Hazaravougđ made over his charge to one Shâpûr, and proceeded to Iberia to subdue that country, which was still hostile. He brought the Iberians to subjection. But in Armenia Shâpûr was defeated by Vahan in two engagements.

The classical writers speak of some wars of Pirûz with the Sagaruri, the Acatiri, the Kushâns and others. (R. S. O. M., 323.)

A quarrel between Pirûz and the Ephthalite king Khûshnewâz (Akhshunvâr or Khûshnavâr) in consequence of certain payments withheld by the former led to a war. By a ruse the Persian army which Pirûz had led into the enemy's country was enticed into an inextricable situation. Khûshnewâz sent an embassy to Pirûz offering to allow him to withdraw from his perilous situation and to return to Persia unmolested if he would swear a perpetual peace with the Ephthalites and do homage to himself as his lord and master by prostration and delimit a frontier between the Ephthalite areas and his own. Pirûz had no choice but to accept these terms (A.D. 484). But the humiliation of prostrating himself before a mortal was evaded by the casuistical

subtlety of the *Mobeds*, who instructed him to make the required prostration at sunrise with the mental reservation that he was doing adoration to the rising sun.

According to some writers this Khūshnavāz was the same Ephthalite Shāh who had helped Pirūz and according to others he was his son. The ruse by which the Persian army was led into an inextricable position was performed by a courtier of the Ephthalite Shāh. He got his limbs mutilated, as if at the hands of his king, and appealing to the sense of justice of Pirūz got into his confidence and then under the garb of being his guide, led him and his army into a perilous situation. (M. As. P., Pt. II, 116.)

The humiliating treaty which Pirūz had been obliged to make with the Ephthalite king rankled in his bosom and he meditated day and night how to take revenge. He collected large forces and determined upon war, in spite of the advice of his general Behrām and other counsellors against the violation of the treaty. He endeavoured to circumvent the conditions by having the boundary-pillar, on which the treaty* was inscribed and which both the High Contracting Parties were bound not to pass, lowered and placed upon a number of carts attached together and dragged in front of him by fifty elephants and three hundred men, so that he might not be charged with passing it. The Chief Priest exposed the fallacy of this casuistry ;

* Firdausi declares that the Treaty had been made by Behrām Gūr with the conquered Turks and inscribed on a pillar erected on the Jaihūn (Oxus) which was declared to be the frontier between Persia and Tūrkestan, but Pirūz substituted the name of the Terek for that of the Jaihūn, and in the battle which justly proved fatal to the perfidious Sāsānian king, Akhshunvār bore a copy of the true treaty on the tip of his lance. Prof. Louis H. Gray points out that Firdausi's geography here is impossible, for the Terek is in Cis-Caucasia, nor can he mean the Atrék which is south of the Āmū Daryā, and that one would expect the alleged boundary river to be the Jaxartes, the modern Sar Daryā. (Art. "Peace-Negotiations and Peace-Treaties," M. M. V., 145-6.)

There is a parallel historical incident which E. J. W. Gibb mentions in his article on Turkey in E. B., ed. IX, Vol. XXIII. The Christian princes, incited by Cardinal Julian and in direct violation of the treaty made between Hunyadi, the illegitimate son of Sigismund, king of Hungary, and Murād, Sultān of Turkey, assembled their forces and under Hunyadi as commander-in-chief, without declaring war, entered the Turkish dominions and took many of the Ottoman strongholds in Bulgaria. When the news reached Murād he put himself at the head of his troops and advanced to meet the invaders who had just captured Varna. Outside that town a great battle was fought, in which a copy of the violated treaty, raised high upon a lance, formed one of the standards of the Ottomans. The conflict resulted in the total overthrow of the Christians.

but yet the king in his judgment conceived that by this way he was not violating his vow, and so he persisted in his folly. He appointed Bâlâsh to be the regent and administer the kingdom in his absence, and gave him an illustrious Parsi of the name of Sûrkhab (or Sarkhvân) as minister and a veteran nobleman, Sûfrâi (or Sûfzâi) as general.

The Ephthalite king took up his position in the plain near Balkh, and in front of it caused a trench to be dug and got it filled with water and masked by boughs of trees and earth. A small space of twenty or thirty yards was left untouched in the midway. He seems to have been, for a Hun, a singularly peaceful man. He sent a message to Pirûz, with an eloquent man, to offer peace and to expostulate with him and remind him of the former treaty whereby the Jaihûn was fixed as the boundary between the realms of both parties. But Pirûz scornfully disdained the offer of peace.

Khûshnavâz commanded a portion of his forces to go across the ditch by the narrow pathway and challenge the Persians to battle and as soon as the scuffle began to fly back and join the army. The stratagem succeeded. The Persians pursuing the Ephthalites hotly were precipitated headlong into the concealed trench. Among those who perished were Pirûz and several of his sons; and among the captured were Kobâd and daughter Firûzdokht and the Chief Priest (A.D. 484).

According to Firdausi Pirûz reigned for eleven years. Other writers give him a rule of twenty-four to twenty-nine years. The cities of Pirûz-Râm, Rûshan-Pirûz and Pirûz-Bâdân were founded by him. He was certainly a brave prince and deserved the title of *Mardâneh* (the Valiant) which his people gave him. On a vase of his which has been preserved his figure stands out in relief, chasing wild animals on horseback.

XIX. BALÂSH (PALÂSH, VOLOGASES).

Pirûz was succeeded by Balâsh (Palâsh), who was either his son or his brother. In his image on the coins flames issue from the left shoulder and the legend gives his name as *Hur Kadi Valakâshi* ('Vologases, the Fire King').

General Sūfrāi, who was Marzpān of Zābūlistān, Bāst, Ghaznin and Kābūlistān, was a veteran in warfare, of great courage, and most skilful with the bow. He was burning to wreak vengeance on Khūshnavāz for the calamity he had wrought. With the new king's permission he collected an army of a hundred thousand swordsmen in Kashmīhan and sent to Khūshnavāz a declaration of war. Khūshnavāz chose to give battle in Baigand. He sustained a signal defeat, a large number of his troops were slain, and he fled to the fortress of Kuhandez, from where he sent an envoy to Sūfrāi to negotiate for peace, offering to restore the Persian captives and return the crown and throne of Pirūz and all other booty. The Persian general, who was anxious especially for the safety of the lives of Pirūz's son Kobād the and daughter Firūzdokht and the High Priest, who were among Ephthalite king's captives, accepted the proffered terms with the consent of his army.

Rawlinson (R. S. O. M., 332) writes, "Procopius informs us that in consequence of the defeat of Perozes, Persia became subject to the Ephthalites and paid them tribute for two years", and takes pains to illuminate this information with the following observations of his own:—"This is so probable a result, and one so likely to have been concealed by the native writers, that his authority must be regarded as outweighing the silence of Mirkhond and Tabari. Balās, we must suppose, consented to become an Ephthalite tributary, rather than renew the war which had proved fatal to his brother. If he accepted this position, we can well understand that Khūshnavāz would grant him the small concessions of which the Persian writers boast; while otherwise the restoration of the booty and the prisoners without a battle is quite inconceivable." If this learned historian had cared to see Firdausi's account of this treaty of peace, he would have discovered the fact, which we have stated in the previous paragraph and which knocks the bottom out of his argument, namely, that Khūshnavāz had been forced to capitulate after a battle fought on his own chosen battlefield from which he had to flee precipitately having sustained a signal defeat.

Relieved from the Ephthalite danger, Balāsh could now

devote his attention to put an end to the troubles with which Armenia had been so long afflicted. He appointed Nik'or Vshnaspadat, a Persian who was renowned for his justice and moderation, to be the Marzpan of that country. Nik'or invited Vahan to discuss amicably the terms upon which Armenia would be prepared to end the war and put itself in dependence on Persia as before. Vahan offered the following terms, which Nik'or accepted subject to ratification by the king. (Gray's art. "Persian Negotiations and Peace Treaties," M. M. V., 146-7.)

(1) The first most essential and most important of the three conditions of peace is to guarantee us (the Armenians) the laws of our country and our fathers; to make no Armenian a Magian; to accord no one duties and honours because he exercises the functions of a Magian; to remove the fire-temples from Armenia; no longer to cause the Church to suffer outrage as has hitherto been the case because of infamous and despicable men, to permit Christians, [both laity and clergy], to practise freely and fearlessly the rites and laws of the Christian religion where and as they will.

(2) The second is not to judge individuals arbitrarily, but to distinguish the good from the bad.

(3) The third is this: we desire the Lord of the Aryans and the King of the nation [*i.e.* Valagash] to see all with his own eyes and to hear all with his own ears, himself to know the good and the bad, and not to employ another's mouth for deciding weighty affairs.....If you grant us these conditions and place these promises in our hands, confirming them by the Royal seal and signature, summon us and we shall come; we shall submit and obey the King's command, and carry out all that he shall command.

The king gave the necessary ratification. Armenia and Iberia were pacified and became instead of weakness a source of strength to Persia.

Zareh, a son of king Pirûz, raised pretensions to the crown and received support from a section of the people. But the royal troops, which included a strong force of Armenian cavalry, defeated the pretender, who fled, but was pursued, captured and slain.*

* Rawlinson says that the revolt of Zareh and his relationship to Pirûz rest wholly on the testimony of the Armenian writers. (R. S. O. M., 334.)

Tabari mentions that prince Kobād now raised a claim to the throne, but the attempt failed and he had to leave Persia and seek refuge with the Ephthalites. But Firdausi speaks of no such revolt. What he says is that the commander-in-chief Sūfrāi, who was beloved of the people and whose word prevailed throughout the country, spoke persuasively to the king and represented to him that in the interests of the empire he should resign in favour of Kobād, who possessed more wisdom and greater administrative ability. The persuasion had its effect and Palāsh handed the crown to Kobād. Lazare de Parbe's account agrees substantially with that of Firdausi for he makes Palāsh dethroned by his subjects. (R. S. O. M., 336.)

The duration of Palāsh's reign was about four or five years. He was a prince wise, just and mild. Tabari and Mirkhond mention that his internal administration gave general satisfaction to his subjects. But this could not have been the case; otherwise Sūfrāi, who represented the people's sentiments, could not have any reason to advise him to hand over the crown to his brother Kobād.

XX. KOBĀD AND XXI. JĀMĀSP.

The first year of his reign was signalized by king Kobād by undertaking a campaign against the fierce Hunnish tribe of the Khazars, who from their steppe country between the Volga and the Don were making terrible incursions into Iberia, Albania and Armenia. He destroyed the greater portion of their army and acquired immense booty. To check their incursions in future he built the town of Amida on the border line which separated Armenia from Iberia.

Kobād took little personal interest in the administration of the empire and for twenty-three years all power rested in the hands of Sūfrāi. When with the king's permission Sūfrāi went to Shirāz his ill-wishers poisoned the king's mind against him, so much so that with the assistance of Shāhpūr Razi, who held a command in Rai and was a descendent of the famous house of Mehrak, Kobād caused him to be arrested and put to death.

This ungrateful and cruel act of the king roused the

people to anger. They revolted and arrested him and his evil advisers and consigned him to the Castle of Oblivion, appointing Sûfrâi's son, Zermehar, his custodian, and giving the crown to Kobâd's younger brother Jâmâsp.

Kobâd prevailed upon Zermehar, who was of a merciful disposition, to release him, and on a dark night both escaped from the castle and fled by the way of Ahwâz to the Ephthalite court. Other accounts attribute Kobâd's escape to the assistance of his wife, who, as some say, changed clothes with him and took his place in the prison, and, as others say, carried him out of the castle concealed in a bundle of bed-clothes and coverlets. (R. S. O. M., 347.)

The Khân of the Ephthalites married Kobâd to his daughter and lent him an army of 30,000 warriors, with which he returned to Persia to recover his throne, the Khân making the stipulation that when Kobâd regained his kingdom, he should cede to him the territory of the Chagânis with full sovereign rights.

Jâmâsp had no desire to see the country distracted by a civil war and vacated the throne in favour of Kobâd.

King Kobâd began the foundation of Madâin as a capital city, and on the road from Ahwâz to Pârs built the town of Arash where he established a hospital for invalids. In various places new irrigation canals were cut, which increased the country's prosperity.

Early in his reign arose the arch-heretic Mazdak. He is said to have been a native either of Persepolis or of Nishâpûr in Khûrâsân. He was a master of eloquence, and claimed to be a prophet and preached the creed of communism.

The Mazdakite movement was strongly influenced by Mânî's teachings and was in many respects a furbishing up of Manichaeism, combining political aspects with a religious basis. (I. I. S., 191.) Mazdak declared that property and marriage were mere inventions of men, contrary to the will of God, Who had designed the good things of the world for the common enjoyment of all and forbade the appropriation of particular women by individual men. To give his cult a touch or colour of asceticism he inculcated abstention

from animal food, other than milk, cheese or eggs, simplicity in apparel, abstemiousness and devotion. He appropriated the richest land and the most beautiful women to the use of his sectaries. It is, therefore, no matter for wonder that the number of his followers rapidly swelled. The young of all ranks, the lovers of pleasure, and the great proportion of the lower classes in Persia eagerly embraced the new doctrines; and Syria and Greece were not behindhand in being attracted by the lure of this cult of community of women.

One morning in preaching before King Kobād, Mazdak thus declaimed:—"Five things lead men astray from virtue, namely, jealousy, anger, revenge, want, and, worse than all, greed. Only by subduing these five demons the path towards God can become visible. Due to these five is the craving of man for property and women, for the true Faith has disappeared. If thou dost not wish to damage the good religion, suffer not wealth and woman to intervene. It is these which create jealousy, temptation, and want, and are covertly intermixed with wrath and revenge. These demons madden even the wise. Therefore, these beasts of prey should be allowed no harbour in our bodies."

The editor of the variorum edition of 1854 of G. D. F. R. E. (Vol. IV, 461-2) offers the following pertinent observations regarding this heresiarch:—"Mazdak was either one of those visionary enthusiasts who believe that mankind can be rendered at once virtuous and happy, or an artful impostor, who, under this pretence, concealed the most nefarious designs. The latter appears to have been most probably his character. He took for his fundamental principle a truth which cannot be controverted that the passions of man for wealth and women have been the sources of all the hatred, discord, and wars, which have produced the misery of the world; and from this he deduced his false and pernicious conclusions, that no remedy was to be found for these evils but in a community of goods and unrestricted sexual intercourse." An Oriental writer attributes all the discords and woes that afflict humanity to three *s*'s, namely *san* (زن), women; *zar* (زر), gold or wealth; *zamin* (زمین), land.

By a clever trick* which had all the semblance of a genuine miracle, Mazdak had attached King Kobād to his cause and creed. But the king's son Khûsrau, who afterwards became so renowned as King Khûsrau Naushirvân Ādil, Chosroes II, was no partisan of the heresiarch, and when at the latter's request Kobād pressed him to adopt the Mazdaki religion, he asked time to prove the falsity of Mazdakism and the truth of the old Faith, and added that if he failed to do so before six months were out, he would resign himself to the new faith. He sent out intelligent men to different quarters and gathered an assemblage of wise and learned men. He held consultations with them and then came to the king's court and announced to him that the time to determine which was the true religion, Zoroastrianism or Mazdakism, had arrived, and if it appeared that the latter was true and the former false, he was prepared to accept it and value it more than his life. But, added he, "if on the other hand it be proved that what Mazdak had been preaching was false and misleading and he was not seeking the way of God, then, O King! thou shalt renounce his heres and denounce his mischievous propaganda and leave him and his sectaries to be dealt with by me." The prince offered Zermehar, Kharrād, Farrahin, Benduyé, and Behzād as pledges of his work.

On the morning of the next day, Naushirvân presented himself at the court with his wise men and nobles. One of these sages began his interrogation of the heresiarch in the following wise:—"O seeker after wisdom thou hast propagated a new creed and makest women and riches common property for all. Then tell us how a father can know his own child and the child recognize its parent? When all men are on one level and none is high or low, who will care to serve and how possibly can there be mastery? Who will labour for thee and me? How shall

* The trick is described as follows in I. W. I. of 6-8-83:—"Mazdak.....planned a stupendous hoax on the Persian King. With the help of a confederate, a tube was made to lead from a cavern below the fire-altar to the altar itself.....On the appointed day the people gathered and conducted their hero to the sacred fire-altar itself.....Mazdak, having addressed the king, told him that as a sign of his authority the Sacred Element itself would speak to him. Turning to the fire-altar with much dramatic gesture he addressed the flames. Imagine the scene when words were heard to issue from the very heart of the glowing tongues of fire! Kobād was convinced of Mazdak's mission.....He himself became a genuine disciple of Mazdak."

the good man be distinguished from the bad? On a man's death who will be the inheritor of his moveable and immoveable property, the king or the citizen, both being in your eyes equal? Thy doctrine will devastate the country. Such evil must not come upon Iran. If all would be masters, who would be the servant; and if all wealth be common, who would be the wealthy persons? No prophet has uttered such heresy before. There is madness in thee; evil-doing thou recognisest not as wrong and so leadest all men to hell."

The heresiarch was nonplussed and his face fell. The people raised the cry, "Let Mazdak never remain near our king's person! He violates God's religion. May he never be in this majestic court!"

Convinced of the falsity of Mazdak's creed, Kobād left Naushirvān to decide the fate of that heretic and his adherents as he willed. The prince had Mazdak suspended head downwards on a lofty scaffold and shot to death with arrows, and three thousand of his sectaries who were there were ordered to be buried alive in a trench.

One of the terms of the treaty which Count Anatolius, on behalf of Emperor Theodosius, had negotiated with Yezdegard in A.D. 442 required the Romans to pay annually to the Persians a certain amount of money as a contribution towards the expenses of a fortified post, known as Juriopach or Biraparuch, which the two powers undertook to establish and maintain in the pass of Darband so as to be a check on the incursions of the barbarous hordes from the northern steppes. The Romans had neglected to make these payments though called upon by the Persians from time to time. Kobād, finding himself in urgent need of funds to reward his Ephthalite allies, sent ambassadors to Emperor Anastatius to demand a remittance. The latter's refusal (which Gibbon calls his 'unkind parsimony') of this just demand gave cause to Kobād to declare war. He marched into Roman Armenia, and captured Martyropolis and Theodosiopolis, which was the chief stronghold of the Romans (A.D. 502-503). Amida, which was a strongly fortified place on the right bank of the Tigris, was invested and taken after eighty days and with a loss

of 50,000 men. The town was pillaged and the mass of the people were carried off as slaves, but a large number of them were afterwards liberated by the king's mercy.

A numerous force, larger than the Romans had ever brought into the field in their battles with the Persians, was despatched by Anastatius, under four commanders, to the aid of Amida, but before it arrived the place had fallen.

Arcobindus, the commander of the first of the four divisions, with the object of carrying the war into the enemy's territory, crossed the boundary and attacked Arzanene. But the moment he learnt that Kobād was marching upon him with his army, he was seized with alarm and fled precipitately, abandoning his camp and stores to the enemy.

Another division, which was led by Patricius and the Emperor's nephew Hypatius, was surprised by the Persians and put to the sword.

After the siege of Amida the war continued for three years. Gibbon says, in his concise and caustic language, that the unhappy frontier tasted the full measure of its calamities, the gold of Anastatius was offered too late, the number of his troops was defeated by the number of their generals, the country was stripped of its inhabitants, and both the living and the dead were abandoned to the wild beasts of the desert.

So far all the advantage was with Persia. But it happened that at this juncture when Kobād could have pushed his advantage so as to bring about a striking result, an Ephthalite invasion suddenly called him to defend his northern frontier in person and he was obliged to leave the conduct of the operations in Mesopotamia to his generals.

With the king's absence courage returned to the Roman generals. Celer attacked Arzanene, destroyed several forts, carried fire and sword through that province (A.D. 504) and proceeding southward invested Amida and reduced the inhabitants to great distress.

When things were at this pass, there came an unexpected denouement. An Espebad (an officer of the rank of commander-

in-chief), whose sister was married to King Kobād, arrived at the Roman camp as an ambassador from the king with authority to make a treaty of peace and declare the willingness of his sovereign to sell his conquests for a large sum. The Roman generals gave their willing consent and yielded to the Persians the exorbitant price of a thousand pounds' weight of gold which was demanded in exchange for Amida and other conquered territory; and a seven years' treaty of peace was concluded (A.D. 505).

Gibbon says that the resistance of Edessa and the deficiency of spoil inclined the mind of Kobād to peace. But his occupation in the war with the Ephthalite hordes, who had again attacked Persia, which required all his attention seems the more probable cause of his desire to make peace with the Romans.

The Ephthalite war occupied the Persian king for no less than 10 years (503 to 513).

Anastatius availed himself of Kobād's difficulties on his north-east frontier to put up a series of fortresses upon the Roman border in immediate vicinity of Persian territory. Theodosiopolis was restored and its fortifications were greatly strengthened, and an entirely new colony was founded at Dara or Daras, about fourteen miles from the stronghold of Nisibis and four days' journey from the Tigris.

Between the Euxine and the Caspian, the countries of Colchis, Iberia and Albania are intersected in every direction by the branches of Mount Caucasus. The principal gates or passes from north to south are the Caspian or Albanian Gates and the Iberian Gates. Gibbon mentions that the former name is properly applied to Darband, which occupies a short declivity between the mountains and the sea. This dangerous entrance was fortified by the kings of Persia with a mole, double walls, and doors of iron. The latter Gates are formed by a narrow passage of six miles in Mount Caucasus, which opens from the northern side of Iberia or Georgia, into the plain which reaches to the Tanais and the Volga. A fortress which commanded that pass belonged to a prince of the Huns by right of conquest or inheritance. That prince offered it to Anastatius for a moderate price. But while Anastatius paused and timorously computed the cost

and the distance, the more vigilant Kobād interposed and took forcible possession of the straits of the Caucasus.

The new colony of Dara, which constituted a standing menace to Persia, was in manifest violation of the treaty of peace made by Theodosius with Yezdegard II. So when Kobād was free from the Ephthalite war he made formal complaint at Constantinople of the infraction (A.D. 517). Anastatius could not deny the charge and endeavoured to meet it by a mixture of bluster with professions of friendship, but when this method did not appear effectual, he, by the expenditure of a large sum of money, "either corrupted the ambassadors of Kobād, or made them honestly doubt whether the sum paid would not satisfy their master". (R. S. O. M., 361.)

Next year saw the death of Anastatius and accession of Justin, the Captain of the Guard, to the imperial throne.

Kaōses was Kobād's eldest son, but his most favourite son was Chosroes, the fourth son, and the king designed him to be his successor on the throne, with a view to strengthen Chosroes' case in the event of the succession being disputed, or, as Gibbon says, to render the youth more illustrious in the eyes of the nations, he made the strange proposal to Justin that he should adopt him. The emperor was inclined to accept this singular proposal, but was persuaded to refuse it on the ground that as he had no natural son, a son by adoption might claim to be his heir and therefore to inherit from him the Roman empire. Imagination staggers at what might have been the consequences if the united sceptre of the two greatest empires of the time had been wielded by such a monarch as Chosroes (Naushirvân the Great), who, for the long period of forty-eight years, occupied the Persian throne after Kobād and left a name as the greatest sovereign of the Sāsānian line and a well beloved king. The history of the world would have been entirely different. The Byzantine and Persian empires, which so exhausted both their strength and resources in warring with each other, would, as a combined power, have most successfully resisted and survived, and not been engulfed, as both actually were, in the rushing tide of Islam's invasion.

Kobād directed Gurgenes, king of Iberia, to relinquish

the Christian and adopt the Zoroastrian religion. This drove the latter to renounce his fealty to Persia and declare his allegiance to Justin. The emperor gave him a promise that he would never forsake his cause. But when the Persians advanced on Iberia, Justin instead of sending his own troops to his succour, contented himself with sending to him a small levy of Crimean Tatars. Finding resistance of no avail, Gurgenes fled to the difficult country of Lazica, and Iberia once more became a Persian possession. The Persians penetrated also into Lazic territory and seized some of the forts which guarded the passes between Lazica and Iberia.

On his part Justin sent his army to make a bold inroad into Persarmenia. Belisarius, "the greatest general of the age," and "one of those heroic names which are familiar to every age and to every nation," commanded these troops along with Sittas. Narses and Aratius, who were defending Persarmenia, defeated the invaders and checked their progress.

Licelarius, a Thracian captain in the service of the emperor, penetrated into the territory about Nisibis, but growing alarmed beat a hasty retreat. Justin recalled and entrusted the operations in Mesopotamia to Belisarius.

On the death of Justin, his nephew Justinian came to the throne (1st August 527). Early in the next year, the new emperor sent directions to Belisarius to build a new fort at Mindon, a place on the Persian border, a little to the left of Nisibis. Xerxes, son of Kobād, and Firūz, the Mihrān, assailed Belisarius with an army inferior to his in numbers and gave him a crushing defeat. Belisarius fled from the field to Dara. The Persians demolished the attempted fortifications, and Mihrān advanced with forty thousand troops to invest Dara. Curiously enough Justinian, instead of recalling or degrading Belisarius for his ill successes, had on the contrary honoured him with the dignified title of *Magister Militum per Orient*.

The Mihrān sent a message to Belisarius signifying the day and the hour on which he should keep in readiness a bath and breakfast for his refreshment after the toils of victory. With his wonted flippancy, Rawlinson attributes this message to "the insolence of an Oriental". But since we find Gibbon admitting that

the Roman general though superior to the Mihrân in the science of war was much inferior in the number and quality of his troops which amounted only to twenty-five thousand Romans and strangers, relaxed in their discipline and humbled by their recent disasters, we can understand that the shrewd Persian general had sent his proud message as much with the confidence of an assured success as with the design of increasing the panic of the already dispirited defenders and making the accomplishment of victory more easy. The Mihrân's attack, however, failed and he had to retire with disorder, leaving eight thousand of the 'Immortals' on the battlefield. Brig.-Genl. Sykes (*S. H. P.*, 3rd ed., Vol. I, 445) points out that this battle is of considerable interest as showing how the Roman legions had deteriorated and how the Persian forces had improved, and that but for the brilliant cavalry charges of the Massagetae, who formed a part of the Roman army, Rome, although fighting with every advantage of situation and in the manner which best suited the legionaries, would have been defeated.

In Armenia also an army sent by Kobâd under Mermeroës for offensive purposes received reverses in two battles with the Roman troops under Sittas and Dorotheus.

In the year 531 Kobâd, following the advice of Al Mundhir, Shekh of the Saracenic Arabs, despatched fifteen thousand soldiers under a general named Azarethes to invade Syria on the side of the desert in combination with the Shekh's troops. The watchful Belisarius hastened by forced marches to the defence of Syria with twenty thousand men from Dara. On Easter eve, 19th April 531, a battle took place on the banks of the Euphrates, opposite Callinicus. The Persians gained the victory, but in the shades of the evening, when the Persian army drew off, Belisarius was able to transport his troops across the river, and return to Mesopotamia.

Not satisfied with the barren achievements of Azarethes, Kobâd despatched another army, under three generals, into Mesopotamia.

Belisarius had been hastily summoned to the Byzantine court to take the supreme command, both by land and sea, in the last

contest between Rome and Carthage, and the principal command in Mesopotamia now remained with Sittas. The Persians attacked Sophêné and invested Martyropolis. But news now arrived of the death of Kobād and the accession of another king on the throne of Persia. The principal Persian general, Charranges, on the representations of Sittas that peace would soon be proclaimed between the two powers, stopped hostilities and retreated within Persian limits.

On 12th September 531* Kobād died of paralysis at the advanced age of eighty years. He had deposited with his chief minister, the *mobed* Rāmburzin, his last testament, wherein he bequeathed the throne to Khūšrau (Chosroes), saying that by this bequest he had rendered a special service to his ministers and all his subjects.

Rawlinson (R. S. O. M., 377) criticises Kobād's preference for Khūšrau as one solely on account of his beauty and because he was the son of his best-beloved wife, and which, however justified by the event, rested on no worthy motive. But it is clear from Firdausi's account that the king's preference for Khūšrau over his brothers was due to the good qualities which he had noticed in him and especially the wisdom and courage which he had displayed in exposing Mazdak and the promptitude with which he had dealt with that heretic's dangerous followers.

Kobād's long life was crowded with momentous events. He was active, resourceful, and possessed of military capacity. He founded more cities than any other monarch. We cannot accept the judgment of Rawlinson that he suffered considerations of policy to smother his religious convictions. By his persuasive eloquence and the perpetration of a well-planned fraud, Mazdak had succeeded in converting him to his communistic creed, but as soon as he was convinced of the falsity of the Mazdakean doctrines, he had the good sense to return to the pure faith of Zoroaster.

His unjust and cruel treatment of Sūfrāi was certainly a most reprehensible act of ingratitude and tyranny.

He was a contemporary of the Indian King Yashodharma (490-550) of Mālwa. The Huns had warred against this Indian

* This date is according to Mordtmann's "Chronology of the Sassanians".

potentate, and Kobād, who was the son-in-law of the Hunnic king, had fought in this war on the side of the Huns, and, according to the Sanskrit writers, lost in this war some of his eastern provinces, especially Sind. Sir J. J. Modi (M. As. P., Pt. II, 349) advances good arguments to prove that this Indian potentate was known as Vikramāditya and it was he who broke the power of the Huns in India.

Sykes (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 447-8) speaks of some ten missions having passed between Persia and the Northern China dynasty (Toba Wei) between the years 455 and 513 A.D., and makes mention also of special embassies sent from Persia to China by Kobād and Khûsrau (Naushirvân).

XXII. KHÛSRAU NAUSHIRVÂN (CHOSROES I).

Prince Kâûs (Kaoses), the eldest son of Kobād, assumed



Khûsrau Naushirvân.

the insignia of royalty by right of birth. The nobles were disposed to support him, but when the minister Râmburzin produced the late king's will, there was general acquiescence in favour of Khûsrau and he was installed (A.D. 531).

A party of noblemen plotted to bring prince Kobād, son of the late king's second son Zames, to the throne. Zames himself being blind of one eye was ineligible for kingship, but it was intended to make him regent during his son's minority.

The plot was discovered in time, and, according to Procopius, Khûsrau condemned to death all the sons of king Kobād, together with all their male offspring. Kobād, the son of Zames, alone escaped.

Khûsrau's first important act was to summon wise men from different parts of the empire into his presence, and, in consultation with them, to inaugurate important administrative reforms. Before his rule the empire had been divided into a multitude of provinces, each governed almost independently by a satrap, who held his office directly under the crown. It was difficult for the King of Kings to exercise efficient superintendence over all domains, especially those which were remote from the court. Khûsrau formed four great divisions or governments, to each of which he assigned a controlling officer or viceroy in whom he had confidence. The duty of this officer was to guide, control and watch the conduct of the satraps within his division. The satraps reported to the viceroys, who in their turn submitted general reports to the king.

The first or eastern government comprised Khûrāsān, Sistān and Kermān. Gibbon adds to these Cābûl and Zabûlistān, but, as Rawlinson (*R. S. O. M.*, 427) points out, without much reason. The second or northern government comprised Armenia, Āzarbaijān, Gilān, Khoum, and Isphāhān. The third or southern government comprised Fārs, Ahwāz, and the marches of Khazar.* The fourth or western government comprised Irāq, or Babylonia, Assyria and Mesopotamia.

The secret or public agents of the crown were in all quarters and kept the king cognisant of the world's affairs and informed him of the complaints and grievances of the subjects and the misdoings of his officers. In special circumstances special commissions of inquiry were appointed. The king made frequent journeys through his kingdom and personally investigated into the condition of the subjects. His justice was swift and certain. As an instance, Mirkhond mentions that on one occasion he ordered no fewer than ninety officials who had been convicted of tyranny and extortion to be executed. In consequence of his justice and other good measures, waste lands everywhere were restored to fertility. Even in the deserts the young and the old could sleep with full sense of security. As it were, the sheep and the wolf could peacefully drink at the same spring.

* Warner considers Firdausi's inclusion of the marches of Khazar in the southern division, a mistake, since the Khazars lived beyond the Caucasus.

A missive in the Pahlavi language sent by the king to all his officers in authority conveyed to them among other instructions his clearest injunctions that in all matters the people's welfare should be their first consideration. "Never be it," he wrote, "that upon our subjects from the farmers to the Fire-priests, upon men on the dry ground or in ships on the sea, upon merchants engaged in land or maritime commerce, the sun shall shine from the arch of heaven save in justice and in love. Justice is my treasure, and farmers are my troops. The commander who sells his men's lives for gold shall get no entry to my court. But he who is just and clement and follows Law and the Way shall be exalted." He told his people to have no terror of his throne and crown, his court was open to all, and any person who had a complaint was at liberty to approach him at any time, day or night, even if he be then at his meals or enjoying sleep or engaged in sport or chase, or closeted with his councillors. Thus he worthily earned the appellations of *Anúshervân* (*Naushirvân*),* meaning "Of the Blessed or Immortal Soul", and *Dâdgar* and *Âdil*, meaning "The Just", by which the people knew him. Rawlinson (R. S. O. M., 455-6) mentions that instances are on record of his clemency to offenders, and others which show that, when his own interests were at stake, he steadily refused to make use of his unlimited powers for the oppression of individuals.

It is mentioned in the Dinkard that Naushirvân issued a proclamation calling upon such persons as were well qualified for the purpose to come forward and deliver sermons to the people with a view to the dissemination of a better knowledge of the Mazdayasnân religion and its advantages, and that he adequately rewarded these preachers.

Benjamin (B. P., 231) mentions that Naushirvân early stated it as a maxim of his government that it was with the deeds and not the thoughts of men that he concerned himself, which shows a very extraordinary character of mind when we consider what crimes have in all ages been committed in every European country in the name of religion under forms of law. In ancient Iran the

* It seems that it was for his services in putting down Mazdaism that he got the honorific title of *Anúshervân* at the hands of his Iranian co-religionists. (J. E. O. L., No. 20, p. 212.)

king was to all intents and purposes the fountain of Law and Justice; and he could make and unmake his own laws as he deemed best.

The survey of the empire which was commenced by Kobād was completed by Naushirvān. He changed the system of taking a proportion of all produce which varied from a tenth to one-half,* according to the fertility of the land, and substituted a fixed tax, part to be paid in cash and part in kind. The peasants and farmers who were in want of seed and cattle for agriculture could get them from the royal shares, and so no culturable land remained untilled. Unarable and fallow lands were exempt.

All fruit trees were counted and an impost of six dirhams (about three shillings, four pence) per tree was fixed for date-palms and fruit-bearing vines, and that of one dirham for ten trees was fixed for olive, grape and other trees which bear fruit in autumn.†

Well-to-do persons who were of the non-agricultural class or who would not take the trouble to till the soil were subjected to a poll-tax, called the *Gezit*, which varied from 4 to 10 dirhams according to their means. Jews and Christians also paid a poll-tax.

The taxes were payable in three instalments and in their collection no oppression of any kind was used. The *mobeds* or priests were authorised to exercise supervision over the tax-gatherers and to see that no undue exactions were made.

The land tax was called *kharagh* and the poll-tax *gasith*. Later on the Arabs used the same Persian terms and pronounced them as *kharaj* and *jezia*. Males between 20 and 50 were subject to the poll-tax. The exceptions comprised the nobles at court, official dignitaries, ecclesiastics, the military men in Government employ, domestic servants and invalids. There was also a voluntary impost, called *Ayin*. It represented

* According to Firdausi, the former kings took from 25 to 33 per cent as their share of the produce except Kobād, who took ten per cent only and wanted to make a still further reduction, but died before he could introduce the change.

† This is according to Firdausi. Masoudi, quoted by Rawlinson, gives the following rates of tree-tax: Four palms of Fārs, six common palms, and six olives, one dirham; and each vine, eight dirhams.

gifts and free tributes to the king. These were generally offered on the Naoroz and Mehrgân festivals. (B. I. L., April 1928, 18.)

The land system of Khûsrau lasted down to the fall of the Sāsānian empire, and even the Arab conquerors kept it unaltered. E. Thomas (T. N. S. P., 3) says, on the authority of the Tārīkh Gazide, that the description of the revenue system of the Sāsānians was done into Arabic from its original Pahlavi in the reign of Caliph Abdûlmalik (A.D. 684-705). In India the Moghul Emperor Akbar based his land reforms on the settlement of Khûsrau Naushirvân.

In a lecture on Persian Culture delivered by the Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, P.C., before the Persia Society, London, on 20th June 1913, the learned lecturer emphasized the point that the glory of the Sāsānians, their culture and their civilization, must be gathered, not so much from the records of their conquests or of the magnificent display of their courts described by alien writers, as from the institutions they left behind. Their admirable system of land assessment and of state economy served as the foundation of that wonderful structure of administrative organisation which the Abbaside Caliphs built up, and which, transplanted into Moorish Spain, has come down to modern Europe, and perhaps unconsciously served as the model to most of the advanced states of our time.

The water system was carefully attended to. Roads and bridges were maintained in excellent condition, and post-houses and garrisons secured the comfort and safety of travellers.

Khûsrau also instituted a reform of the administration of the army. Under the previously existing system there was lavish waste of expenditure. He created the post of a single paymaster-general, whose function was to carefully inspect and review each body of troops before he allowed it to draw its pay, and to see that each man appeared before him fully equipped and showed his proficiency in the use of arms and each cavalry man brought also his horse and exhibited his mastery over it, before each man's pay was disbursed.

Upto his time the whole military authority was apparently concentrated in the hands of a single Commander-in-Chief, that

office being hereditary in one of the seven most noble families of Persia. Khūšrau abolished this office and created the offices of four Commanders-in-Chief, having each under his command the troops of one-fourth of the realm. (J. K. O. I., No. 7, 23.)

The strength of the armies of the Sāsānian period lay chiefly in cavalry, which consisted of warriors belonging to the gentry. The Arabs supplied the light cavalry. The infantry, which was composed of peasants subject to military service, consisted of archers, swordsmen and spearmen. The army was completed, besides, by numerous auxiliary troops consisting of the different peoples living on the border-lands of the Sāsānian realm. A distinguishing feature of the army were the elephants, that were brought forward at decisive moments.

The full armour of a Sāsānian mounted warrior consisted of the helmet, the "mighfar," the coat-of-mail, the cuirass, the armlets, the gaiters, the sword, the spear, the buckler, the mace attached to the girdle, the pole-axe or a club, the quiver with two stringed bows and thirty arrows, and two twisted bowstrings attached from behind the "mighfar". (Ib., 48.)

In the art of siege the Persians of the Sāsānian period had made considerable progress. Among the military implements were the scorpion, ballistas, mobile towers, shooting by "fivers" (پنجگان), i.e., by five arrows at a time, and throwing of naphtha and "fires". Among the means of the defensive were ditches and iron traps. Long and thick shields of goat's wool, which were called "kilikia", served to conceal the sapping works. (Ib., 50-1.)

When near the place of battle there was a source of water, the same was besprinkled with holy water. With the first arrow a holy twig was shot off. The battle was opened by an appeal to the enemy to submit to the "King of Kings" and to embrace the faith of Zoroaster. (Ib., 24.)

Education was encouraged. Science and learning were patronised. Orphans and poor children were maintained and educated at the expense of the state. Khūšrau himself was a student of the works of Aristotle and Plato, which he got translated into Persian. The works of other writers of Greece and of India

were also translated. Seventy archimages and sages, all men of knowledge and eloquence, were continually lodged and entertained at his court, and he used, when not engaged with justice, largess, festivity, or war, to question them and increase his store of knowledge. Among these was the celebrated Buzarzemeher who became exalted over all those philosophers, and who was often called by the Romans the Seneca of the East. This prodigy of wisdom was brought to the royal court from a college at Merv, by one Ajâdsarav, to interpret a vision which Khûsrau had seen. (P. S. G. A., I.) No one was so learned in astrology and physic, and he could speak with ease of government, conduct, and policies. Firdausi relates seven banquets of the king to the archimages, where Buzarzemeher distinguishes himself by his philosophical disquisitions, and replies to subtle interrogatories, which the king follows with keen delight. The king was wont to give largesses to these sages in this way: the treasurer gave four purses as largess when Khûsrau exclaimed *zeh* ('good', or 'well done'), and forty purses when to *zeh* he added *zehâzeh* ('very good'). Each purse contained ten thousand drachms, a drachm being equal to 88 centimes.

In A.D. 529 Justinian closed the School of Athens. Driven from their country by his persecution the seven Neo-Platonist philosophers and friends, the last of the long lists of Grecian philosophers, Damascius, Simplicius, Eulalius, Priscianus, Hermias, Diogenes and Isidorus, resorted to Khûsrau's court, where they received a welcome and enjoyed his hospitality for over twenty years. It redounds to the honour of this great Parsi king that in his first treaty with Rome he insisted upon including a special clause securing to these sages exemption, when they returned to their own country, from the penal laws which the Roman emperor had enacted against his pagan subjects. He got the books of these Neo-Platonists translated into Pahlavi. From the Pahlavi they were translated into Arabic after the Arab conquest. The Neo-Platonic ideas which are found in the writings of the Persians Sufis are traceable to the influence of these Greek sages on the intelligentsia of the Persian court. (M. O. C. P., 334; D. R. P., 50.)

Among other Greeks who gained the king's special favour were the sophist Uranius, who instructed him in the learning of Greece, and Stephen of Edessa, who was his favourite physician.

At Jundi-i-Shāpūr, a place which is identified with the hamlet of Shābād in Khūzistān, a school of physic was opened, which developed into a university where the study of philosophy, rhetoric and poetry was also pursued. Instruction in Greek science was imparted here by Greek and Syrian teachers. The medical teaching was in the main Greek, but we are informed by E. G. Browne, the author of "Arabian Medicine," that there was undoubtedly an underlying Persian element, especially in Pharmacology. This school flourished even after the Arab conquest, and the academy of Bait-ul-Hikmat which was founded by Caliph Mamun in Baghdād and became a celebrated university of Moslem learning was a replica of it.

King Khūsrāu sent to India, at his own request, the eloquent physician Barzūi who was a famous chief and the wearer of a crown, to find the herb that restored the dead to life. Barzūi came to learn from Indian sages that the highly prized Sanskrit work Panchtantra or Hitopadesha (the Fables of Bidpai) was this herb in mystic parlance, and kept by king Dabeshlim as a treasure. He brought a transcript of it to Persia and by Khūsrāu's command it was translated in Pahlavi. It has since been translated into many languages and is said to be surpassed in this particular by the Holy Bible alone. It is now known in Persia by the names of Anwār-i-Sohéli ("The Lights of Canopus") and Kitāb-é-Kalila va Damna ("The book of Kalila and Damna"). It is curious that in the famous Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh that hero goes in search of the Herb of Life. A writer in the Times of India of 16th June 1933 observes that this suggests a common origin with the Indian Soma elixir myth.

Khūsrāu is said to have ordered the collection and arrangement of the annals of the Persian monarchy and their compilation into a Book of Kings.

Rawlinson (R. S. O. M., 457) mentions that the Persians and even many Greeks, in his own day, exalted Khūsrāu above measure, as capable of apprehending the most subtle arguments

and the deepest problems of philosophy, and yet, relying on the estimate of Agathias, he indulges in the remark that there is no reason to believe that he rose very high above the ordinary Oriental level. Gibbon also makes the uncharitable remark that his studies were ostentatious and superficial.

With a view to increase the population, the king required marriageable females to provide themselves with husbands, and in the case of their neglecting this duty, the government found suitable husbands for them from their own class. The object of increasing the population was further served by settling within Persian territories the captives taken by the king in the course of his wars. In this way large numbers of Syrian Christians carried off from the neighbourhood of Edessa were settled in various parts of Persia, and a Greek colony, known as Rûmiâ, was established near Ctesiphon after the capture of Antioch in A.D. 540, as will be narrated hereafter.

Benjamin's judgment of king Khûsrau is that he was one of those rare minds which seek all knowledge for their portion and find expansion in almost every form of experience and activity. (B. P., 230.)

The Romans as well as the Persians were weary of war, and Emperor Justinian was anxious to have hostilities ceased in the East so as to have his hands free for the prosecution of his designs in the West. In A.D. 532, the year after king Khûsrau's accession, Justinian made a truce with the Great King and in the ensuing year concluded a treaty, known as "the endless peace", whereof the following were the terms :—

- (1) The two sovereigns should consider themselves brothers, in accordance with the ancient custom, and should supply each other with men or money as need might arise.
- (2) All places captured by either side during the war just ended should be restored to those from whom they had been taken, the Romans to give back to the Persians, among other towns, Bolon and Pharangion, and the Persians to restore to the Romans the fortresses in Lazica.
- (3) The Roman commander in Mesopotamia should make Constantinâ his head-quarters instead of Dara.

- (4) Rome should give the Persians the sum of eleven thousand pounds of gold (about half a million sterling) as her contribution towards the maintenance of the Caucasian defences, the actual defence being undertaken by Persia.
- (5) The Iberian refugees might reside at Constantinople or return to their homes
- (6) A certain Dagaris might be exchanged for another person of equal rank.

Hārith bin Jabala, the Ghāssānian, a protégé of Justinian, attacked Al-Mondhar (Manzar), an Arab chief, who was a vassal of the Persian king, slaughtered a considerable number of his people and carried away much booty. Al-Mondhar came to Khūsrau and addressed him thus:—"If thou art the Shāh of Iran and the guardian and support of the brave, why should the Romans lord it so and invade the Desert of the Cavaliers? If the Shāh be the Cæsar's sovereign lord, the haughty monarch should have his head struck off. If the august Shāh will give permission no more will he behold us coming to him with complaints. In the fight the Cavaliers of the Desert shall come out the superior of the Rûmans."

Khūsrau received weighty representations also from Witiges, the Ostrogoth king of Italy, Bassaces, an Armenian chieftain, and certain others urging him to declare war against Justinian, who was aiming at universal dominion and had already violated the spirit of "the endless peace".

Giving careful consideration to these representations, Khūsrau declared war and invaded Syria. Gibbon's pronouncement (G. D. F. R. E., ch. XLII) that whatever might be his provocations, the king abused the confidence of treaties and that the just reproaches of dissimulation and falsehood could not only be concealed by the lustre of his victories is disingenuous and unwarranted. We find from what this historian has consigned to the unimportance of a footnote that Procopius, the Greek secretary of Belisarius, in his public history, feels, and makes us feel, that Justinian was the true author of the war. Firdausi tells us that Naushirvân never indiscriminately entered upon a war. When he noticed hostile intentions on the part of a monarch, it was his wont, out of consideration and forbearance, to send an ambassador to the

adversary to offer him a chance of desisting from his evil designs. If the other party sought conciliation, Naushirvân was never vindictive, but if he persisted in his animosity, then the Great King would take up the challenge and wage war with vigour. Firdausi further tells us that before taking up this war with the Romans, Naushirvân had sent an ambassador asking Justinian to desist from unfriendly acts and respect the treaty, and declared war only when he received in answer an arrogant letter from the emperor. When setting his seal upon this letter Justinian exclaimed: "Christ and the cross are with me." It is interesting to note in this connection that the third section, called the Artâeshtâristâna, of the lost Nask Dûbâsrûjîd, in which were given details of the training, equipment and duties of soldiers, the choice of commanders, arrangements for the supply of provisions for the armies, the conduct of troops during a battle, and many other military matters, enjoined that before a battle the commander of the army should dispute with the non-Iranian enemy even through messengers and employ argument for calling him to submit to the king of kings and to the Religion of God; in other words, he was to fight only if the enemy declined to submit when called upon to do so. We have seen before that this was also the actual practice of that great warrior-king Ardeshir (Artaxerxes I), the founder of the Sâsânian dynasty.

Khûsrau followed up his declaration of war by crossing the Euphrates in the lower portion of its course and proceeded up its western bank. Suron (the Shurâb of Firdausi), not Dura as mentioned by Gibbon (G. D. F. R. E., ch. XLII), which ventured to resist the progress of the Great King, was forcibly entered and, to set an example to other cities, a large number of its inhabitants were put to the sword, twelve thousand were made captives, and the town was subjected to fire. Was it his "unfeeling avarice", as Gibbon puts it, or was it "in a fit of remorse" as Rawlinson puts it, or was it really due to his magnanimity, as we are disposed to believe, that the Great King set these twelve thousand captives free, on the neighbouring bishop of Sergiopolis pledging his faith for the payment of such a modest sum as a couple of hundred pounds for their ransom?

Hieropolis (the Ārâyish-i-Rûm of the Shâh-nâmeh) was fairly

well garrisoned and its defences were strong. But its inhabitants surrendered and paid a ransom of two thousand pounds of silver. Berhœa (Aleppo) was reached in four days. Khûsrau demanded a ransom of twice the amount taken from Hieropolis, but at the bishop's entreaties accepted half the amount.

A few days' further march brought him to the outskirts of Antioch. About three centuries after the capture of this rich and magnificent metropolis of Rome in the East by Shâpûr, the second Sāsānide king, it was besieged by another king of the line, Khûsrau Naushirvân.

Justinian had sent his nephew Germanus for the defence of Antioch, but that prince, evidently from a wholesome dread of the Persians, abandoned the city and withdrew into Cilicia. Buzes, to whom had been entrusted the protection of the East, also disappeared. The town was almost without a garrison, and it fell to the Antiochenes to defend it and their lives as they best could. They were offered easy capitulation terms, but as they suddenly received a reinforcement of six thousand trained soldiers under Theoctistus and Molatzes, who commanded in the Lebanon, they rejected the offer. Khûsrau stormed and took the place. The Roman soldiers fled, but the youth of Antioch carried on the struggle until every one of them was slain (A.D. 540).

Firdausi says that the king was so charmed with the magnificence of the city and its nice parks, pleasantries, and springs of water that he rapturously exclaimed: "Can this be Antâkiâ (Antioch) or young spring? Whoever has not seen Elysium, whose soil is musk and the bricks gold, whose trees are like yâkût and the waters rose-water, and where the earth is the sky and the sky the sun, should look on this land. May this land of Râm remain ever prosperous!" Would we be wrong to conclude that the king could not have been so barbarous as to consign to the flames, as Procopius alleges and following him Gibbon and Rawlinson assert, a city which he so much admired? In any case we learn from Procopius that Khûsrau spared the cathedral of Antioch, the church of St. Julian, and the quarter of the city where the ambassadors whom Justinian had sent to him resided. The rich works of art, the marbles, bronzes, tablets

and pictures, which beautified "the Queen of the Roman East", were removed by the conqueror to his capital Madāyan* (Ctesiphon).

The king ordered another city to be built, in the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon, on the model of Antioch, and named it Zib-e-Khûsrau, *i.e.*, The Ornament of Chosroes. It was also known by the name of Rûmiâ ("The Roman"). He set his Syrian captives at large and gave them this new town to dwell in with the free use of the gardens, parks, pleasantries, springs and fountains with which it was beautified. A stately hippodrome and public baths were also constructed for their use, and musicians and charioteers revived the pleasures of a Greek capital. The munificence of the Great King provided the fortunate settlers with free goods and grain, and they further enjoyed the singular privilege of bestowing freedom on the slaves whom they acknowledged as their kinsmen. Rûmiâ was exempt from the authority of Persian satraps and placed under a Christian chief directly under the crown. The history of the world may be searched in vain for a parallel to this singularly munificent treatment of his war-captives by this Parsi potentate fourteen centuries ago.

Ambassadors from Justinian waited on Khûsrau at Antioch and pressed him to agree to a peace. The terms which the king dictated were that Rome should pay him an indemnity of five thousand pounds of gold and contract to make a further payment of five hundred pounds of gold annually as a contribution towards the expense of maintaining the Caspian Gates. The ambassadors accepted these terms subject to ratification by the emperor and furnished hostages.

After visiting Seleucia, the port of Antioch, Khûsrau made his ablutions in the blue waters of the Mediterranean and turning to the sun offered solemn thanksgiving to Ahurâ Mazdâ.

He thence proceeded to Apamea, a wealthy Roman city, the inhabitants whereof immediately submitted and on demand gave as ransom the valuables of the sacred treasury, including a

* *Madāyan*, plural of *Madīneh*, *i.e.*, a city. As the city was situated on both sides of the river, it was known by the plural form, meaning the city made up of two cities on both sides of the river. According to the Pahlavi treatise *Shatrolhâ-i-Airân*, it was called Ctesiphon, because it was founded by one Tus of Sîrkân. Thus the name appears to be an abbreviated form of Tus-i-Sîrkân. (M. A. P., Pt. III, 48.)

fragment of the true cross which was enshrined in a case decorated with gold and jewels of immense value. In response to the prayers of the bishop and the inhabitants, the king restored to them the piece of the cross. The Apameans venerated this fragment as a most holy relic and considered it the most valuable of their possessions. If the Great King had really been the covetous man that Gibbon vainly strives to make him out, he could have exacted a very large payment for it from the wealthy Apameans. This eminent historian, who would not miss this opportunity to belittle the conqueror and revile his Faith, says (G. D. F. R. E., ch. XLII) in his customary satirical way that the king, educated in the religion of the Magi, exercised without remorse the lucrative trade of sacrilege, and after stripping of its gold and gems a piece of the true cross restored the naked relic to the devotion of the Christians of Apamea.

From Apamea the king returned to Antioch, where he witnessed the games of the amphitheatre. Gibbon mentions that the Syrians were pleased by the courteous and even eager attention with which the king assisted at the games, and that as he had heard that the blue faction was espoused by the emperor, his peremptory command secured the victory of the green charioteer; and he adds that from the discipline of his camp the people derived more solid consolation. These simple facts which Gibbon and also Rawlinson have ingenuously related confirm our belief that the 'barbarian' king must have spared most of the city and not delivered it wholly to the flames as alleged.

The Great King now set out to return to Persia, visiting on the way the important city of Chalcis, in northern Syria, which he suffered to be redeemed by a ransom of two hundred pounds of gold. Edessa, Constantina, and Dara also paid ransoms.

Lazica or Lāzistān (the ancient Colchis* and the modern Mingrelia and Imeritia), on the Black Sea, was a dependency of Rome. Its people had genuine grievances against the Romans in consequence of their avarice and exactions and encroachment upon their rights. The Romans had seized Petra, upon the

* Famous as the place where Jason and his Argonauts went to obtain the Golden Fleece which was guarded by a sleepless dragon

coast, and fortified it. Its Roman commandant reduced the native king, Gubazes, to a pageant of royalty and oppressed the Lazi by creating for himself a monopoly of salt, corn, and other necessities which he required them to purchase from none but himself. Though they were Christians like the Romans they preferred to put themselves under the protection of the Zoroastrian King of Kings and sent ambassadors to his court offering their submission (A.D. 540-1). They represented to Khûsrau that as a result of the addition of Lazica to the realm of Persia it would come about that he would have a part in the sea of the Romans through this land, and after he had built ships in this sea it would be possible for him with no trouble to him to set foot in the palace of the Roman emperor in Byzantium.

Khûsrau penetrated up to the Black Sea and received the Lazic king Gubazes' declaration of fealty, and invested the strong Roman post of Petra, which, after a stout resistance, capitulated. Lazistân now became a province of the Persian empire.

The Roman general Belisarius, who had fixed his headquarters at Dara, advanced in the direction of Nisibis, but finding it a hopeless venture to capture it, gave up the idea of attacking it, and proceeded to the fort of Sisauranon, a day's march from Nisibis, and captured it.

Next year (542) the king renewed the campaign, and captured Callinicum. In the summer of this year Egypt was visited by plague, which spread into Palestine. The king, who had started the campaign with the intention of invading the last named place, was obliged to abandon his design and to return to his own territories.

The following year saw the king moving towards the Armenian frontier. But plague having broken out in his troops, he retraced his steps from Āzarbaijân.

Troubles in Italy necessitated the presence of Belisarius there. The Roman army in the East, amounting to thirty thousand men, was put under the command of fifteen generals. Induced by the king's retirement, they invaded Persarmenia. But finding

themselves suddenly encountered by a small force of four thousand Persians, under Nabedes, which was posted at the village of Anglon, they were seized with panic and fled in dismay in the utmost disorder. They were pursued and large numbers of them were made captives.

In 544, proceeding westward, the king besieged Edessa, but he found his efforts to take it so far foiled that he was content to accept the ransom of five hundred pounds of gold which the Roman commandant Martinus offered him, and returned home.

In the following year ambassadors from Justinian waited on the king to negotiate for peace. Khûsrau agreed to a five years' truce. For this cessation of hostilities the Roman emperor paid the price of two thousand pounds of gold and the services of a Greek physician.

In its fourth year (549) the emperor deliberately violated the truce by sending eight thousand troops, under Dagisthæus, to aid the Lazi in their revolt against Persia. Dagisthæus laid siege to Petra, which was strongly fortified and well provisioned. This siege is considered one of the most memorable in history. The town fell, but not until after a prolonged and most desperate resistance (551). The heroism of the Persian garrison was beyond praise. The instant demolition of the fortifications, says Gibbon, (G. D. F. R. E., ch. XLII), confessed the astonishment and apprehension of the conqueror.

In the spring the Persians took the field under their distinguished commander Mermeroës. The Iberian passes were re-occupied, Lazica was reconquered, and forts were built to strengthen the Persian hold. The Persian dominion was further extended into Scymnia and Suania. This general Mermeroës was of advanced age and lame of both feet, yet he was strong, bold, active, and of considerable mental energy. In battle he was always in the van of his troops, carried on a litter, and his very presence inspired terror to the foe.

The Lazic War ended in 562 by King Khûsrau agreeing to waive his claims to Lazica in return for an annual subsidy of 30,000 pieces of gold.

Gibbon mentions that in peace the king of Persia continually

sought the pretences of a rupture, but no sooner had he taken up arms than he expressed his desire of a safe and honourable treaty, and that during the fiercest hostilities the Roman and Persian monarchs entertained a deceitful negotiation. So far as we can judge, bearing in mind the magnanimous disposition of this king of the Happy Soul (Naushirvân) and the sense of mercy and justice for which he was known far and wide and which had procured him the appellation of the Just (Ādil), it was neither land hunger, nor a militant or quarrel-seeking disposition, which led him to undertake military expeditions, but it was the praiseworthy motive of protecting and strengthening the frontiers of his empire against the attacks of foreign powers and making Persia feared and respected by her neighbours that led to his warlike operations.

Iesdegusnaph, the diplomatic representative of the Great King at the Byzantine court, communicated his august sovereign's willingness to conclude a fresh truce for five years on the payment of a sum of two thousand and six hundred pounds of gold by the Roman emperor. Lazica and the country of the Saracens were excluded from the operation of the truce. The emperor accepted these terms, and a truce was concluded (A.D. 551).

Gibbon mentions that such was the superiority of king Chosroes that whilst he treated the Roman ministers with insolence and contempt, he obtained the most unprecedented honours for his own ambassadors at the imperial court. The Persian ambassador, Iesdegusnaph, numbered two satraps with golden crowns among his retinue, five hundred of the most valiant of Persian horsemen formed his guard, and his wife and daughters, with a train of eunuchs and camels attended his march. So far, however, as we can see from the Shâh-nâmeh king Naushirvân's treatment of the Roman ambassadors was never one of contempt or disdain, but was always marked by courtesy and kindness. At the audience which the Great King gave to a Roman ambassador, called Mehras by Firdausi, who was young in age but old in wisdom, he told the latter that he esteemed him as more precious than the whole land of stately Rûm turned to gold.

In 553 Mermeroēs renewed the Lazic campaign. He seized the strong Roman fort of Telephis, and pressing forward drove the Roman forces to the coast. But before he could clear Lazica of its last Roman soldier as he had hoped to do and would certainly have done, this brave old general succumbed to a fatal malady. Nachoragan, who had a great reputation, took up the command, but in the course of two years ruined the Persian cause in Lazica.

In the early part of 557 a general truce was proclaimed which was to extend to Lazica as well as to the other portions of the Roman and Persian territories. This was followed five years later by a fifty years' treaty of peace, which was formulated by the Roman ambassadors Petrus Patricius and Eusebius and the Persian envoy Iesdegusnaph, on the frontier between Dara and Nisibis (562). The terms of the treaty, which was drawn up in Greek and Persian, were as under :—

(1) The Persians should withdraw from and waive all claims to Lazica and restore it to the Romans.

(2) Rome should pay annually to the Persians, to keep the peace, thirty thousand pieces of gold, the amount for the first seven years to be paid in advance, three years' amount at the expiry of seven years, and thereafter year by year.

(3) Neither the Persians, Huns, Alans, nor other 'barbarians' might enter Roman territory through the Khorutzon Pass (at Darband) or through the Caspian Gates, nor might the Romans send armed forces against the Persians either there or at any other point on the Median frontier.

(4) The Saracens, as allies of both nations, should be bound by the same terms, neither Roman partisans among them bearing arms against the Persians nor Persian partisans against the Romans.

(5) The Christians in Persia were guaranteed the full and free exercise of their religion; they might build churches, but were forbidden to make converts from the Zoroastrians to Christianity.*

(6) Commercial intercourse was to be allowed between the two empires, but the business was to be carried on only through the regular customs-houses.

(7) Diplomatic intercourse was to be wholly free and the goods of the ambassadors were to be exempt from duty.

* According to Prof. Gray this condition was fixed by a convention drawn up after the treaty had been ratified. (M. M. V., 151.) Tabari mentions that Justinian was bound to build fire-temples for Zoroastrians in his dominions.

(8) Saracen and other 'barbarian' merchants, subjects of either nation, might not journey by obscure routes, but must go *via* Nisibis and Dara, nor might such subjects of either party enter the territory of the other party without Imperial permission, any infringement of the article, or any defrauding of customs, rendering the offenders and their wares, upon seizure by the frontier-guards, liable to penalties prescribed by statute.

(9) Any individuals who had passed, in time of war, from the Romans to the Persians or from the Persians to the Romans, might, if they so desired, return home without let or hindrance, but in time of peace no one might desert or flee from the territory of one party into that of the other, but must be handed over, voluntarily or involuntarily, to those from whom he had fled.

(10) Complaints brought by subjects of one party against subjects of the other party should be settled by trial either by the plaintiffs or by certain men meeting on the frontier in the presence of officials of both parties, the individual found guilty to make the damage good.

(11) Dara should continue a fortified town, but neither nation should build walls around either it or any other frontier area, and the Prefect of the East should not remain in the vicinity of Dara, nor Dara be held by an unnecessarily large garrison.

(12) Neither party might invade or make war upon a people or territory subject to the other party.

(13) If either party should wrong the other by underhand activities which might give rise to ill feeling, the matter should be punctiliously adjusted by the judges stationed on the common frontier of both states; if they should be unable to make settlement, the case should be referred to the (Roman) Commander of the East, and then if it were not adjusted within six months, and damages made good, the party at fault should be liable for twice the amount in reparations; if even this should prove ineffective, the plaintiff should appeal to the sovereign of the defendant, and if that monarch should not pay the plaintiff double damages within a year, this article should be deemed violated.

(14) Persia was to take the sole charge of maintaining the Caspian Gates against the Huns and the Alans.

By this treaty Rome virtually became a tributary of the Persian empire. Tabari and Abu Hanifah Deinavari, quoted by Mirkhond, speak of Rome as paying tribute to Naushirvân, and Gibbon (G. D. F. R. E., ch. XLII) remarks that the smallness of the sum revealed the disgrace of a *tribute* in its naked deformity.

Firdausi also speaks of Rome paying tribute to Persia, and mentions that Naushirvān, on returning from his Syrian campaign, had directed Shirūi, son of Behrām, to collect the tribute from the Caesar regularly without a month's or even a day's delay. Gibbon further on mentions that in the long competition between Chosroes and Justinian the advantage both of merit and fortune was almost always on the side of the barbarian.

According to the Russian historian A. A. Vasiliev (V. H. B. E., Vol. I, 162), the important point of this treaty for the Byzantine Empire was the agreement of the Persians to leave Lazica; in other words, the Persians did not succeed in gaining a stronghold on the shores of the Black Sea, which still remained in complete possession of the Byzantine Empire, which fact was of great political and economic importance.

The Oriental wars in which king Khūsrau was engaged in the interval between the conclusion of the truce and the fifty years' peace were with the Ephthalites and the Khazars, and with Christian Abyssinians, who at the instigation of Justinian had invaded Yaman (Southern Arabia) and seized a large portion of it. In all these wars Khūsrau triumphed. The Ephthalites were administered a severe defeat and their king fell by Khūsrau's own hands. The land of the Khazars was wasted with fire and sword. The Abyssinians were chased beyond the Red Sea; and Ma'di Karib, son of Saif, son of Dhū-Yazan, of the Himarite dynasty, was restored to the throne of his ancestors as the vassal or viceroy of the Persian suzerain. After Ma'di Karib's treacherous murder by the Abyssinians, Khūsrau appointed a Persian with the title of Marzpān to govern Yaman, which remained a Persian province till A.D. 628, when the Persian governor Bādhān embraced Islam. E. G. Browne (B. L. H. P., Vol. I, 181) mentions the interesting fact that even in early Mahomedan days we hear much of the Banū'l-Ahrār, or Sons of the Noble, as the Persian settlers in Yaman were called by the Arabs. One of the conditions which Khūsrau imposed on Ma'di Karib for helping him to his throne was that the Persians were free to marry the Arab women of Yaman, but the Arabs should not marry Persian women. (M. A. P., Pt. III, 45-6.)

The expulsion by the Parsi king of the Christian Abyssinians from Arabia, and the restoration by him of an Arab prince to the throne of Yaman, although in itself an almost insignificant affair, brought about for the Parsi and Roman Empires, the most unforeseen and calamitous consequences. Gibbon says that had a Christian power been maintained in Arabia, Mohamed must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the civil and religious state of the world.

Tabari and Mirkhond speak of a naval expedition sent by Khûsrau to India and the cession of certain territory to him by an Indian ruler. Rawlinson is disposed to doubt this and suggests that friendly intercourse has been exaggerated into conquest and the reception of presents from an Indian potentate metamorphosed into the gain of territory. Firdausi narrates that after subjugating the unfriendly Alanis, Khûsrau proceeded to India and sojourned there for a time, and at his bidding Indian chieftains attended upon him, bringing gifts of brocade, gold coins, horses, and elephants. His embassy to Pulikessi II, the ruler of Badâmi in the Southern Maratha Country, is believed to be the subject of one of the Ajanta Caves paintings.

Whilst he was marching back from India, complaints reached the Great King of the ravages committed in Persian territory by the Balûchis and the Gilânis. He proceeded against them and thoroughly vanquished them. Warner (*W. S.*, Vol. VII, 216-7) points out that Naushirvân's dealings with the Alans and the folk of Gilân are historical, but Firdausi substitutes the Balûchis, who made themselves very troublesome in his time, for another tribe mentioned in his authorities but unknown to him, which dwelt north of the Caucasus.

To protect his subjects living on the Caspian shores from the inroads of the Huns, Naushirvân built between Iran and Turan a strong wall of stone and mortar on broad foundations and ten fathoms high, employing craftsmen from India and Rûm on the work. According to Yâkût (born A.D. 1178), the city of el-Bâb ("The Gate") or Bâb-el-Abwâb ("The Gate of Gates"), behind which Naushirvân had built the wall, was latterly known

as Darband ("The Bar of a Door") or Darband Sehirwan.*

The Armenians speak of the pass along which the wall is built as Honor Pahak, *i.e.*, the Watch or the Protector against the Huns. (M. As. P., Pt. III, 207-11.)

In A.D. 551 the king had the sorrowful task of dealing with the rebellion of his eldest son Anoshazād (or "Immortal Born": Firdausi's Nūshzād). This prince had adopted the religion of his beautiful mother, who was a Christian. For some reason Khūsrau had interned him at Jund-i-Shāpūr,† which was the seat of the Nestorian Metropolitan. Hearing a rumour, which he was too ready to believe, that his father who had started for the Syrian war had been taken ill and died, he hastened to the capital and summoning the Christians throughout the empire to his aid, and counting on the help of the Roman emperor, his brother in the Faith, to whom he wrote making his designs known, proclaimed himself king. He gathered a force of thirty thousand men and lavished on them the treasures which his mother placed at his disposal.

The king wrote an order to Rām Būrzin, the Warden of the Marches of Madāin, to take an army against Nūshzād. Out of pure good nature the distressed monarch instructed the Warden to proceed carefully, to act with moderation, and before taking any action to try conciliation, as the prince was misled by evil-doers and heretics. The Warden was told to bear in mind that the rebel was after all of the king's own flesh and blood, and all endeavours should be made to capture him alive if possible.

The army of Rām Būrzin met Nūshzād's forces, in which there were many Christian chiefs and clericals, and the leader himself was a priest called Shammās by Firdausi. Prior to the battle, a mailed knight, Pirūz-é-Shir (Firūz of the Lion), came forth from the Persian army and declaimed that the prince must not contend with the royal troops, but should implore the king's mercy, because his opposition would bring him disaster and

* The Kalyānian king Gōshāsp had built a wall, 720 miles long, from Baidah in Persia to Samarcand, as a defence against the Huns. (See p. 129 *supra*.)

† So Firdausi. Procopius gives Belapaton as the place of exile. According to Mirkhond, the prince was forbidden to quit the precincts of the palace. (R. S. O. M., 452.)

repentance. The remonstrance was in vain. A fierce battle ensued, in which the rebellious prince was mortally wounded by a chance arrow. He summoned a bishop and made his final confession. To the Roman warriors he spoke, "To fight one's sire is vile and accursed." Procopius' account that he was carried a prisoner to his father who made him unfit to rule by putting out his eyes is unreliable as it differs from the account of his death in battle as narrated by Mirkhond and Firdausi and ill accords with Naushirvân's tender fatherly sentiments as expressed in his letter to Râm Bûrzin.

In 569 or 570 the Khân of the Turks, whom Tabari calls Sinjîbû, invaded Persian territory and occupied Shash, Ferghana, Samarcand, Bokhârâ, Kesh, and Nesf. But hearing that the king's son Hormazd was approaching with an army, he fled precipitately to the remotest part of Tûrkestan, evacuating the lands that he had seized.

The year 572 witnessed a serious rupture between the Romans and the Persians. There was a rebellion in Armenia which is attributed to the proselytising activities of the Persian governors. Justin II, who had succeeded his uncle Justinian in A.D. 565, courted war by declaring his intention of taking the Armenians under his protection, and calling upon the Great King to let them alone. Marcian, the *Magister Militum per Orientem*, defeated a Persian force and besieged Nisibis. Despite his advanced age, Khûsrau marched to the relief of that place, compelled the Romans to raise the siege, and invested Dara (Sakila of the *Shâh-nâmeh*), behind whose strong walls they had taken shelter. After a gallant defence for about six months this most important Roman fortress in the south-east fell (A.D. 573). Here he was joined by his skilful general Adarman, who in the meanwhile had entered Syria, set fire to the suburbs of Antioch, and taken and destroyed Apamea. It is said that no less than 2,92,000 captives were taken by the Persians.

Justin chose Count Tiberius, captain of the guards, as his colleague, and the latter took the management of the war into his own hands in conjunction with the Empress Sophia. The two Cæsars sent an envoy to Khûsrau, fortified with an autograph

letter from the Empress, for the purpose of securing a temporary suspension of hostilities for a year, during which the dispute between the two powers could be satisfactorily settled. Rome purchased this truce by the payment of 45,000 gold aurei to Persia.

Evidently Tiberius had no intention of remaining at peace with Persia. He used every effort to amass troops from different quarters of the Roman empire and even from beyond it, and an army of 150,000 men was gathered on the eastern frontier. But he had such wholesome terror of the Persian arms that instead of entering upon a campaign after all these preparations, he sent an embassy to the Great King for an extension of the truce (A.D. 575). The prudent Khûsrau accepted a three years' truce, Rome agreeing to pay an annual amount of 30,000 aurei during its continuance. Armenia was excluded from the operation of this agreement.

King Khûsrau marched with his army to the rebellious Armenia, which offered no resistance. Before the close of the year he entered the Roman territory of Armenia Minor and threatened Cappadocia. Justin opposed his progress, and Kurs, a Scythian captain who commanded the right wing of the Romans, obtained an advantage in a partial engagement over the Persian rear-guard and captured the camp and baggage. This was the only one out of a score and more of fights in which Khûsrau was personally engaged that he was worsted, and Rawlinson points out there are circumstances which make it probable that this single check was of slight importance. (R. S. O. M., 458.) The king avenged himself by surprising the Roman camp and destroying it. After taking and destroying Melitene, he returned to his own country for winter quarters.

Next year he laid siege to Theodosiopolis without success. But his general Tamchosro gave a severe defeat to the Romans in Persarmenia, which returned to its allegiance to Persia.

The three years' truce expired in A.D. 578, and in the spring of that year hostilities were resumed. The Persian generals Mobodes and Sapoës laid waste the Roman Armenia, and Tamchosro ravaged the country around Amida. On the

other hand, the Roman commander Maurice made a counter-movement and penetrated Persarmenia, which was denuded of troops, and destroyed the forts and pillaged the country. He occupied Arzamene, seized Singara, and carried his incursions as far as the Tigris. If the Roman arms were really crowned with such successes, it is difficult to understand the eagerness of Tiberius, if Dara were restored to him, to evacuate Persarmenia and Iberia, surrender Arzamene, with its stronghold Aphumón, and pay, besides, a sum of money. Whilst the Roman ambassadors were bringing these terms to Ctesiphon, the Great King passed away (A.D. 579).

Under this just, wise, vigilant, and martial yet merciful monarch Persia achieved great eminence, expanded on all sides, and enjoyed abundant prosperity. At his death the Persian Empire extended from the Red Sea, including Southern Arabia, and parts of East Africa, to the Caspian; from the Euxine to the distant banks of Jaxartes; and from the Mediterranean to the Indus. (A. P. P., 3, 4.) The prophet Mohamed spoke with pride of being born during the regime of this king. It is stated in the Hadis:—

كما قال انني عليه الصلوة والسلام انا ولدت في زمان الملك العادل نوشيرون

("The Prophet, on whom be peace! sayeth

I was born in the reign of King Naushirvân the Just'.")

Sheikh Sâdi writes:—

قارون هلاك شد كه چهل خانه كنج داشت نوشيرون نمرود كه نام وكو گذاشت

("Kârûn who'd forty chests of treasures died;

Not Naushirvân, whose name for goodness doth abide.")

زنده ست نام فرخ نوشيرون بعدل كرجه بسي گذاشت كه نوشيرون نماند

("The blessed name still lives of Naushirvân,

For justice, though himself is long since gone.")

Firdausi describes him as at once the king (Shâh) and paladin (Pehelwân), at once a warrior and archimage (Mûbéd), at once the Fire-priest (Hirbud) and the army leader (Sapehbud). He had emissaries everywhere who kept him informed of all affairs, and he did not leave the empire's administration to his minister.

He was the greatest general of his time. The Romans, "the masters of the world", had a wholesome terror of his name. Justinian was repeatedly forced to sue for peace and pay for it. Benjamin (B. P., 232) makes the shrewd observation that the payments made by Justinian to the Persian king for keeping the Ephthalites out of the Roman dominions was in reality a tribute paid to keep Naushirvân himself out of the territories of Justinian.

During his reign Persia placed an embargo on the export of silk to the Roman empire. The Persians made purchases of silk and other articles of commerce in China itself and employed Turks as carriers. It was only after two Persian Nestorian monks had in A.D. 550 smuggled from China the egg of the silk-worm concealed in a bamboo staff that sericulture was introduced in Rome. Factories for the weaving of silk stuffs rapidly sprang up in Constantinople, Tyre, Antioch and other places. The silk industry became a monopoly of the state and brought a large income to the Byzantine government.

Tabari and Hamza Isfahâni include Sarandib (Ceylon) among the conquests of Naushirvân; and Sir James Tennent mentions in his book on Ceylon that the Persians under Naushirvân held a distinguished position in the East, their ships frequented the harbours of India, and their fleet was successful in an expedition against Ceylon to redress the wrongs done to some of their fellow countrymen who had settled there for purposes of trade. The conquest of Ceylon by a Persian fleet is mentioned also by M. Reinaud. Hadi Hasan, the author of a *History of Persian Navigation*, is however of opinion that the Oriental historians have apparently converted an economic conquest into a naval victory.

In the reign of Naushirvân the game of chess was introduced from India into Persia, and a new game was invented by the gifted sage Bûzarzemeher to test the wisdom of the sages of India.

The Pahlavi treatise *Vijārish-i-Chatrang va Hanakhtunishn-i-Vin-Artakhshir* ("Explanation of the game of chess and arrangement of Vin-Artakhshir"), which is extant, relates how King Divsārām of India sent the game of chess to the court of

Khûsrau with his envoy Tâtritvas or Takhtritûs with a challenge to solve the game or pay subsidy. Sixteen pieces of the game were made of diamonds and an equal number of red rubies, and for presentation to the Persian king Tâtritvas brought from the king of Hind 1200 camels loaded with gold, silver, jewels, pearls, and rich clothes, and 90 elephants carrying other choice gifts. Khûsrau asked for four days' time. On the third day Bûzarzemeher stood up and said that he would solve the game easily and secure tribute from the Hindi monarch, and would prepare another game and send it to Divsârâm which he would not be able to solve. He then gave to Tâtritvas the solution of the game of chess, played three games with him, and won each time, whereupon the Hindi envoy addressed the king thus: "Be thou immortal! This greatness, glory, bravery, and victory God has conferred on thee, and He has made thee the lord of Iran and non-Iranian countries. Several wise men of India devised this game after great toil and sent it to this court and none could solve it, but thy Bûzarzemeher through innate wisdom has explained it easily and quickly. He has by this wealth increased the Emperor's treasures."

On an auspicious day Khûsrau sent Bûzarzemeher with the game he had invented to India. To this game Bûzarzemeher gave the name Vin-i-Artakhshir after the name of Artakhshir (Artaxerxes I). King Divsârâm asked for forty days' time to get the game solved by the wise men of his court. But there was nobody there who could do so, and consequently Bûzarzemeher obtained tribute from the Hindi ruler and returned to Persia loaded with honour and presents.

In the place of the game of Vin-i-Artakhshir, Firdausi speaks of the game of Nard as the one which Bûzarzemeher invented and took to India. This game is wholly different from Vin-i-Artakhshir. It was played with dice and resembled backgammon.

Several countries in the East and in the West have received the honour of being the home of the game of chess. But modern opinion is almost unanimously in favour of India as the place of origin. Firdausi gives at some length the legend of the invention of this king of all indoor games. His story is this. Two sons of

a Hīndī queen quarrelled about the succession, as their contention resulted in the death of one of them, the other invented the game of chess to console the queen-mother and keep her mind entertained.

The palace, Takht-i-Khūšrau at Madāin (Ctesiphon) on the left bank of the Tigris, thirty kilometres south-east of Baghdād is commonly attributed to Chosroes I (Naushirvān). Firdausi attributes it to Chosroes II (Khūšrau Parviz). But Herzfeld, on the authority of Ibn-al-Muqaffa and on archaeological grounds, assigns it as the work of Shāpūr I. Its façade and vaulted roof 72 feet wide, 85 feet high, and 115 feet deep are the finest remains of Sāsānian architecture and still exist to indicate the grandeur of this renowned palace. The vaulted roof was ornamented with golden stars so arranged as to represent the motions of the planets among the twelve Zodiacal signs. Theophylact of Simocatta mentions that Greek materials and Greek workmen were employed in its construction. (R. S. O. M., 592.) Firdausi mentions that the architect was a Rūman.

During the sixth century Ivon, a Persian Christian bishop, is said to have visited England. In 1001 this bishop's body was miraculously discovered by a ploughman in Huntingdonshire and a church was dedicated to the saint, who has given its name to St. Ives. Sir Percy Sykes (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 458) believes this the earliest recorded connexion between Iran and England. Hormisdas who held the high and holy office of the Pope of Rome from 514 to 523 was also a Persian.

XXIII. HORMAZD IV.

Hormazd IV (579-590), Khūšrau Naushirvān's son by Fakim, the daughter of the Khān of the Turks, assumed the crown on his father's death amid the universal approval of his subjects. He was surnamed Tūrk-zādeh or Turkish born. He ruled well for some time, but when he felt secure on the throne, he displayed his evil nature and assassinated several innocent men whom his father held in honour.

With the death of the redoubtable Khūšrau the hopes of Rome to recover her lost prestige began to revive. At first Tiberius tried

to enter into a peace with the new king, offering to relinquish all claim on Armenia and receive Dara in exchange for Arzanene and its fortress, Aphumôn. But Hormazd refused to part with any place and insisted upon Rome paying an annual subsidy if she wanted peace with Persia. So hostilities were resumed and the war went on between the two powers with varying fortunes throughout the reign of Hormazd.

Whilst things were at this pass in the west, serious trouble arose in the north-east. The Great Khân of the Turks, whose name Firdausi gives as Sâwa,* crossed the Oxus at the head of three or four hundred thousand Turks and seized Balkh and Herat and threatened to carry his arms into the heart of Persia. Hormazd selected a courageous and experienced general, Behrâm Chobin, who belonged to the famous house of Mihrân and was march-lord of Rai and governor of the North, to take an army and check the progress of the Turks. With a small force of picked veterans, aged about forty, Behrâm marched against the Khân and after several small engagements gave the Turks a defeat, the Khân losing his life on the field. The arrow which brought down the Khân was a four-plumed one shot by Behrâm Chobin from his bow of Châch. This, according to Tabari, was one of three that gave renown to archers in Persian story, the other two being that of Ārish, and that of Sûfrai who in the war undertaken to avenge King Pîrûz shot at a chief in the vanguard of Khûshnavâz and pierced his horse's head with an arrow. (W. S., Vol. VIII, 75.)

In a second struggle the Khân's son was made a captive, an enormous booty was seized and a tribute was exacted from the Turks.

In the tenth year of Hormazd's reign an Arab army, led by Abbas and Amr, invaded that portion of Mesopotamia which was ruled over by Persians and from which annual tributes were gathered, and ravaged a good part of the fertile dominions on the banks of the Euphrates. Owing to the invasion

* Sâwa is merely the Persian form of Chaou-wou—the name given in the Chinese official reports of the period to the princes of small states on the Oxus. (W. S., Vol. VIII, 72.)

of the country by the Turks also from another direction, Hormazd had to make peace with these Arabs. (M. A. P., Pt. III, 49.)

Hormazd determined on renewing the Lazic War and ordered Behrām Chobin to invade the lands south of the Caucasus and inflict a final blow on Rome. In a battle fought on the Araxes Behrām suffered a defeat at the hand of the Romans.

The King, who had grown jealous of this great general of his, was glad to take the opportunity of his defeat to disgrace him. So he deprived him of his command and sent to him with an ill-favoured ignoble messenger a black spinning-wheel, a distaff, and some cotton together with a set of female garments, consisting of a black woollen chemise, a pair of red trousers, and a yellow veil.

This gave Behrām Chobin a mortal offence and he flew into open revolt against his unwise and ungrateful monarch. He was able to enlist the support of his army and of the provinces. Troops despatched by the king under Pherochanes to subdue the insurgents mutinied, murdered their commander, and joined the rebel army.

Hormazd had confined himself within the walls of his capital, Ctesiphon, through fear and was suspicious of everybody. He suspected his own son Khûsrau Parviz,* and at the instigation of an ambitious noble plotted for his death, but the prince, warned in time by a chamberlain, escaped from Ctesiphon by night and reached Âzar Âbâdgân. His own brothers-in-law, the bold warriors Bindoēs (Bandwi) and Bostam (Gostaham), were also thrown into prison as suspects. His severities led to a revolt within the palace. Bindoēs and Bostam were forcibly released from prison, and under their leadership the malcontents fired the palace gate and entering the imperial hall reached the king, flung him down from his throne, put out his eyes with the searing irons, and committed him to prison, where this one of the worst rulers Persia ever had was afterwards bowstrung by Bindoēs and Bostam. Chosroes, the celebrated Khûsrau Parviz, was declared king of Persia (A.D. 590).

* 'Parviz' is a variant of the Persian word 'Pirûz' which means 'Victorious' (Warner).

XXIV. KHÛSRAU PARVIZ (CHOSROES II).



Khûsrau Parviz.

The rebel Behrâm Chobin advanced from Adiabene to Holwân, and took up a position at a distance of about a hundred and fifty miles from the capital. The youthful king recognised that such a warrior must either be won by kind overtures, or, if he sought fight, be dealt with with a vigorous hand and vanquished. A civil war, which can only involve the country in misery, did not appeal to him. But as Behrâm, who aspired to the crown, treated the king's conciliatory overtures with disdain, the latter prepared vigorously for war.

In the first brush of battle most of Khûsrau's troops deserted him and joined the rebel forces. He escaped with a few faithful soldiers and decided to seek succour from the

Romans. When he reached Circesium, the Roman governor Probus received him with honour; and subsequently at the invitation of Emperor Maurice he took up his residence at Hieropolis.

Maurice sent seventy thousand men of his own forces under the command of Narses, a noted Persian general in the service of Rome, to the aid of Khûsrau and releasing the Persian prisoners who were in confinement at Constantinople bade them join their king's colours (591). He advanced also a subsidy amounting to above two millions sterling. According to Masoudi, Tabari, and Firdausi, he gave also his daughter Mariam (Maria) in marriage to Khûsrau, as "affinity would make alliance sure." By the treaty of alliance Khûsrau ceded to his father-in-law his rights in Egypt and Syria which his grandfather Naushirvân had conquered.*

* According to the Armenian historian Thomas Arteruni, Khûsrau agreed to cede to Byzantium Syria and Assyria as far as Nisibis, Tanuterakan in Armenia as far as Ararat and Dvin and the shores of Lake Bznunik to the village of Arest, and the major part of Iberia as far as Tiflis. (Louis H. Gray's art. "Peace Negotiations and Peace-Treaties," M. M. V., 152.)

As to the marriage of a Zoroastrian with a Christian princess Masoudi refers to the custom of the kings of Iran which required that an Iranian can marry the girl of a non-Iranian, but not give an Iranian girl in marriage to a non-Iranian. (M. As. P., Pt. IV, 22.) Gibbon does not refer to Khûsrau's marriage with Maurice's daughter, but he does speak of Maurice as Khûsrau's adopted father and of Khûsrau as his son. (Ib., 23.)

The Greek chroniclers relate that during his sojourn in the Roman territory, King Khûsrau had entirely abjured the Zoroastrian religion, and that he professed a peculiar veneration for the Virgin and for certain saints of the orthodox calendar. Evagrius goes to the length of giving the text of a thanksgiving addressed by the king to Saint Serge for his successes in war and the pregnancy of Princess Shirin. But this writing of doubtful authority scarcely deserves to be noticed. (K. I. S. M., 113.)

Khûsrau was joined by the Persian troops in Nisibis and by his uncle Bindoēs who had escaped from the prison into which Behrām had thrown him. Armenia also declared for him, and several Armenian and Persian grandees gathered to his standard. In Āzarbaijān a second army was raised by his other uncle Bostam. Two pitched battles were fought between the royal troops and the army of Behrām. In the first the rebels had a slight advantage. In the second which took place near the Zab in the summer of 591, Behrām sustained a severe defeat and fled with four thousand men. The detachment which Khûsrau sent in pursuit was unable to overtake him.

Behrām fled towards the eastern provinces of the Oxus and sought the protection of the Khān of Turks, who received him well and gave him the hand of his daughter in marriage. But soon after he fell a victim to the poisoned dagger of a slave of the Khān's wife.

In the meanwhile, a small body of the royal troops under Mebodes had without a blow taken Seleucia and Ctesiphon, which Behrām had abandoned to their fate.

The people suspected Khûsrau of being his father's murderer or at least of being an accomplice in his murder. But we are

told in the *Shâh-nâmeh* that Khûsrau on his return to Ctesiphon and election as king visited his father and sighing deeply as he saw his blinded face said that he sought not the crown and would lay his head before his sire's throne. Hormazd took a promise from him that he would bring Banduyé and Gostaham, the perpetrators of the outrage, to punishment, although he owed his throne to them. The former, who was at his court, was seized and drowned in the Tigris. To the latter, whom he had appointed governor of Khurâsân, Qumis, Gurgân and Tabaristân, he sent an order of recall. But Gostaham, suspecting the king's design, flew into rebellion and declared himself an independent king in the north country, where he ruled up to the beginning of A.D. 596. When he was overpowered by Khûsrau, he took refuge with the Turks in Transoxiana where he was murdered by his wife Kûrdiyeh (Firdausi's Gûrdwi). According to Tabari and Firdausi, she committed this foul deed at the instigation of Khûsrau, who promised her both his heart and home. But the Armenian chroniclers ascribe the assassination to the Koushan king Pariök, whom Gostaham had conquered. (R. S. O. M., 495.)

A general levy made by Khûsrau of the male inhabitants of that part of Armenia which he had not ceded to Rome conquered Hyrcania and Tabaristân and re-established Persian sovereignty from Mt. Demavend to the Hindu Kush.

In 602 the centurion Phocas deposed Maurice and getting Lilius to murder him assumed the purple himself and sent Lilius as envoy to the Persian court to announce his assumption of the imperial throne. Khûsrau, in whose court Maurice's son Theodosius had taken refuge, seized this murderer of his friend and ally Maurice, and threw him into prison, and declared war on Phocas.

In a battle near Dara Khûsrau defeated the Roman general Germanus, and at Arxamûs forced Iæontius, who had succeeded Germanus, to surrender with his army. In 605 he took Dara after nine months' siege. His was a most triumphant progress. Tur-abdin, Hesen-Cephas, Mardin, Capher-tuta, Amida, Carrhae, Resaina, and Edessa fell before his arms. Carrying the war into Syria, he captured Hieropolis, Kenneserin, and Berhœa. One of

his generals took Satala and Theodosiopolis, and attacked Cappadocia. Phrygia, Galatia and Bithynia were ravaged, and the Persian forces penetrated so far west as Chalcedon, which lay opposite Constantinople, on the other side of the strait. In 611 Khūsrau undertook the invasion of Syria and sacked Apameia and Antioch. The following year saw a second invasion of Cappadocia, and its capital Caesaria Mazaca, which was the principal Roman stronghold in those parts, was taken.

In 614 Khūsrau's great general Shahr-Barz seized Damascus with the country around it, where the Persians made a footing for the first time. When he advanced to Palestine a body of twenty-six thousand bigoted Jews joined him. The holy city was taken by assault after a short siege of eighteen days. Large numbers (sixty thousand according to some sources) of the Christian inhabitants were massacred chiefly by the fanatic Jews, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre erected by Helena and Constantine was robbed of its treasures and set on fire. Thirty-five thousand inhabitants, including the patriarch Zacharias, were carried into captivity, and one of the dearest relics of Christendom, the True Cross was taken to Ctesiphon and given to the charge of Khūsrau's beautiful Christian queen Shirin.*

Shahr-Barz now carried his triumphant arms into Egypt, and captured Pelusium and Alexandria (616†). An easy conquest was made of the whole country, and the triumphant flags of the Persians flew as far as the confines of Ethiopia. After the long period of nine centuries Persia reacquired the kingdom of Egypt, which was first conquered by the Achaemenians. The loss of Egypt, which was the granary of Constantinople, was extremely detrimental for the Byzantine Empire.

Another great general Shāhén (Saina) starting from Cappadocia marched victoriously through Asia Minor, driving back the Roman legions as far as the shores of the Thracian

* According to the learned lexicographer Richardson, Shirin was Irene, the daughter of Emperor Maurice. According to Justi (*"Iranische Namenbuch"*, 302), she was an Aramean from Khuzistān. One of the paintings in the Ajanta Caves is supposed to be copied from a portrait of Khūsrau and Shirin.

† Vasiliev gives 618 or 619 as the probable year of the fall of Alexandria. (V. H. B. E., Vol. I, 232.)

Bosphorus, and laid siege to Chalcedon, which fell after a vigorous resistance (617).

The young Heraclius, who was set on the throne in place of the brutal Phocas, sent three Roman nobles as ambassadors to the Persian court to sue for peace. Khûsrau's reply was emphatic:—"The empire was his and Heraclius must give it up to him." We can understand this emphatic assertion and claim when we remember that Khûsrau was the adopted son, if not also the son-in-law, of Emperor Maurice.

By the conquest of Chalcedon on the sea of **Marmora** near the Bosphorus the Persians were within a mile of the Roman capital, Constantinople. Angora was conquered three years later, and Rhodes also submitted. The Sâsânian Khûsrau Parviz had restored the Parsi Empire to almost the whole extent to which it had risen under the eminent Achaemenian Emperor Darius the Great. It stretched from the Tigris and the Euphrates to the **Ægean** and the Nile. This was a proud moment for Khûsrau, and one of the proudest in Parsi history. The Parsi king had cleared Asia of its European conquerors. Of all those vast territories in Africa and Asia which the renowned legions of Rome, led by such valiant commanders as Julius Cæsar, Pompey, Lucullus, Mark Antony, Aurelian, Trajan and Belisarius, had conquered, not a foot of land remained which Rome could claim as her own.

The capture of Constantinople would have brought the whole world under the rule of the followers of Zoroaster.

At this juncture, the Avars an offshoot of the Hun race, invaded Thrace and threatened Constantinople. Heraclius was stricken with despair. He contemplated flight and made secret arrangements for transporting himself, his family, and his treasures to Carthage. The treasure-ships were put to sea, but before the emperor could follow, his design was suspected, and the people rose against him. The Patriarch took him to the cathedral of St. Sophia and there extracted from him an oath at the altar that whatever might come he would not separate his fortunes from those of his people.

The emperor's treasure-ships were caught in a tempest. Some sank and others were wafted by adverse winds to a Persian port in

Asia Minor. The spoil was conveyed to Khûsrau Parviz and formed the treasure called *Bâd-âvard* ("Wind carried"), which was among the glories of his palace.

This reminds one of the parallel case of the loss of the treasure-ship of Louis XVI of France. It was at the instigation of his advisers, who saw the storm clouds of the revolution on the horizon, that king Louis attempted to save his treasures. But the ship *Telemaque*, which was laden with priceless plate, bars of gold and jewels for transport to some safe place, only got so far as Quilleboeuf, where she sank in the muddy river Seine (3rd January 1790).

Young Heraclius, who so lately had given himself up to despair considering his cause as lost, now roused himself and displayed unexpected genius. He resolved upon the bold course of carrying the war into the enemy's country. One advantage which he had over the Persians was his possession of an efficient navy. On Easter Monday of A.D. 622 he started on his bold venture. For lack of a navy the Persians could not intercept him, nor could they take Constantinople and complete their conquest of the Roman empire until they built ships to transport their forces across the strait.

Khûsrau sent his famous and victorious general Shahr-Barz to oppose and crush the enemy. But the battle had quite an unexpected result. The Romans fighting with the courage born of despair inflicted on the Persian general a serious defeat in the mountain country towards the Armenian frontier (622).

In the next year's campaign Heraclius, with the allied help of the Khazars, another offshoot of the Huns, invaded Armenia, whereupon Khûsrau proceeded into Āzarbaijān and took up his position in Canzaca. From Armenia Heraclius marched to Canzaca with a celerity which had no precedence, hoping to bring the Persian king to an engagement. But the latter evacuated Canzaca and retreated towards the Zagros. The Romans destroyed several towns and places, one of the most important of which was the city on Lake Urumiah (Chaechista of the Avesta) where burned one of the most sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians.

In 624 Heraclius achieved a great victory over Shahr-Barz, whom he surprised in the dead of the night. In the following spring he recovered Martyropolis and Amida.

In 626, the twenty-fourth year of the war, Khûsrau took into his alliance the Khân of the Avars and prepared two formidable armies. One army, 50,000 strong, was placed under the command of Shâhên, to hold Heraclius in check, and the other under Shahr-Barz to co-operate with the Avars in the siege of Constantinople.

The emperor's brother Theodore defeated Shâhên with great slaughter. The Khân of the Avars, with his hordes of Avars, Slaves, Gepidæ, Bulgarians and others, took the outer works of Constantinople, but found all his efforts to carry the main defences failing and retired, Shahr-Barz having been unable to render him help, for want of a navy to transport his troops across the channel between Chalcedon and the Golden Horn.

Tabari mentions that in A.D. 625-626 an embassy came to Khûsrau from an Indian king, Pulakesin II, ruler of the Deccan. A large fresco painting in Cave I at Ajanta, near Aurangabad, furnishes a pictorial record of a return embassy from Persia to the court of the Indian ruler. (H. H. P. N., 88; H. P. A. I., 22.) Coins discovered in North-west India with Indian and Pahlavi inscriptions prove that this territory belonged to the king or kings of Persia at a certain period. The most important of the coins bears the legend of Khûsrau Shahanshâh, on the obverse are the impressions of the sun god of Mûltân, and on the reverse is the year corresponding to A.D. 627. (H. P. A. I., 23.) It may be mentioned in this connection that, according to Abûl Fazal, the Rajput rulers of Mewâd trace their origin from Khûsrau I (Naushirvân).

On 12th December, 627, the Persian army under Rhazates met the Romans near the ruins of Nineveh. Towards evening the Persian general catching sight of Heraclius, on his white charger Dorkon, dashed forward and engaged him in mortal combat, but Heraclius rode him down and slew him. Having lost their general, the Persians retreated to a strong position at the foot of the mountains.

Khûsrau had fixed his court for the past forty years at Dastagard, about seventy miles to the north of Ctesiphon. Finding that the Romans were advancing to this place he secretly retreated to Ctesiphon, from where he crossed to Beh-Ardeshir (Selencia).

Heraclius pillaged the royal palace at Dastagard, and divided among his troops such a plunder as had not been since Alexander's capture of Sūsā. He also recovered 300 Roman standards. But he could not muster courage to attack Ctesiphon, and retreated. He had no desire to continue hostilities, if the Persians would restore Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt, but king Khūsrau was obdurate and refused to come to terms.

Enraged at the disastrous results of the last campaign, Khūsrau began to give vent to his vexation by acts of cruelty. He threw into prison many of the officers who had been defeated by or fled before Heraclius, put many of them to death, and also imprisoned some of his own sons. A slander which reached him about Shahr-Barz led him to send instructions for his execution. But the letter was intercepted by the Romans, who communicated it to that general. But what gave the greatest displeasure to his nobles was his declared intention of appointing Mardasas (Mardānshāh of Firdausi), the son of his favourite Christian wife the beautiful Shirin or Sira, as his successor, setting aside the legitimate claims of his eldest son Siroēs. Twenty-two nobles, headed by Gaudanaspa, the commandant of the troops at Ctesiphon, formed a conspiracy and rose in favour of Siroēs. They seized Khūsrau and confined him in a stronghold where he kept his money. On the fifth day he was deprived of his life (28th February 628*). Firdausi names one Meher Hormazd, an ugly and evil-looking man, as the person at whose hands the conspirators got the foul deed done.

Such was the tragic end of the brilliant Khūsrau Parviz after a reign of 38 years (590-628).

Under this king the imperial revenues, according to a statement prepared in A.D. 607, amounted to six hundred million drachmæ.

He divided all his daily duties in four sections. The first was devoted to state affairs, the second to pleasures, to music and to friendly conversation with his grantees, the third to prayer, the first half of the fourth to the observation of the sky

* This date is according to Mordtman's Chronology of the Sāsānians.

and to philosophy, the other half to the drinking of wine in the company of beautiful women.

Mirkhond assigns to him a distinguished rank among the kings of Iran through the majesty and firmness of his government, the wisdom of his views, and his intrepidity in carrying them out, the size of his army, the amount of his treasure, the flourishing condition of the provinces during his reign, the security of the highways, the prompt and exact obedience which he enforced, and his unalterable adherence to the plans which he once formed. (R. S. O. M., 528.) Tabari describes him as the most prominent in valour, prudence, and distant military expeditions. (M. As. P., Pt. IV, 22.)

The prophet Mohamed began preaching at Mecca during the twentieth year of Khûsrau's reign and fled to Medina at the end of the thirtieth year. Dr. Sir J. J. Modi (Ib., 44) mentions, from Tabari, that once, when Khûsrau was in his apartment, a person with a stick in his hand came suddenly into his presence and said that Mohamed was a true prophet, and added "If you will not follow him, he will destroy your religion". On uttering these words he symbolically broke the stick. He was an angel who had come to warn the king.

Warner gives some details of the battle of Dhû-Kâr, of which there is no mention in Firdausi's *Shâh-nâmeh*. It was fought some time between A.D. 604 and 611 and resulted in the defeat of the Persians by the Arabs. The forces engaged in this battle were not large, but the importance of it lies in this that it gave the Arabs independence, encouraged them to make raids into Persian territory, and was a glorious and stimulating memory with which tradition soon associated Mohamed himself when the time came for the great Arab invasion of Iran. Sykes (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 481) observes that had the battle of Dhû-Kâr ended in a Persian victory, the difficulties of the Arab invaders would have been immeasurably greater, and the rise of Islam might have been cut short.

Khûsrau Parviz was a lover of the beautiful and a patron of art. No Iranian prince has done more to stimulate the fine arts than he.

The accounts that have come down to us of his magnificence almost border on the realm of fancy.

In the vicinity of Kermānshāh and not far from Tak-i-Bostān was situated the famous quadrilateral platform where this king received homage in royal assembly from the kings of China, Turān, India and Byzantium. Its length and breadth were a hundred cubits, and it was constructed of dressed blocks of stone, skilfully matched and joined together by iron clamps so closely that they looked like a single piece. He laid out a park near Kermānshāh two leagues square, part planted with trees that bore all kinds of fruit both of the hot lands and the cold countries, the rest in meadow as a race-course and pasturage for his horses.

His palace at Canzaca had a domed building, the ceiling of which was ornamented with representations of the sun, moon and stars, while below was an image of the monarch, seated and attended by messengers bearing wands of office. A machinery was attached, by which rain and thunder could be imitated.

His palace at Artaima, spoken of by Oriental writers as Dastagard, was supported on forty thousand columns of silver, adorned by thirty thousand rich hangings upon the walls, and further ornamented by a thousand globes suspended from the roof.

The Mashita palace, in the land of Moab, situated about 30 miles due east of the head of the Dead Sea, was built between A.D. 614 and 627. It was one of Khūsrau's rich rare possessions. It consisted of two buildings, separated by a courtyard of nearly 200 feet, each of which was 180 feet along the front, with a depth respectively of 140 and 150 feet. The second building, which lies towards the south, was adorned externally with a richness and magnificence unparalleled in the remains of Sāsānian times, and scarcely exceeded in the architecture of any age or nation. Altogether, says Rawlinson, the ornamentation of the magnificent façade may be pronounced almost unrivalled for beauty and appropriateness, and the entire palace may well be called 'a marvellous example of the sumptuousness and selfishness of ancient princes'. According to W.

Morris and Prof. Middleton, the designs of this palace present an evident link between Assyrian and Byzantine art; and amongst its carvings occurs that oldest and most widely spread of all forms of Aryan ornament—the sacred tree between two ornaments. (M. As. P., Pt. IV, 40-41.)

At Tāk-i-Bostān, which is about four miles north-east of Kermānshāh, is a vaulted chamber cut in the rock. The arch-volt possesses almost equal delicacy with the patterned cornice of the Mashita palace, and on the spandrels on either side are winged figures of Victory holding triumphal chaplets in the right hand and libation cups in the left, which are little inferior to the best Roman art. (R. S. O. M., 603.)

Tāk-i-Bostān, which means "Arch of the Garden", is also called Takht-i-Bostān or "Throne of the Garden". In earlier times it was also known as Shabdiz, from the statue of Khūsrau Parviz's horse of that name. It used also to be called Kasr-i-Shirin ("The Palace of Shirin"), from the king's favourite wife Shirin; but this name, as Mr. Jackson (J. P. P., 215) points out, belongs more strictly to the ruins known by that name some eighty miles westward from Kermānshāh.

It has been asserted that Khūsrau Parviz brought Roman artists to Takht-i-Bostān and by their aid eclipsed the glories of his great predecessors, Ardeshir Pāpékān and Shāpūr I and II, and the lovely tracery of the Mashita palace is regarded as mainly the work of Greeks and Syrians. But Rawlinson shows that these allegations rest on conjectures and are without any historical foundation, and that the Sāsānian remains of every period are predominantly, if not exclusively, native. S. W. G. Benjamin, who was appointed by President Arthur to the American Legation in the winter of 1882-83, says: "No people was ever permeated by the true art spirit than the Persians. One may consciously ascribe to Persia a very high position among the races that have contributed most to the progress of the arts. The long-continued existence of Persia as an integral people, exhibiting for twenty-five hundred years an almost unbroken career of national and intellectual activity, is almost without a parallel in the history of arts. The arts of Egypt, Assyria, and

Greece culminated long ages ago; so also have the Saracen and many another nation since. But the artistic life of Persia is still active." (B. P. P., 273.)

Arthur Upham Pope observes that the utterly exhausting wars of Persia with Rome and Byzantium opened up contacts which brought to Persia Roman and Byzantine elements which show most strongly in the architecture and sculpture of the period. But if Persia took, she also gave. Through the same channel Sāsānian Persia in turn distributed her contribution to the western world. This well-known art critic has no doubt that the religious conscientiousness of this regime, its proud but humble acceptance of a divinely appointed and divinely sustained mission, was one of the factors that contributed dignity and a noble style to all the arts. This period, says he, contributed essential elements to Persian art that survived centuries of change and disaster: the sense for expressive forms; a feeling for rhythm and a certain stateliness which, if sometimes temporarily lost sight of in the subsequent art, remained permanently a steadying force. Sāsānian palaces have been rarely surpassed in imposing power and richness of decoration. But more important than these obvious if admirable qualities was, Mr. Pope observes, the contribution Sāsānian builders made to arch,* vault and dome architecture, which had consequences not only in Asia but also in Europe. The great palace at Ctesiphon saw the development of the elliptical arch to a height and width that have never since been equalled; and the remains of the ruins of the palace of Ardeshir discovered by Herzfeld in Southern Persia, show a great masonry vault 100 feet high with a span of 55 feet wide, wider than any standing vault in Europe saving that of the Barcelona cathedral. From actual examples which have been found by Herzfeld in Sistān and from documentary references it appears that mural painting was an ancient art and practised in Sāsānian Persia. (P. I. P. A., 5, 19, 25, 48.)

Sir E. Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental

* "The principle of the arch, so thoroughly understood in Persia at this time, was apprehended and practised in Iran before the Parthenon and Colosseum challenged the admiration of the world." (B. P. P., 278.)

Studies, observes that the 400 years of Sāsānian rule represent an epoch of splendour and greatness from every point of view except possibly from the point of view of literature, but in nothing is it more remarkable than in the development of fine arts. Architecture—of which alas! all too little remains to-day—pottery, metal-work, sculpture, mural painting and textiles, all reached a point of perfection. (I. L. Q., October 1930, 219-220.)

From Mr. Pope also we learn that during Sāsānian times the textile art touched one of the high marks in history, and damasks of exquisite fineness with striking heraldic patterns in a stately symmetry became all the rage from Europe to China and left a permanent mark on the textile art of the world. In metal work also the Persians of the Sāsānian period have made a mark. Their metal vessels are imbued with a stateliness and force that have hardly been rivalled. The art of mural painting was also practised and examples of it have been found by Herzfeld in Sūsā. Mr. Pope mentions that like every other Persian art, that of ceramics is of great antiquity, and the prehistoric pottery of Sistān, of Sūsā, of Samārā and Nihāvand shows a taste and a mastery of varied and ingenious patterns that have not been superseded. (P. I. P. A., 9, 64, 144, 175.)

Trade flourished greatly during the Sasānide period. Ships of trade were constructed, and Persia became the trading centre of the world. She imported merchandise from different countries and distributed it over others. Arabia, India, China, Greece, Rome, and the rest of Europe looked to Persia for their supply of luxuries and certain necessities of life also. (I. L. Q., April 1930, 122.)

Khūšrau Parviz had a throne called Tākdis, supported on four feet of red rubies. At the end of each foot there were 100 pearls, each of the size of a sparrow's egg. As regards this throne the story is that when Khūšrau became king he came to learn that there were records to show that the Kaiyānian king Vishtāspa had intended to construct a throne on the design of his minister Jāmāsp. Khūšrau obtained these records and constructed the Tākdis.

This throne was of ivory and teak, adorned with silver and gold, 180 cubits long, by 130 cubits broad, by 15 cubits high, surmounted by a canopy of gold and lapis-lazuli, on which were represented the sky and the stars, the signs of the Zodiac, and the seven climes (*kishwars*), as well as the former kings in their different attitudes either at banquet or in battle or ahunting. A special mechanism indicated the hour of the day. The throne was throughout covered with four carpets of brocade, embroidered with gold and decked with pearls and rubies, each of these carpets symbolising one of the four seasons.

Among this king's other remarkable possessions there were the following *tarāif* or works of ingenuity, namely, (1) a cup in which the quantity of water was never diminished howsomuchever a person drank of it, (2) an expanded hand of ivory, which, whenever a child was born to him, being immersed in water, closed, and exhibited the conjunction of stars presiding at the infant's birth, and thus the horoscope was known, (3) a piece of pure gold, pliable and soft as wax, (4) a napkin, for cleaning the king's hands, made out of malleable gold, which when soiled and thrown into the fire became clean. He had a crown enriched with a thousand pearls, each as big as an egg.

He had nine seals of office. The first was a diamond ring with a ruby centre, bearing the portrait, name and titles of the monarch. It was used for despatches and diplomas. The second, also a ring, was a cornelian, set in gold, with the legend *Khorāsān Khoreh*. It was used for the State archives. The third was an onyx ring with the portrait of a galloping rider and the legend 'Celerity', used for postal correspondence. The fourth, a gold ring with a bezel of rose-coloured ruby, had the legend 'Riches are the source of prosperity'. It was impressed upon diplomas and letters of grace. The fifth seal, a ruby of the best of the red, pure, valuable kind, bore the legend *Khūreh va Khūrram* (i.e., Splendid and Auspicious), and was used for sealing treasures of precious stones, royal caskets, and wardrobe and crown ornaments. The sixth, with a bezel of Chinese iron, bore the emblem of an eagle and was used for sealing letters to foreign rulers. The seventh was surmounted with a bézoar with a fly engraved on it. It was

impressed on meats, medicines and perfumes reserved for the king's use. The eighth was one with a bezel of pearls and bore the emblem of a pig's head. It was used for the purpose of marking the necks of persons condemned to death, and for death-warrants. The ninth was an iron ring, which the king took with him to the bath.

A thousand to twelve hundred elephants were maintained for the use or splendour of his court, besides twelve thousand white camels,* and fifty thousand horses, asses, and mules. In his harem were three thousand (according to some writers, twelve thousand) ladies. These were kept more or less for the purpose of adding to the ostentatious splendour of a great court, for we find that the Oriental and Byzantine chroniclers declare that Khûsrau was true to his beloved Shirin† until death. He constantly kept in his palace fifteen thousand *kanizê mâtrabê* (female musicians) and six thousand *Khâjê sarâ* (household officers). Whenever he rode forth two hundred persons attended him, scattering perfumes on every side, whilst a thousand water-carriers sprinkled with water the roads which he was to pass.

Two celebrated minstrels, Sargash and Bârbad,‡ graced his court. Dr. Sir J. J. Modi (M. As. P., Pt. IV, 33) identifies the former with the martyr St. Sergius of the Western writers, to whom Khûsrau was attached, and thinks that the latter may also be a Christian bishop. Firdausi tells of Bârbad that when the king was thrown into prison this faithful musician took an oath that he would never see Siroës and never more play the harp, and then he burnt his instruments and cut off his fingers.

Masûdi mentions the musical instruments of the Persians,—the lute, the flute, the mandoline, the hautboys, the harp. The Khûrâsânis played by preference on a seven-stringed instrument

* Firdausi mentions ten thousand red-haired camels of a rare variety, and twelve thousand camels of burden, and sixty-six camels for drawing chariots and carrying post.

† Mirkhond mentions that it is said that a woman in order to be a perfect beauty must be endowed with forty qualities, and that in those times they were not concentrated in any female excepting Shirin.

Shirin is highly celebrated in the East for her singular beauty. The famous poet Nizâmi has particularly celebrated her in his poem "Khosrou va Shirin."

‡ The name Bârbad is contracted from his real name Fahlâbed, which has been preserved by Arabian authors and means etymologically 'Chief of the Parthians'. (H. A. P. C., 145.)

called the zang, whilst the people of Rai, Tabaristān, and Belem liked the mandoline better. (J. I. A., June 1920, 41.)

Abu J'afar Muhammad ebn Jarir, surnamed Al Tabari, from Tabaristān, where he was born (A.D. 828), has a chapter in his Chronicle, on the subject of Khūsrāu Parviz's treasures, wherein he describes the celebrated charger *Shabdiz* ("Night coloured"), which was brought originally from Rām (Constantinople). This famous horse was beautiful and intelligent beyond others and taller than any other horse in the world, being four cubit-measures high, and it never showed fatigue in the field of battle.

The tragic end of this Parsi sovereign of fabulous magnificence, who in the course of his triumphant career succeeded in driving the Romans from every inch of land on the Asiatic continent and was within an ace of capturing their metropolis, Constantinople, affords food for serious reflection as to the instability of human greatness and the vanity of human wishes. Firdausi moralizes this wise on his sad fate:—"Gone, all gone were the innumerable soldiers of Khūsrāu's empire, gone his majesty, might and magnificence. No king had them in such measure, nor had the great ones of the past heard of such. Thou mightest say that the wise one has no value since his head is under the dragon's breath. Take not this world otherwise than as a powerful whale that tears with its teeth the victim it seizes in its fangs. The story of Khūsrāu Parviz is now finished. Gone are his famed treasures, his throne, and his troops. He who hopes from this world is like unto the person who expects to gather date fruit from the branches of the cane tree. Why runnest thou in the bright day or dark night, leaving the right road? If thou wishest not thy soul to suffer, let thy heart remain satisfied with what thou dost get. Though thou mightest acquire power for a time, know thyself not as other than feeble. Adopt courage and truth, and contemplate all goodness. Give in charity and enjoy money as much as thou canst, because save this all is affliction and sorrow."

The catastrophes which attended the Persian arms in Khūsrāu's later struggles with Rome were not at all due to lack of courage or discipline on the part of the Persians, but to

peculiarly adverse circumstances and the notorious fickleness of fortune. As Benjamin points out, at certain critical moments their movements were foiled by incidents beyond experience and calculation; the defeat of Shâhên was owing to a hailstorm driving in the teeth of his army; the victory of Heraclius over the army of Rhazates was owing to the death of that general in the moment of victory; the retreat of Khûsrau from Canzaca was due to the unprecedented celerity of Heraclius. Had the Romans failed in any of those operations, adds this historian, the results of the war might and probably would have been entirely different.

Firdausi enumerates eight treasures of this Great King. The first, which was amassed from Chin, Bulghâr, Rûm, and Rûs, was called *Arûs* ("The Bride"). The second was of watered pearls and was named *Khazra* ("Green") by chiefs and Arab sages. The third was known as *Bâr*, such as nobles and commons had never seen the like. The fourth was that which famous minstrels called *Shâdward-ê-bûzorg* ("The Great Throne"). The fifth was known as *Bâd-Âvard* ("The Windfall"), the valuation of which could not be made. This was the treasure which Emperor Heraclius had put on board a ship when, terrified at the approach of the Persian forces, he was preparing for a flight from Constantinople. The sixth treasure was the *Dibâ-ê-Khûsrau* ("The Brocade of Khûsrau"), the seventh was the *Ganj-ê-Afrâsiâb* ("The Treasure of Afrâsiâb") and the eighth was known as *Sûkhtêh* ("Weighed"), which illumed the realm.

It is related that early in the seventh century a large body of Persians landed in Western India, one of whose leaders was a son of king Khûsrau Parviz, from whom the family of the Rajput kings of Udepûr is supposed to have sprung. (M. M. L. P., Vol. I, 34.)

XXV. SHIROE (KOBÂD II).

Shiroe* (Siroês) was proclaimed king on 25th February 628. He was Khûsrau's son by Mariam (Maria), who according to Tabari and Firdausi was a daughter of Emperor Maurice. At his birth he had received from his father two names, Kobâd

* Diminutive of *Shêr* ("Lion").

and Shiroe. In accordance with the custom in vogue the former name was breathed by the father in the infant's ear and the latter was publicly announced. The first name was for use in the domestic circle, the second for universal use.

Shortly after the accession of this prince to the throne, the conspirators who had brought about the assassination of his father perpetrated the further outrage of murdering fifteen* sons of that king to the great grief of Shiroe, who was too weak to prevent the foul deed.

He opened peace negotiations with Rome, and twenty-six years' terrible struggle was terminated by a treaty under which all conquests and prisoners were surrendered by both powers. The Persian monarch also gave back the True Cross, which, to the great joy of the entire Christian world, Heraclius in person restored to its place in the shrine at Jerusalem from which the Persians had carried it off on their conquest of the Holy Land.

On the return of Heraclius to Constantinople, his entry was celebrated in the style of an old Roman triumph and he received from the senate the title of the "New Scipio". The Holy Cross was carried in the triumphal procession and afterwards raised on the altar of Sancta Sophia. This day is still marked in the Christian calendar as the "Feast of the Elevation of the Cross".

Before Shiroe had reigned many months a terrible plague broke out. Several hundreds of thousands of the people of Persia were carried off. According to Eustychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, the king himself fell a victim to it. But Firdausi assigns his death to poisoning.

As to this violent pestilence the surmise of Rawlinson is that it was caused by the return of a mixed multitude to Persia, under circumstances involving privation, from the cities of Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria.

It is said about Shiroe that he fell in love with the beautiful queen Shirin, but she faithful to the memory of Khûsrau swallowed poison and died in the last resting place of that unfortunate monarch.

* Mirkhond and Firdausi give the number fifteen. Tabari makes it sixteen, Thomas of Maraga twenty-four, and the Armenian writers so many as forty. Thomas ascribes the massacre to a Christian name Samatas, who acted without the knowledge of the king. (R. S. O. M., 537.)

XXVI. ARDESHIR (ARTAXERXES III) AND XXVII. SHAHR-BARZ.

The king-makers at the court set Ardeshir, a boy of seven, on the throne of his father.

Shahr-Barz entertained the ambition of seizing the throne for himself, for which purpose he entered into an alliance with the Roman emperor Heraclius. Heraclius bestowed the title of Patrician on Nicetas, the son of Shahr-Barz, consented to marry the heir-apparent, Constantine to Gregoria, the daughter of Nicetas, and his son Theodosius to Shahr-Barz's daughter Niké, and supplied troops to Shahr-Barz to assist him in his design on the Persian throne.

Shahr-Barz, *alias* Farâin (called Gûrâz by Firdausi), marched on Ctesiphon with sixty thousand soldiers, captured it, and put the minor king, his minister and a number of the nobility to death, and ascended the throne on 27th April 630. He restored the last Roman province to Heraclius and sent an army to expel the Khazars from Armenia. But he was not destined to rule for more than a few weeks. He was not of the royal Kaiyânian or Sâsânian blood. A legitimist movement brought about his overthrow and death (9th June 630). The soldiers dragged his corpse through the streets of Ctesiphon, proclaiming "Whoever, not being of the blood royal, usurps the throne of Iran shall share the fate of Shahr-Barz."

XXVIII. QUEEN PÛRÂNDOKHT.

The soldiers looked out for some fit Sâsânian prince whom they

could elect to the throne. But the misjudged and short-sighted policy of the conspirators who had made a wholesale slaughter of the sons of Khûsrau Parviz had almost extinguished the royal line. So their choice fell upon Pûrândokht, a daughter of that king, and she was elevated to the throne. Firdausi muses sadly that when a female is set upon a throne affairs have gone bad indeed. She ruled kindly, but died after a short reign of sixteen months.



Queen Pûrândokht.



Queen Āzarmidokht.

XXIX. QUEEN ĀZARMIDOKHT.

Pūrāndokht's beautiful sister Āzarmidokht succeeded her, after a short interval during which Gushnasbandeh* reigned. (P. S. C., 118.)

Āzarmidokht's reign lasted for less than half a year. Mirkhond and Tabari assign her death to murder. Gibbon says that she was deposed by the unanimous vote of the priests and nobles.

XXX. FARROKHZĀD.

Firdausi and Masoudi mention Farrokhzād as Āzarmidokht's successor, and Yezdegard III, the last of the Sāsānian kings, as his successor. But the period between the death of Āzarmidokht and the accession of Yezdegard was one of great unrest, and several nobles aspired to the throne. Tabari gives the following list of the noblemen who assumed the throne after Āzarmidokht:—Khūšrau III, Khordād-Khūšrau, Firūz, and Farrokhzād-Khūšrau. We learn from Mr. Paruck that the soldiers of Shahr-Barz, who was slain, put forward in Nisibis Hormazd V, a grandson of Khūšrau Parviz, who maintained himself in that quarter for a time (631-632).

According to Firdausi, Farrokhzād-Khūšrau, who preceded Yezdegard, had the very short reign of one month, being poisoned by a slave named Siyāh-Chashm ("the Black-eyed"), who had fallen in love with one of the palace handmaids.

During the very short interval of four years between the death of Khūšrau Parviz and the accession of Yezdegard III no

* Tabari gives the name Kushensadeh and Masoudi gives Firūz-Kushenshadeh.

less than ten sovereigns had sat on the throne, an indication enough that the Persian power, though formidable to outward appearance, was in a crumbling condition. This woeful decline of one of the greatest empires that the world has seen was the natural and unfailing consequence of seething discontent, intrigues, internecine quarrels, and fratricidal strifes.

YEZDEGARD III.



Yezdegard III.

Yezdegard III, son of Shehriyâr and grandson of Khûsrau Parviz, received the crown on the Arshishvang day of the Spendârmad month (16th June 632). From this date commences the chronological era, known as the Yezdegardi or Yezdezerdi Saneh, which still obtains among the Parsis. He was a prince of the royal blood of Sasan, and, therefore, was accepted as king without any noticeable opposition. Being brought up in obscurity in Istakhr, he had so long escaped being murdered.

While Rome and Persia were at constant grips with each other for world supremacy and wasting their man-power and exhausting their material resources, and the latter was further enfeebling herself by internecine dissensions and the wholesale murder of her princes of the royal line, as well as by the importation of unbridled luxury from foreign lands and the abandonment of simple life for the worship of pleasure, a new power, Islam, was rising in the East which was destined to swoop down on these empires and swallow both. While the Romans and the Persians were wasting and exhausting their strength, the nomads of the deserts of Arabia were being knit into a nation by the Prophet Mohamed under his temporal and religious leadership. "To the Arab nation," writes Thomas Carlyle in a rhetorical passage at the end of the second Lec-

ture in his book on Heroes and Hero-worship, "it was as a birth from darkness into light; Arabia first became alive by means of it. A poor shepherd people, roaming unnoticed in its deserts since the creation of the world: a Hero-Prophet was sent down to them with a word they could believe: see, the unnoticed becomes world-notable, the small has grown world-great; within one century afterwards, Arabia is at Grenada on this hand, at Delhi on that;—glancing in valour and splendour and the light of genius, Arabia shines through long ages over a great section of the world. Belief is great, life-giving. The history of a Nation becomes fruitful, soul-elevating, great, so soon as it believes."

These nomads marched from victory to victory to the inspiring and insistent battle-cry of Allāhû-Akbar ("God is most great"). Nevertheless, however peremptory the challenge, observes Dr. Stanley Pool (U. H. W., Vol. IV, 2529), it cannot be pretended that religion was the main cause of the Arabs' conquests, a much more obvious urge being a natural overwhelming lust for booty. Such is also the opinion of the well-known linguist and keen student of the history and literature of Arabia and Persia, the late Mr. G. K. Narinân, who writes, in his note appended to chapter II of M. M. L. P., that it has to be admitted—whether modern Moslem writers acknowledge it or not—that there was a greater element of a desire for spoils in the early Arab inroads than for the acquisition of converts.

Mohamed was born during the regime of King Naushir-vân. In A.D. 628 he addressed letters both to the Roman Emperor Heraclius and the Persian sovereign Khûsrau Parviz, announcing himself as the Apostle of God and calling upon them to embrace Islam. Khûsrau tore the Prophet's letter to shreds, whereupon Mohamed, who was possessed of considerable mother-wit, remarked, "He has rent his own realm."

On his death, which took place on 8th June 632, his companions elected his father-in-law Abû-Bekr as the Caliph or successor of the Prophet.

Kaled, the general of Abû-Bekr, marched against Iyas, the Arab chief of Hirâ, which was the seat of a race of kings

who had embraced Christianity and reigned for more than six hundred years as feudatories of the Persian sovereign. He defeated the combined forces of Iyas and a small body of Persian troops headed by Asadsubeih. This was the first battle in which the followers of Zoroastrianism fought those of Islam.

Kaled then advanced further into the country, and fought his second battle with the Persians at Obolla, not far from the modern town of Busrah, where Hormazd, the governor of the lower portion of Irâq, was defeated and slain.

Yezdegard directed his general Rûstam, son of Hormazd, to take the command of the operations against the Mohamedans. At Namârik, Sakatiya, and Barusma, Al Motahanna and Abû Obeidah routed the Persian forces under Rûstam's lieutenants, Jaban, Narses and Jalenus, and the Arabs became masters of the whole of the tract between the desert and the Euphrates.

But another of Rûstam's lieutenants, Bahman-Dsul-hadjib (Bahman the Beetle-browed), gave a great defeat to the Arab army which had encamped upon the Western Euphrates at Koss-en-Natek (26th November 634). There was a great slaughter of the enemy, Salit and Abû Obeidah being among the slain. Al Motahanna received a severe wound. This battle is known as the Battle of the Bridge. If Bahman had vigorously followed up this victory, it would have been impossible for the Arab army to have escaped annihilation. But unfortunately for Persia two Persian factions, one under general Rûstam and the other under Prince Firûzân, were at feud, and Bahman instead of following up his advantage against the common enemy of the country, hurried to Ctesiphon to support Rûstam.

A Persian general, of the distinguished house of Mihrân, made a dash at Hirâ with some picked troops, but was intercepted by Al Motahanna, who had received reinforcements, and in the desperate battle at Bowaib, in the vicinity of the citadel of Hirâ, the Moslems, by the aid of certain Christian tribes, won a brilliant victory. The Persians lost their noble commander, and half of the Persian army was slain and the rest fled. Mesopotamia was now laid open to the ravages of the Arabs.

Al Motahanna died of his wound. Sa'ad ibn Malik, surnamed Wakkas, was appointed to take the field with thirty thousand troops. King Yezdegard directed Rûstam Farrokhzâd, who was a brave and prudent officer and reputed to be the best general of the day, to march against Sa'ad with a large force which the king had levied. Tabari calculates this force at 120,000, but Ebn Ishak and Masoudi estimate it at 60,000. (R. S. O. M., 556.) According to Firdausi, Rûstam maintained the campaign for thirty months.

In 636 Rûstam gave battle to Sa'ad at Cadesia,* a day's march south of Karbalâ, outside of which the Arabs had established their camp. He divided his troops into a centre and two wings, and entrusted the right wing to Jalenus and the left to Bendsuvân, himself taking his position in the centre. In front was borne the sacred war-standard the Drafsh-i-Kâveyân.

Sa'ad, being unable to ride, as he was suffering from either gout or boils, kept himself in the citadel of Cadesia, from where he gave the signal for battle with the war-cry Allahû-Akbar. The fight lasted from noon till sunset. On the first day, known as the 'Day of Extermination' and the 'Day of Concussion', the chief loss was suffered by the Arabs, of whom five hundred "quaffed the potion of martyrdom". On the second day, which is known as the 'Day of Succours' and the 'Day of Lamentation', reinforcements of cavalry continued to arrive in the Mohamedan camp from Syria, which the followers of Islam had wrested from Heraclius, defeating the Romans in the battle of Yarmik. The morning passed in skirmishes and in single combats between Arab and Persian champions, in which Bendsuvân and Bahman-Dsul-hadjib were killed. In the general engagement which followed later and continued until nightfall the balance of advantage was on the side of the Arabs. The Persian loss in killed and wounded was ten thousand, while of the enemy one or two thousand "attained martyrdom".

On the third day, variously called the 'Day of Embittered War' and the 'Day of Immersion', the armies fought at close quarters, without any definite result. In the night the Persians

* The town of Elkadder now marks the old site of Cadesia. (Menant.)

fell back and crossed the canal El Atik. After three consecutive days of severe fighting they intended to take the rest which they stood much in need of. This night received the whimsical name of the 'Night of Snarling', since the Arabs prevented the Persians from enjoying any respite in the night by creating horrid noises. Moreover small bodies of them crossed the canal under cover of the darkness and slew numbers of the Persians in their camp. A general engagement then took place which continued into the next day, the last of the four days of the battle of Cadesia. This day is called the 'Day of Cormorants'. On this last day the Persians had the advantage in the beginning. But as fickle fortune would have it, about noon a heavy gale rose from the west, blowing clouds of sand and dust, which seriously obstructed the vision of the Persians, while the Arabs who had their backs to the storm suffered little from its fury. At the same time the Arab ranks were swelled by a strong contingent of mounted troops from Syria, which plunged headlong into the fight and charged the Persian flank with great effect. During the night the enemy received further reinforcements from Syria and from Medina.

According to Masoudi, Tabari and Mirkhond, the Persian general Rûstam threw himself into the Atik and attempted to swim across, but was observed by a trooper, Hillal bin O'lqamah, who pursued him and slew him. Firdausi's account is different. He narrates that the sufferings of the Persians from thirst were great. Rûstam's lips were parched like dust with drought, and slits were formed in his mouth through thirst. Yet he challenged Sa'ad* and closed with him in single combat. A terrible stroke of his sword brought down Sa'ad's charger. The Arab leapt clear of the horse and Rûstam heaved his sword to show to his adversary the Day of Doom. But at this critical time the wind blew sand into the Persian warrior's eyes. Sa'ad took advantage of Rûstam's momentary blindness and struck him with his sword a blow on the head and another on the neck, which killed him. The Persian soldiers avenged the death of their

* Warner reminds us that Sa'ad was suffering from boils and could take no personal part in the battle. (W. S., Vol. IX, 69.) But it is possible that he might have been relieved of his complaint on the final day of the battle and taken his share in the fight.

commander by a furious assault on the Arabs, and with their arrows, lances, swords and battle-axes made a great havoc. But owing to parching thirst the men and their steeds were soon exhausted and were overpowered by the Arabs, who slew them in large numbers. A number escaped and carried the woeful tidings to Yezdegard at Baghdād.

Ten thousand Persians gave their lives on the battlefield, and thirty thousand were drowned in the Atik. The Mohamedan loss in slain was six thousand.

The decisive battle of Cadesia (A.D. 636) was lost not through the lack of bravery of the Persian troops. They fought desperately and with intrepidity. But fortune was against them. They had to fight in the face of a blinding storm, they were afflicted with the pangs of thirst for want of water, and they were exhausted for want of rest after several days' continuous fighting.

A lamentable misfortune which befell the Persians in this calamitous battle, was the loss of their great palladium, their ancient famous battle standard *Drafsh-i-Kāveyān*, which for long ages had carried them from victory to victory. The Arab who captured it is said to have sold it for 30,000 dirhams (£780). Its value, according to Rawlinson, was 1,200,000 dirhams.

We are reminded by Sykes (S. H. P., 3rd ed., Vol. I, 501) that on the stricken field of Cadesia the power passed again to the Semites some twelve centuries after the fall of Nineveh. Such was Heaven's decree.

For a year and a half there was a pause in the advance of the Arabs. In 637 Sa'ad again took the field with an army of twenty thousand men, and entered Mesopotamia.

Learning that the Arabs were marching upon Ctesiphon, Yezdegard called a council of elders, ministers, and other wise men, and consulted them as to the best course to be followed in the circumstances. Farrokhzād advised the king to quit the capital and retreat to the Desert of Nārvan, and said that from the loyal subjects of Āmīl and Sāri he would be able to gather an army of bold warriors with which he could come back like Shāh Faridūn of old and fight like fire. The other councillors

endorsed Farrokhzâd's advice. But the courageous youthful monarch refused to seek his own safety by flying to a distant land, and declared that it was not majesty, nor manliness, nor policy to desert the chieftains, the army, the country, and the throne and crown, and seek his own safety, and to fight the foe was better for him than disgrace, because as much as it is the duty of subjects to obey their king in good and ill, it is the duty of the king to remain by the side of his people and not abandon them in their distress.

But when Sa'ad pressed as far as Sâbât, which was only a day's march from Ctesiphon, with an army which had now swollen to sixty thousand men, Yezdegard was prevailed upon to commence his retreat. So he retired to Holvan, a strong place in the Zagros, where he amassed an army of a hundred thousand men.

Sa'ad made his entry in Ctesiphon. The magnificent royal palaces, the palatial residences of the rich, and the glory of the gardens, fountains and meadows of this capital of the Sâsânians amazed the victors and they looked with eyes of wonder at the treasures they beheld there. The various rooms of the magnificent palace, Tak-e-Kesra or Takht-i-Khûsrau, were full of gold and silver, of costly robes and precious stones, of jewelled arms, and dainty carpets. There was a carpet of white brocade, 450 feet long and 90 broad, which Tabari names "The Spring of Khûsrau", and describes as follows:—"In Khûsrau's treasures the Arabs found a carpet 300 cubits long and 60 cubits broad. They called it Dastân. The kings of Persia spread it and sat on it at the time when there was nothing green in the world (*i.e.*, in winter). On every ten cubits of it, they had woven different jewels and on ten cubits green emeralds; on ten cubits blue rubies; on ten cubits yellow rubies. Whoever looked at it thought that it was fairy-born (*i.e.*, fairy-made). In it, jewels were set in, and pictures of all things which grow on earth and water and all green plants were woven in it." (M. As. P., Pt. IV, 35.) There were also a horse made entirely of gold bearing a silver saddle decorated with numerous jewels, and a camel of silver accompanied by a golden foal.

The works of art and a fifth part of the priceless booty were

set apart for the Caliph and sent to Medina. The rest Sa'ad divided among his sixty thousand soldiers, the share of each amounting to 12,000 dirhams.* The priceless carpet, "The Spring of Khûsrau", was sent by the Arab general to Omar, who ordered it to be placed in the mosque.

At Jalûla, near Holvan, the army of Yezdegard, led by a Mihrân, whose name Mirkhond gives as Mohran ben Behrâm Razy, received a great defeat at the hands of Hâshem, a brother or nephew of Sa'ad (A.D. 637). The slaughter was immense. The general and a hundred thousand Persians fell on the battle-field. The Arabs seized such immense booty that the share of each soldier who took part in the battle came to ten thousand dirhams (£260). In one of the Persian tents an Arab, Khareja, found a golden camel adorned with rubies and pearls, with a man of pure gold on its saddle. The victory of Jalûla took place in the 16th year of the Hejira.

Yezdegard hurriedly quitted Holvan and proceeded in the direction of Rai, near the Caspian Sea. Khosrusum, whom he had left with troops to defend Holvan, rashly led out his army and engaged the Mohamedan general El Kakâa in a battle at Kasr-i-Shirin. The enemy again triumphed and the Persians were routed. The whole tract west of Zagros was now in the possession of the Arabs.

In 639 Hormuzân, the governor of Susiana, was defeated by Otba, governor of Busrah, and forced to surrender a portion of his province, including the city of Ahwaz.

Next year Hormuzân, with the assistance of Shehrek, satrap of Persia Proper, attacked the enemy, but met with little success. He was driven to Shûster and was there besieged. No less than eighty engagements took place before the walls without decided advantage to either side. At last the town fell, and Hormuzân's territories were occupied by the Arabs.

Caliph Omar recalled the Arab commander-in-chief Sa'ad to

* Estimating the dirham as worth from 65 to 70 French centimes, Rawlinson finds the entire booty, exclusive of the works of art, to have been worth from £28,400,000 to £25,200,000. Major Price by substituting dinars for dirhams, on the authority of Habîb-easeir, raises the value to the incredible sum of £300,000,000.

answer certain charges of pride, luxury and injustice which were laid against him, and transferred the command to Ammâr ibn Yâser.

Yezdegard now saw his opportunity to make heroic efforts to drive the enemy out of his country. He sent couriers to the notables of all the provinces to raise troops for the defence of the fatherland. Brave sons of the soil responded from all parts to their king's call. An army of 150,000 strong mustered in Nehâvand, about 50 miles south of Hamadân. The king gave its command to general Firûzân. Omar, upon whom fortune was smiling, ordered Noman, son of Mokarrin, to march on Nehâvand with troops collected from Iraq, Khûzistân and the Sawâd. The Persian army had established a camp surrounded by a deep entrenchment. For two months the rival armies remained encamped opposite to each other. The Arab commander became impatient of delay and called upon his men to point their lances and rush to victory or to paradise. The Arabs made a furious charge. In the battle Noman fell, but the Persians were routed. Firûzân fled to the hills with four thousand men, but was pursued and a fearful carnage ensued, Firûzân being among the slain. Eighty thousand Persians gave their lives in the battle of Nehâvand.

This catastrophe sealed the fate of the Parsi empire, which from its date fell under the rule of the Caliphs (A.D. 641).

Extinct for ever was that power which had but so recently achieved the unique triumph of driving the powerful Romans from every inch of ground they had acquired in Asia. It is not surprising that the Mohamedans should distinguish this victory of theirs by the name of Fath-ul-Futûh or Victory of Victories.

For nearly ten years Yezdegard maintained the hopeless struggle. He retained all the outward forms of royalty and even struck coins. He is said to have maintained a useless crowd of four thousand retainers, including slaves of the palace, cooks, valets, grooms, secretaries, wives, concubines, female attendants, and old men. (R. S. O. M., 576.) He had hoped for succour from the Khân of the Turks and the Khâkân of China, but his hopes were not realized. At last as he was flying from the attacks of the enemy and his own traitorous subjects, he was at a spot eight miles from

Merv murdered by Khûsrau, a miller, with the connivance of the faithless Mahûi Sûri, governor of that province, whom Yezdegard himself had raised from an humble position to that high office. Firdausi gives as the date of his death the night of the 30th day Anirân of the 3rd month Khordâd, which according to the calculation of Mr. F. D. J. Paruck (P. S. C., 121) corresponds to the night between the 9th and 10th of September 651. The wretched assassin Khûsrau fell a victim to popular rage. The corpse of the murdered monarch was recovered and embalmed and was sent to Istakhr to be interred by the side of his ancestors.

Yezdegard is generally reproached with feebleness, cowardice and effeminacy. But the sympathetic historian Rawlinson, while admitting that this king was no hero, makes the remark that considering his extreme youth when his perils began, the efforts which he made to meet them, and the impossibility of an effective resistance in the effete and exhausted condition of the Persian nation, history is scarcely justified in passing upon the unfortunate prince a severe judgment. Benjamin also refutes the charge of pusillanimity and points out that the long resistance he made against the invaders shows that he had firmness and courage. In no country attacked by the Mohamedans in the early period of their conquests, says the same writer, did they meet a resistance as obstinate and heroic as in Persia. In many instances chieftains and kings elsewhere submitted to the Arabs, and gained security and honour by embracing Mohamedanism, but Yezdegard disdained such a course and struggled with spirit against his destiny to the end. Whilst we cannot but shed tears of sorrow at the permanent loss of the Parsi empire it is some solace to reflect that the last occupant of the glorious Sāsānian throne was, as so ably shown by Benjamin (B. P., 272), a worthy, patriotic and heroic prince.

There is a sad but interesting tradition related concerning a daughter of Yezdegard Shehriyâr, by name Khâtûn Bânû. On the defeat of the king, she, with other members of the royal family, quitted Madâin to take refuge in the fort of Haft Āzar. But as the army of the enemy prevented her from doing so, she

proceeded to a tower on another adjoining mountain. On the way thither she became thirsty, and asked for water from an agriculturist. The man had no drinking water ready and so milked his cow to give milk to the thirsty lady. But the cow kicked the earthen vessel in which the milk was collected and broke it. So the unfortunate princess proceeded to a mountain two miles further and prayed to Ahûrâ Mazdâ to save her from the foes who were pursuing her. The prayer was heard. The ground cleaved and she sank. This spot which came to be called *Dar-i-dîn* ("The Gate of Religion") was held as sacred by the Zoroastrian Persians and the practice arose of going on a pilgrimage there. It is said that there unexpectedly issued a spring of water on the spot, to make the pilgrims comfortable. (M. A. P., Pt. III, 156.) A story is also told that Mâhâ Bânû, another fugitive daughter of Yezdegard, married a Valabhi (Indian) prince. According to Abûl Fazal's well-known work *Âīyané Akbari*, the brave and renowned Sisodia Rajpûts of Udépûr are the progeny of this princess. As to Sheher Bânû, another of Yezdegard's daughter, there is a tradition that she was taken in marriage by Hûsayn, the younger son of Fatima, the daughter of Mohamed the Prophet, and became the progenitor of nine Imâms (the fourth to the twelfth).



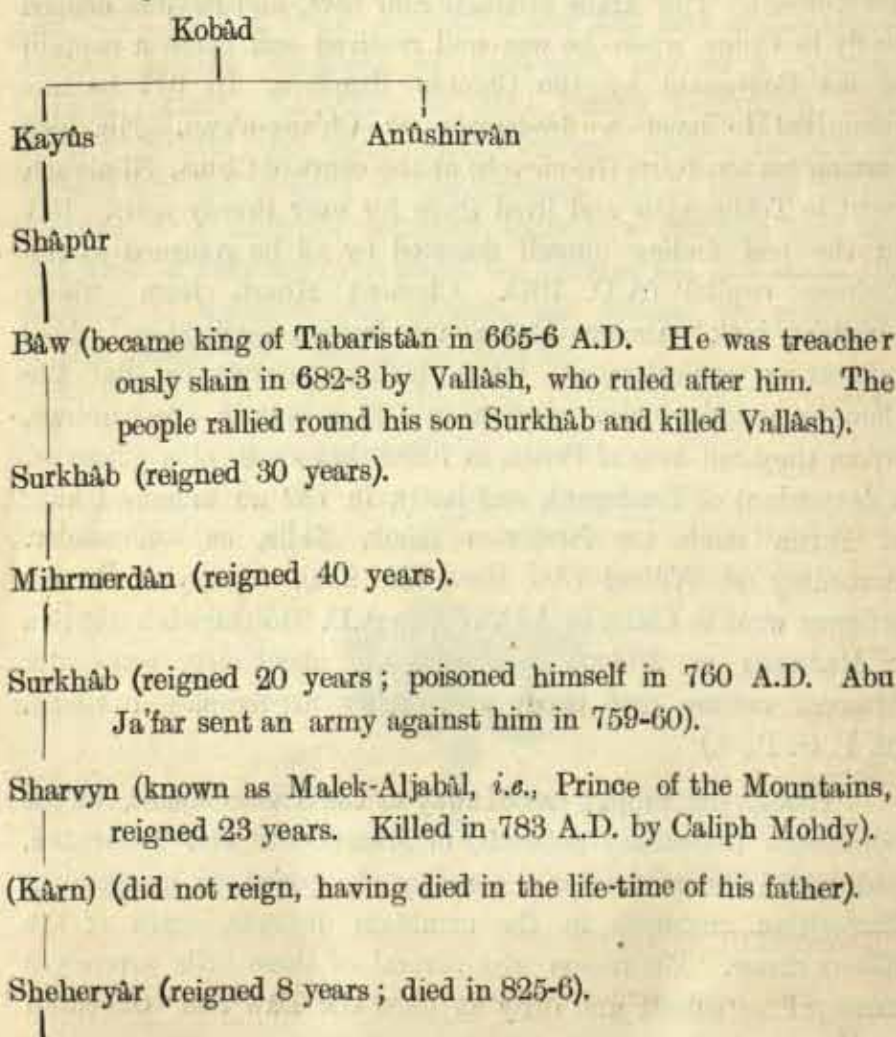
CHAPTER XII.

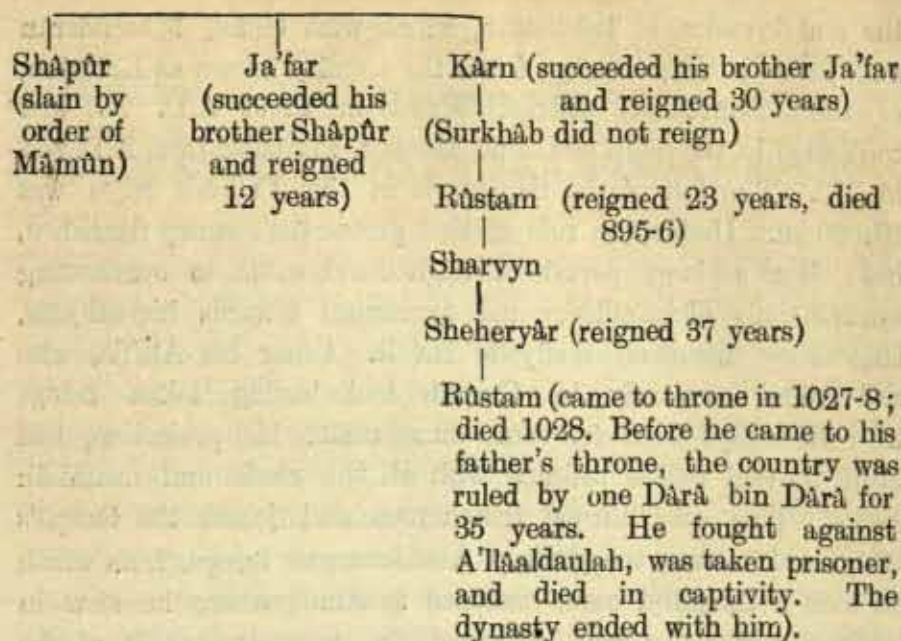
PARSI MONARCHS AFTER THE ARAB CONQUEST.

Pirûz (Phiroz II), a son of Yezdegard Shehriyâr, on the death of the latter, proclaimed himself king of Persia, and was recognized as such by the Emperor of China. He took refuge in the mountains of Tokharistân, which was then under Chinese rule. In A.D. 661 the Chinese Emperor set up a government of Persia and entrusted the direction of it to Pirûz, whom the Chinese texts name Pi-lu-sseh. Tsi-ling was the seat of this government. The Arabs attacked him here, and he was obliged to fly to China, where he was well received and made a captain of his Bodyguard by the Chinese Emperor. In 677 he was permitted to build a fire-temple at Ch'ang-n'gan. He died leaving his son Narsi (Ni-nie-seh) at the court of China. Ni-nie-seh went to Tokharistân and lived there for over twenty-years. But in the end finding himself deserted by all he returned to the Chinese capital (A.D. 707). Clement Huart, from whose excellent book "Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization" these interesting particulars are taken, further informs us that the Chinese historians also mention, in 722, a certain Pu-shan-hwo, whom they call king of Persia, in 728-9 they speak of a Chosroes, a descendant of Yezdegard, and lastly, in 732 an unnamed king of Persia sends the Nestorian monk, Ki-lie, as ambassador. According to Wilford (As. Res., IX, 235), a party of Persian refugees went to China in A.D. 750, in A.D. 845 there is a mention of *Mahapas* or *Mobeds* in Canton, and about sixty years later Masoudi notices that there were many fire-temples in China. (S. P. G. P., 3.)

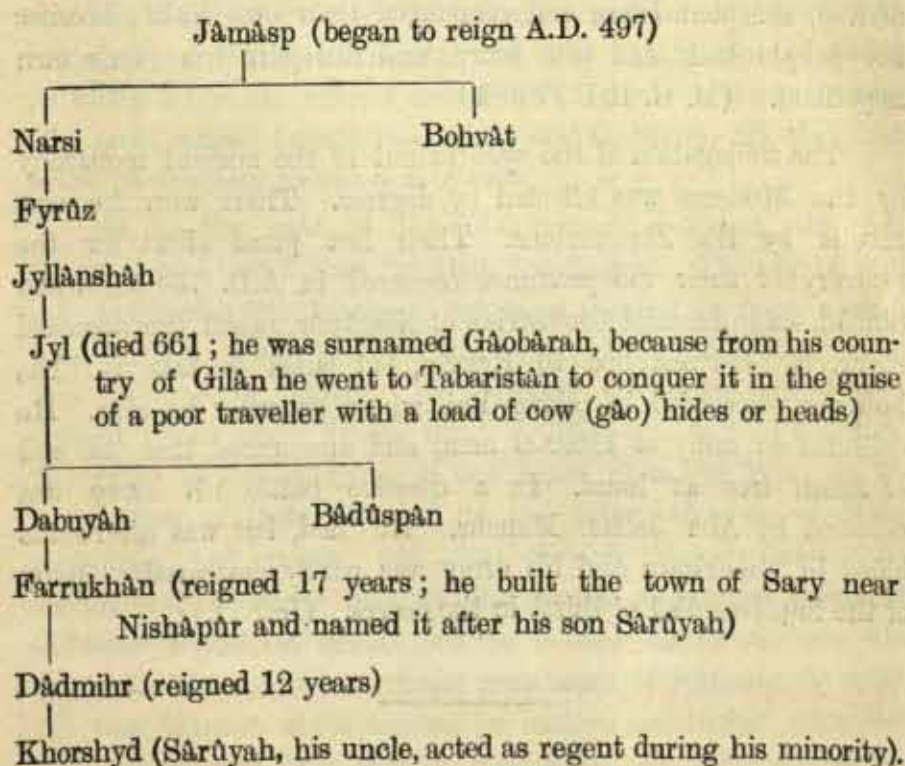
Though the Empire passed away at the Arab conquest, still the Sepahbuds (hereditary generals) of Mâzenderân and Tabaristân, maintained themselves for a considerable period as independent Zoroastrian monarchs in the mountain districts, north of the Elburz range. The reason why several of these little sovereigns managed to subsist and why at least the Bâw and Gâobârah

Sepahbuds succeeded in maintaining themselves in the Kohistân or 'mountain region' is to be sought, as Edward Rehatsek points out in a paper contributed by him to J. B. B. R. A. S. (Vol. XII, 410-45) in the rugged and wild character of a land full of jungles, rocks, and precipices, as well as of malarious plains; in the independent nature of the mountaineers; and in the struggles of the Abbaside Caliphs with various rebels, who sometimes so fully engaged their forces that the princes of Tabaristân and Mâzenderân had opportunities of temporarily throwing off the yoke of their conquerors. The following table, prepared by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi from Rehatsek's account, gives the names of the Bâwand princes of Tabaristân, who ruled in Tabaristân long after the Arab conquest:—





Dr. Modi gives the following genealogical table of the Gâobârah Sepahbuds, who first ruled in Gilân and then in Tabaristân :—



The same writer concludes from Rehatsek's account that

the real invasion of Tabaristân, which with Gilân, Mâzenderân and the adjoining country, forms the country known as Kohistân, or the mountainous district, began in about A.D. 749 and continued in the reign of Caliph Mansûr, who ruled from A.D. 754 to 775. The last of the Sepahbuds in this Caliph's reign was Khorshyd. Under the rule of this prince the country flourished, but after a long period of reign he became so overbearing towards his high officers and tyrannical towards his subjects, that they were all ready to revolt. Omar bin Ala'llâ, who had killed somebody in Gurgân and having taken refuge with Khorshyd lived for some time under his protection, had made himself well acquainted with all the roads and mountain tracks. This man turned treacherous and joined the Caliph's army, and became the guide of Ab-Alkhacyb's troops, from which he took a thousand men, hastened to Âmul, where he slew in battle the Marzbân who governed the town on behalf of the Sepahbud, took possession of the place, and ordered a herald to invite the people to embrace Islam, whereupon crowd after crowd arrived, accepted Islam and renounced their own Faith, because the people had met with scorn and disregard from their own Sepahbud. (M. G. R. B., 79-82.)

The subjugation of the vast extent of the ancient monarchy by the Moslems was effected by degrees. There were frequent revolts by the Zoroastrians. Their last great effort for the recovery of their independence occurred in A.D. 754-55, when Sinbâd, an influential Zoroastrian of Nishâpûr, raised the standard of revolt. He marched to Kazvin, but failed to take it. He, however, succeeded in taking Rai, whose governor he slew. He collected an army of 110,000 men, and announced that the end of Islam was at hand. In a decisive battle his army was defeated by Abû Ja'far Mansûr. He fled, but was afterwards killed in Tabaristân and his army was partly destroyed. Many of the fugitives died of thirst in the desert. (Ib., 71.)

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE ARAB CONQUEST.

Alas for the Parsis! the Arabs had conquered their country and their old, old empire had been lost to them for ever. Lost was their empire, in respect to the sovereigns of the last dynasty whereof Masoudi, writing in A.D. 956, in his preface to his *Kitabu't-tanbih wa'l-ishraf*, alludes to their mighty dominion, the antiquity of their rule; the continuity of their sovereignty, the excellence of their administration, their well-ordered policy, the prosperity of their domains, their care for their subjects, the subjugation to their allegiance of many of the kings of the world, who brought unto them taxes and tribute, and their sway, withal, over the fourth Clime, which is the Clime of Babel, the middle part of the earth, and the noblest of the (seven) Climes. (B. L. H. P., 129.) We are again forcibly in mind of Mirkhond's philosophical observation, namely, that the vicissitudes of royal dynasties are a convincing proof of the perpetuity of God's sovereignty, and that the changes of fortune to which kings are subject are evident signs of His omnipotence. The great satirist Lucian has rightly said (*Charon*, 23) that death is the lot of states just as it is of men.

As in the case of the Macedonian conquest, the Arab conquest was more material than intellectual. The Arabs could not Arabianise the Iranians, but were themselves Iranianised to some extent. They gained considerably from the science, art and literature of Persia. To illustrate the great influence of ancient Persia upon Arabia, Sir J. J. Modi (M. A. P., Pt. III, 50-51) refers to the influence of the Arabs upon the West in the early times of their rise and to the later influence of Mohamedanism and points out that though Mohamedanism has spread over a larger area of the world now than before, its influence is not so great now as it was then. At one time the Arab Universities in Spain were seats of learning to which the then learned world turned for culture and higher education. The reason was that besides possessing the zeal, ardour and industry of a new rising people, they had the accumulated

experience of their contact with the civilizations of the Romans and the Persians. Their long contact with the Iranians both before and after the conquest gave them a good deal of culture. And as to religion, Mohamedanism itself was pervaded by a good deal of Zoroastrianism. Prof. James Darmesteter makes it manifest that Persia in accepting the new religion has transformed it more than being itself transformed; she has adapted its life and its new faith to the hereditary customs and traditions, and in reality the Islam of Persia is the old religion of Persia, encircled with Mussulman formulæ. An opinion very recently expressed by a Mohamedan scholar, Prof. Rezvi of Calcutta, is however, that although there is no doubt that whatever fame or uplift Islam achieved was simply due to the activities of the Persian Muslims alone, Persian Islam has been true to the spirit of the Quranic teachings all along. (I. L. Q., Oct. 1933, 434.)

In a lecture which Darmesteter delivered in Bombay, on his visit to India, on the subject "Parseeism: its place in history", the learned Professor observes that a great religion never dies: even when annihilated by sword and fire, it still lives on and unrecognized, in many hearts that ignore it: Persia could burn the Avesta, recite the Koran, forget the name of Zoroaster and Ormazd for the name of Mohamed and Allah, and the twenty-one words of the Honaver for the eight words of the Kalima, still the inner soul of the popular religion remained unchanged. Another Frenchman, M. Clement Huart, expresses himself on this subject thus:—"I know well that the introduction of Islam has transformed the manners of the people, the rules of their conduct, the principles of their religion; but profound observers, such as the Count de Gobineau, will tell you that these modifications are superficial, and have not changed the Persian soul, which still lives in the Persian of our own day."

Sykes (U. H. W., Vol. IV, 230-7) gives this well-considered advice to European historians that they should realize the great influence of Persia on world history and should cease to view its early relations with Europe through Greek spectacles. Central Asia and India were also deeply influenced by Persia,

and, as Sir Percy points out, to-day her language is spoken by millions of Asiatics who have no political connexion with Iran.

The subjoined extract from Sir George Birdwood's letter to the Edinburgh Parsi Union, which we reproduce from Sir J. J. Modi's paper on the Early History of the Huns in M. As. P., Pt. II (p. 309), shows how great and abiding has been the influence of ancient Iran on the manners and customs of the courts and people of Europe and on their religion:—

"Europe owes the establishment and endowment of Christianity as a State religion to the fact that Constantine the Great was attracted to it by the religion of the Zoroastrians, who had served in the Roman legions under his command. Zoroastrians, with the neo-Platonists and Christians, were the three principal spiritualizing influences closely inter-related, and equally free from dogmatic theology that at last broke down the whole structure of paganism west of the Indus right on to Great Britain, and on the ruins of the temples of Greece and Rome appeared the domes and towers and spires of the Catholic Roman Schismatic Greek churches. In Great Britain, there are, I believe, 40 contemporary monuments of ancient Persians, Zoroastrians of the Roman army of occupation in these islands; and the remains of several of them are to be found along the wall of Hadrian within a cycle sweep of Edinburgh.....Our Western code of social etiquette reaches us from the ancient Persian court, through the court of the Cæsars of Constantinople and thence the courts of the Mediæval Christendom that sprang up out of the dust of fallen Rome. It was this 'Persian apparatus' of social etiquette that taught the barbarians who overthrew Rome good manners and made us 'gentlemen' gentlemen."

We have the opinion of the Persian scholar Otto Rothfeld, late of the Indian Civil Service, that Persian writers have exercised more influence in Europe indirectly than directly, and more often through what they have written in the Arabic language than in their own. Broadly speaking, he considers it hardly an exaggeration to say that, with the exception of the seven pre-Islamic poets, the greater part of Arabic literature is the work of Persian authors. He observes that more often than

not Arabic literature is the thought of Persian men written in Arabic instead of Persian, and that to no class of writing does this apply so much as to the scientific and philosophic books written during the period which corresponds to the European Middle Ages, which books did so much to refresh and refine the slowly reviving European soul. It was from them that Europe learnt again philosophy, science, mathematics, and even the laws and spirit of chivalry. (M. M. V., 648.)

We have, also, a similar opinion from another recent Orientalist, Prof. E. G. Browne (B. L. H. P., 204), who says:—"Take from what is generally called Arabian science—from exegesis, tradition, theology, philosophy, medicine, lexicography, history, biography, even Arabic grammar—the work contributed by Persians, and the best part is gone. Even the forms of State organization were largely adapted from Persian models."

The Umayyad Caliph Sûlémân (A.D. 715) is reported to have said of the Persians—Persians who had stuck to Zoroastrianism as well as those who adopted Islam—"I am amazed at the Persians. They have ruled one thousand years and never needed us for a moment, while we have reigned for one hundred years and not even for a moment have been able to do without them." (See Sir J. J. Modi's Foreword, B. S. K., XLI.)

Prof. L. Goldziher, of Germany, finds the investigation of the varied influences which the Sâsânian civilization has exercised on different sections of humanity geographically separated from one another as one of the most fascinating chapters of the history of civilization. He writes:—"Even in the language and the artistic monument of the nation to which I belong we may observe remarkable traces of their influence. Since the times of the migration of the ancient Hungarians before they penetrated into the regions limited by the Karpethian mountains we have continued to employ to this day, to confine myself to religious nomenclature, words borrowed from Persia to designate God, namely, Isten, Persian Izadan; the devil or dog, Persian druj; and in profane usage devaj, wanton is a remnant of daeva. Our archaeologists and the historians of our art discover from time to time fresh vestiges of Persian elements in the ancient

monument of our art." (See Goldziher's paper on the influence of Parsism on Islam, N. P. P., Pt. I, 42.)

One great and irreparable calamity which Parsis have suffered by the Arab conquest is the wanton destruction of their literature by the fanatical enemy. We have it from Abdûl Rahman ibne Khâldûn (732-808 A.H.) that of all people, the facts of whose history have reached us, two nations were more well-known for their learning, and they were the two great pre-Islamic nations of the Persians and the Greeks, but the Persians gave very great importance to learning and intellectual pursuits, and in proportion to the greatness and extent of their empire and the long ages through which their sovereignty lasted, their learning too had proportionately obtained a vast scope. (I. P. P. R., 57.)

Browne (B. L. H. P., 12) mentions a story, cited by the native biographers, as to how one day in Nishâpûr the Amir Abdu'llâh b. Tâhir (died A.D. 844) was presented with an old book containing the romance of Wâmiq and Adhra, "a pleasing tale which wise men compiled and dedicated to King Naushirvân," and how the Amir ordered its destruction saying that the Koran and the Traditions of the Prophet ought to suffice for good Muslims, and adding "this book was written by Magians and is accursed in our eyes".

Comte A. de Gobineau (G. M. R. C., 7), who had the advantage of being in Persia as First Secretary to the French Ambassador, makes a deliberate statement that the Arab invaders had resorted to the most extreme harshness not only against the Persian race, but directly against its language, which they endeavoured to destroy entirely, and although they were actuated or instigated by the most violent religious feeling, still they did not succeed in their attempt; and we are told by the Orientalist Prof. Bleeck (Introd. to B. S. A., p. XIII) that the old Persian creed and moral system exercised a greater influence on Mohamedan writers than is generally known; in Sâdi, for example, are many precepts which evidently emanated from the Zoroastrian religion, and it is a significant fact that in Sâdi all the good kings are Persians.

From the fact that the compiler (*Ātarpât-i-Hēmit*) of Books

VIII and IX of the Dinkard, in which the summary account of the Nasks is given, says nothing about any previous treatise being consulted, Dr. West infers that this compiler had access to the Avesta texts and Pahlavi versions of all the Nasks he describes, fully three centuries after the Mohamedan conquest, the Vashtag Nask and the Pahlavi version of the Nādar alone being what he could not obtain. The survival of so much of the sacred Zoroastrian literature during three centuries of Mohamedan era indicates, says West, that the final loss of nearly all this literature was not directly attributable to the Arabs as the Parsis suppose. His view is that so long as a considerable number of the Persians adhered to their ancient religion, they were able to preserve its literature almost intact, even for centuries, but when through conversion and extermination, the Mazdā-worshippers had become a mere remnant, and then fell under the more barbarous rule of the Tartars, they rapidly lost all their old literature that was not in daily religious use, and the loss may have been due as much to their neglecting the necessary copying of manuscripts, as to any destructiveness on the part of their conquerors, because the durability of a manuscript written on paper seldom exceeds five or six centuries. (See D. D. S., Vol. XVIII, pp. XV, XVI.)

This view of Dr. West, namely, that the ancient Persians themselves were to a certain extent blameworthy for the loss of their sacred books, inasmuch as they neglected to make copies from the few manuscripts which existed at the time of the last compiler of the Dinkard, is disputed by the Parsi scholars, Dr. Sir J. J. Modi and Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria. Modi puts the apt question that if the twenty-one Nasks were all extant at the time when the compilers of the Dinkard wrote where was the necessity for writing the contents, and if zeal for preserving the literature prompted them to do the work, why did they do it half-heartedly by merely preserving the contents, and not by making copies and distributing them?

The fact is that by the end of the second century after the conquest the work of destruction was complete. Hence the necessity for Ātarpāt and other writers to collect, in the Dinkard, at least the details of the contents of the lost books, fresh in the

memory of many persons at the time. It was the great feat of memorisation achieved by the Zoroastrian *Âthravans* (priests) which enabled them to preserve and save their literature from entire annihilation; and it is due to this preservation by memory that so many mistakes of grammar and orthography are to be met with in the texts written by *Âthravans*, long after the language of the Avesta ceased to be spoken, according to their oral vocalization. (See Modi's Introduction to J. M. J. V., lvi-lix; B. T. Anklesaria's article "Zoroastrian Religious Literature," I. L. Q., April-July 1930, 95-6.)

The original destroyer of Persian literature was Alexander the Great. What the Moslems destroyed was the restored literature—the restoration of which was commenced by the Parthian king Vologases (Valkhas) and more systematically pursued in the reign of the first Sāsānian king. (M. O. C. P., 60-61.)

In this connection it is useful to cite the following remarks of Dr. Martin Haug (H. E., 125), who had the advantage of a long stay in Western India and close friendly intercourse with the Parsis and their Dastûrs:—"Besides the official copies of the sacred books, there must have been other copies of many portions of them, which would be indispensably necessary in all cities where priests and judges had to perform their duties, and the copies of the sacred books which the first Sāsānian monarchs collected were no doubt derived from these scattered copies. Notwithstanding the long interval of 550 years of foreign domination and domestic anarchy which had intervened between Alexander and Ardeshir Papékān, the Sāsānian kings were able to collect a large proportion of the old writings, if we may believe the details given of the contents of the books in their days, and it is, therefore, to the later ravages and persecutions occasioned by the Mohamedans that we must attribute the final loss of most of the writings. No doubt the books, as restored by the Sāsānians, were chiefly collections of fragments, but some portion of nearly every book seems to have been recovered by them, and the total disappearance of most of the books must be traced to recent times."

We get further light on this subject from the *Dādistan-i Dinik*, a treatise written by Dastūr Mānūschihar Gūshndan, the high priest of Pārs and Kerman, two centuries and a half after Yezdegard. In its introduction the author says that notwithstanding the perplexing struggle of the Drūj, and the grievous calamity and oppression which have happened to the faithful, even now, by the grace of God there are Rats, Magopats, Dastōrs, Dāvars, nay other observers and leaders of religion in many quarters. Moreover there are in several places still other Mūbeds and Ervads who have learnt the Māntras and studied the commentaries, who have pondered over religious opinions and are versed in religion, and can show the reason of things, and prefer meritorious deeds, for whom the path of understanding and learning such religious dogmas is open." (See Ervad T. D. Anklesaria's art. "Difficulties of deciphering Pahlavi," K. R. C. M., 289.)

As regards the intolerance of the Arab conquerors of Iran, there is a clear reference to it in one manuscript of the Pahlavi *Būndeheshn* which Sir J. J. Modi cites in a contribution to T. I. of 12th February 1902. It is written there as follows:—"When the sovereignty came to Yezdegard, then the Arabs rushed into the country of Iran in great multitude.....The country of Iran remained with the Arabs and their own irreligious law was propagated by them; the religion of Mazdayasniāns was weakened. From the original creation until this day evil more grievous than this has not happened; for, through evil deeds—on account of want, foreign habits, hostile acts, bad decrees and bad religion—ruin, want and other evils have taken lodgment." To this the learned savant adds other references from the *Epistles of Manūschihar*, the Pahlavi *Jāmāspi* and the *Dinkard*, Book VII, ch. 8. King Yezdegard himself wrote in his letter to the Governor of Tūs:—"The fires in the fire-temples have been extinguished. The religious festivals of Navroz and Sadeh have been darkened."

In his *Histoire des Arab* M. Clement Huart mentions that the Caliphs made life so troublesome, so intolerable, to the non-Mussulmans that they converted themselves in large numbers to the new religion and there remained only a few Jews, Christians,

and Mazdians in the cities, and the population in the country became all, and very rapidly Mussulman, except in the mountainous cantons. Writing to the Parsis of India in the fifteenth century, the Zoroastrians of Persia said that ever since the overthrow they were living under such troublous times that the atrocities of Zohāk or Afrāsiāb or Alexander pale before what they had been suffering for nine centuries.

Large numbers of persons were forced daily to abjure the faith of their forefathers, and the fire-temples and other sacred places were destroyed or converted into mosques.

The Zoroastrians were regarded by their Arab conquerors with mistrust and hatred. They were excluded from preferment in the offices of the State and were subjected to the *jazia* or poll-tax.

In the Indian Review (Madras) of January 1931 Mr. A. Hameed Hasan, B.A., LL.B., says that the allegation that the *jazia* or poll-tax is a religious tax levied from all non-Muslims if they refuse to accept Islam in a Moslem state is contrary to historical facts, and observes that the Holy Prophet and the first four Caliphs, known in history as the Righteous Caliphs, made it abundantly clear in the phraseology of their treaties with non-Muslims or non-Islam States that the *jazia* was the consideration paid by the non-Muslims or non-Muslim States for the protection of their lives and properties. This tax in its origin was an equitable imposition inasmuch as it exempted non-Muslims from the military service to which Muslims were liable. But the extortionate manner in which it was exacted from the Zoroastrian subjects nearly annihilated them. This was a constant and crushing grievance. (A. N., Preface xi, xii.)

In less than a century after the conquest almost the entire Persian people embraced Islam. Many must have done so in order to gain the advantages accruing from belonging to the same religion as the rulers, such as employment in state service and exemption from the *jazia*, and avoid the humiliation, indignities and persecution to which they were subjected. Some might have embraced Islam attracted by its simpler form.

There are no people more fanatical and more disposed to

persecute their former co-religionists than the converts to a new religion, especially if that religion is that of the ruling nation. That was the case in Persia. The Iranian Zoroastrians were more seriously molested by their quondam co-religionists, who had newly embraced Mohamedanism, than by the Arabs. Mr. G. K. Nariman is convinced that if the Zoroastrians of Persia have suffered, and their sufferings have been exceedingly heavy, it was not due to Islam or wholly to the Arabs, but was a consequence of a continuation of causes in which the priestly dominance of the later Sāsānian period was not inconspicuous. The Arabs of those days were actuated much more by greed than by religious zeal or even fanaticism. Most of them were plunderers and as such left no mark on the lands they conquered, except the religion which they "broadcast". (A. N., Preface, xiii, xiv.)



CHAPTER XIV.

THE EXODUS FROM IRAN.

The puritan minority, who in obedience to the dictates of their conscience preferred at all cost to adhere to their "Good Religion", tore themselves from their ancestral homes and fled to the remotest and most inaccessible localities of Iran in order to preserve their religion and cultural independence.

A number still stuck to Persia. The Islamites designated them in contempt Guebres or infidels. The word Guebre is variously derived. Sir J. J. Modi is of opinion that it is probably the same as Pers. *kur*, i.e., blind, which word can be read *gaur* and which was changed into *gabr*. (E. T. C. B., Vol. III, 181.) But most probably it is a corruption of the word 'Kāfeer', meaning, an infidel. Through centuries of systematic ill and degrading treatment they deeply sank in ignorance and poverty. But in spite of all this decadence they have, in consequence, no doubt, of the latest spark in them of their ancient Faith, maintained all along a high reputation for honesty, uprightness, morality, and obedience to the law.

The figures of Zoroastrian population in Persia, at various periods, are approximately as follows:—(a) Beginning of the 18th century one million; (b) in the time of Fath Ali Shah (1798-1836) 50,000; (c) in the time of Mahomed Shah (1836-46) 30,000; (d) in 1854, as ascertained by Mr. Manekji Hatara, the agent in Persia of the Parsis of India, 7,725; (e) in 1925-27, as ascertained by the Parsi traveller Mr. Manek F. Mulla, 10,050. The Zoroastrians of Iran residing at present in India are about 5,000. (M. S. 121; M. O. C. P., 269.)

In Persia the Zoroastrians are to be chiefly found in Yezd and Kermān, and in smaller numbers in Tehrān, Isfahān and Shirāz, and in the neighbourhood of the naphtha springs at Bākū. (J. Z. S., 179.)

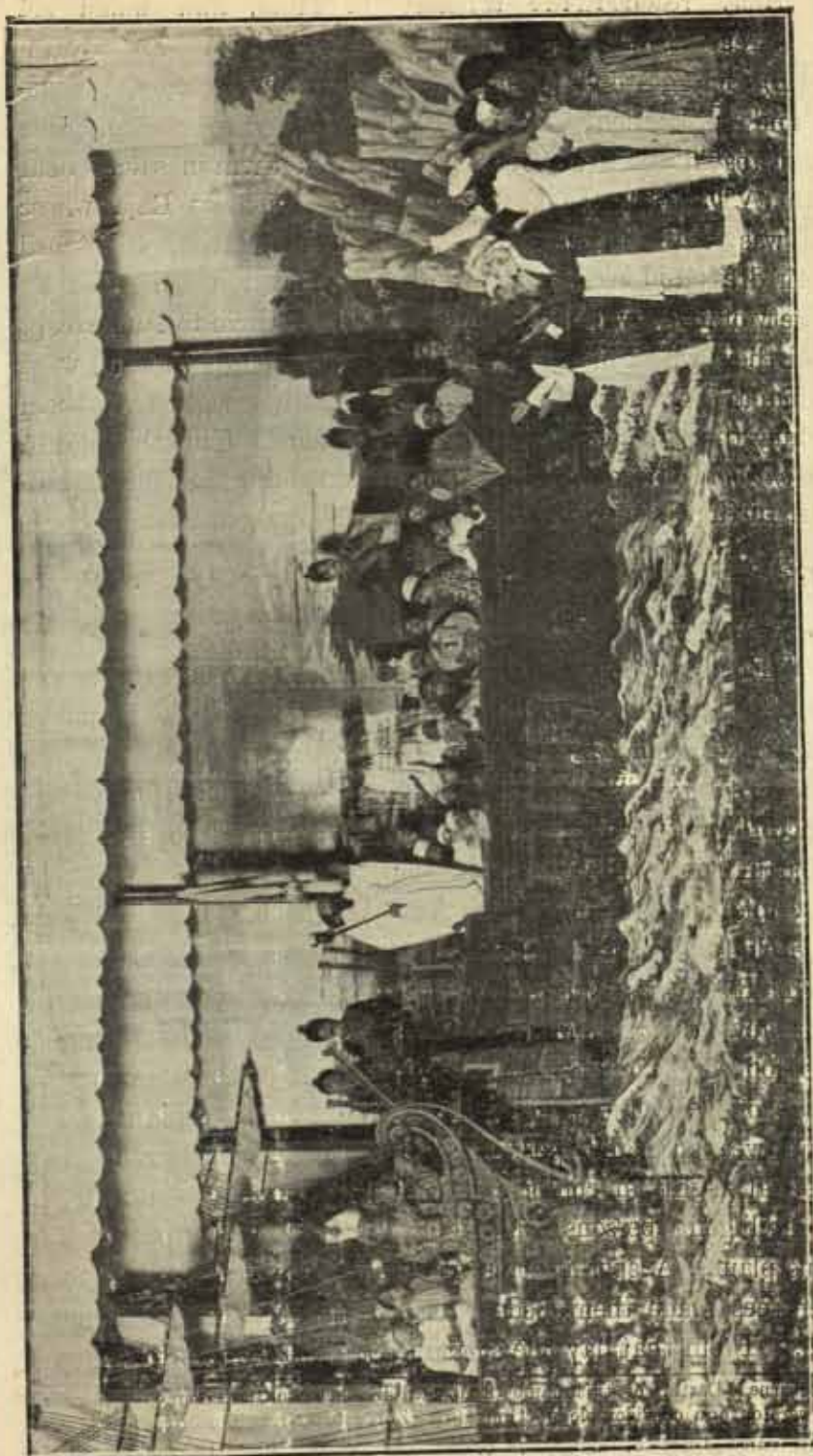
The small minority who left their homes in consequence of the tyranny of their rulers sheltered themselves in the mountainous country (Kohistān) of Khūrāsān. (The Parsis have a tradition that several years before this certain Zoroastrian bands had removed themselves to the same mountains. Having gathered from their knowledge of the Zend Avesta and Jāmāspi,

an ancient treatise in which future events were foretold, that Persia was going to be extremely unsafe for the Zoroastrian religion and its followers, these latter refugees forty-nine years before the accession of the last Sāsānian emperor Yezdegard and nearly a decade before the accession of King Khūsrau Parviz, whose reign was one of the longest and most glorious of the Sāsānian monarchs, gave up their homes, palaces and pleasantries for the sake of their religion, which was more precious to them than their worldly possessions, and went to the woods and mountains of Kohistān.) The fugitives stayed in Kohistān for about a hundred years; and then, in consequence of the commotion caused in the country by the fall of the Umayyāds and the coming to power of the Abbāsids, they emigrated to the city of Hormuz, on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf, about 30 miles east of the site of Bunder Ābbās. Sir J. J. Modi advances three reasons why Hormuz was preferred to any other place, namely, (1) that it was an emporium of trade from where they could trade with India and earn their livelihood, (2) the country between the Kohistān of Khūrāsān which they left and Hormuz was one where there still lived many Zoroastrians, (3) besides these Zoroastrians, there were non-Zoroastrians who had full sympathy with them. (J. K. O. I., No. 25, 128.)

Their stay in Hormuz was a short one of fifteen years. On the advice of their head priest, who was a competent astrologer, they procured vessels and set sail with their families for India and landed at Div, an island near the coast of Kathiāwar, in A.D. 766.*

After they had abided in Div for nineteen years, the head priest, having looked into the astrological tables, advised them to give it up and set out in quest of another dwelling place. So they sailed for Gujarāt. When their vessels had proceeded some way, they encountered a furious storm. The Dastūrs of the Faith offered up fervent prayers and made a vow that if

* "It was without any idea of emphasizing the part the Parsi community played in the early history of India that Sir Ratan Tata offered the munificent donation of Rs. 20,000 a year for the excavations of the site where the great King Asoka had his capital.....Now the spade thus unconsciously directed by a Parsi tells us that the Parsis were only returning to a land in which they had wielded vast influence a thousand years earlier." (Rev. Dr. Hope Moulton, quoted at p. 36 A of M. M. L. P.)



An idealistic picture of the exodus of the Parsis to India.

they safely reached the territory of Hind, they would set up a great Fire to Behrām (that is, build an Ātash-Behrām) in grateful remembrance of Ahūrā Mazda's kindness and protection. Their supplications were heard. The tempest abated and a prosperous gale carried them in safety near Sanjān (A.D. 785). In that region was a virtuous Raja whose name was Jādi Rānā or Jai Rānā. The Rānā, frightened by their dress and accoutrements, at first conceived some fear for the safety of his crown and forbade any one of them to land except four of their wisest men. Accordingly four *mobeds* (priests) went up to him and gave him the information that he sought from them regarding their religion, manners and customs. This they did in fifteen *shlokas* or verses in Sanskrit. The head priest, the Kissah tells us, further assured the Rānā in the following words:—

درینجا خود مشو دلگیر از ما ز ما نیاید بدی هرگز درینجا

همه هندوستان را یار باشیم سر خصمان ترا هرجا به یانیم

("Do not be heavy-hearted on our account; no harm will come through us to this country. We shall be the friends of all India and everywhere scatter the heads of your enemies.")

According to popular belief the composer of these *shlokas* was Dastūr Neriosang Dhaval,* but the name found in the manuscripts is Ākādhārū or Ākā Andhiārū. These *shlokas* are the oldest document relating to the Parsis in India.

The Rānā was satisfied and gave permission to the pilgrim fathers and their families to land and settle in his dominion on the following conditions, namely, that they should adopt the language of the country, dress their females in the Indian fashion, bear no weapons, and perform the marriage ceremony of their children at night, in conformity with the Hindu custom. Then some intelligent persons surveyed the land and discovered a spacious plain. A spot in this wilderness was chosen and there the refugees made their abode. The Dastūr gave it the name of Sanjān.† From that day the surname Sanjānā came into vogue.

* A learned Dastūr of this name flourished in the twelfth century. He made a Sanskrit version of a considerable portion of the Zoroastrian religious literature.

† This name is not of indigenous origin, but was first given by the Zoroastrian refugees after Sanjān in the Khwāf district of Kohistán,—that Kohistán in which they first took refuge for religion and conscience's sake. (H. B. P. H., 88.)



HIS HIGHNESS SHRI VIJAYADEVJI MOHANDEVJI RANA,
the enlightened and popular Ruler of Dharampur State, a direct
descendant of Jādi Rānā, King of Sanjān, who gave shelter to the
Parsi refugees from Persia.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PARSIS IN INDIA.

The day on which the refugees landed was Friday, roz Bahman of the month Tir. After a period of nearly five years they founded an Ātash-Behrām* in Sanjān with the permission of the Rānā. The aged Dastūrs installed the temple, which was named "Irānshāh" ("The Prince or Lord of Iran"), in remembrance of their fatherland. The ceremony of installation was performed in full conformity with the prescribed rites. Bahman Kaikobād Sanjana says, in his *Kissah-i-Sanjān* ("The Story of Sanjān"), which was composed by him, in Persian verse, at the very close of the sixteenth century, that in those days men were versed in spiritual matters and were able to observe religious precepts on account of their wisdom.

The day of installation was roz Ādar of the month Ādar, Ādar being the name of the Yazad who presides over Fire. According to Sir J. J. Modi (M. E. H. P., 13) the year was 159 A.Y. (A.D. 790). But another Parsi scholar, Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, gives the following information :—"According to Parsi tradition as preserved by the *Āthravans* (priests) of India, after settling in Sanjān for a short while the Parsis established the Irānshāh Fire, the 'Ātash-i Vaharām', in Sanjān under the leadership of Mobed Neryosang Dhaval. According to one tradition the holy fire was enshrined in 'Samvat (?) 777, roz 26, mäh 2', equivalent to 16th June 855 A.C., on the 26th day of the Hindu month Jyeshtha, in the year 224 A.Y. In this case we have taken the Parsi Roz Mäh to have been Kadimi. According to another tradition the holy fire Irānshāh was enshrined on the 9th day of the 9th month, on roz Ādar mäh Ādar, in the Samvat (?) 777. If we take the five supernumerary days at

* Of the different grades of the sacred fire, the Ātash-Behrām is the highest. The collection of the different fires which make up the sacred fire and their consecration take some time. Even now-a-days, irrespective of the time occupied in constructing the temple, nearly a year is spent in religious rites for the consecration. (Modi's "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their dates", 12.)

the end of the month Abân, this date would correspond to the 31st of December 855 A.C." (See Mr. Anklesaria's art. in the Bombay Chronicle of 6-9-1931, page 39.)

The Parsis pursued a coasting trade, and as they increased in numbers they began, about 300 years after their landing in Sanjân, to disperse over the neighbouring districts, and went to Vankâner, Broach, Variâv, Ankleshvar, Cambay, and Navsâri. Wherever they went they prospered.

Five hundred years after the establishment of the first Fire-temple, all the wise men of Sanjân met together one day, and "with a view that there may be no quarrel or dispute" made a solemn contract to divide all those places in Gujarât where there were *Behedinân* (laymen) of good thoughts into the following five *panthaks* (spheres of ecclesiastical office and jurisdiction), namely, (1) Sanjân, from river Pâr to river Dantur or Dantorâ, (2) Navsâri, from river Pâr to river Variâv, (3) Godâreh or Godâvreh from Variâv to Ankleshvar, (4) Broach, all territory from Ankleshvar to Cambay, and (5) Cambay.

Subsequently many settled in Thâna, where they were found by Friar Odoric, who travelled in India in 1321.

The first settlers in Cambay succeeding in trade, others followed and in time the Parsi element became so strong, that by their overbearing conduct they forced the Hindus to leave the city. Among those who had thus to go was a baqqâl or baniâ of the Dasâ Lâd caste, Kalyânraî by name, who having amassed considerable wealth in the pearl trade in Surat, levied a numerous band of Kolis and Rajpûts, and in a night attack put to the sword many of the Parsi residents in Cambay and set fire to their houses. Such as were able to save their lives fled, and not one Parsi was to be seen in Cambay. This seems to have happened in the 10th century A.D.* (H. P. A. I., 52.)

At the end of the next century another disaster befell the Parsis. They had a small colony at Variâv, which is situated at some distance from Surat. The ruler was the Rajpût Raja

* Principal Shapurshah Hormasji Hodivala argues in his H. P. H., pp. 14-15, that the Parsi colony in Cambay was not destroyed before the sack of that town by Alâu-d-din Khiljî's army in 1297 but nearly three hundred years after that event, and he remarks that the Parsi colony was flourishing so late as 1601.

of Ratanpûr, who imposed an extraordinary tribute on the Parsis. The latter refused to pay and drove away the troops sent by the Chief to enforce the demand. When a fresh force arrived from Ratanpûr the Parsi men were absent at a feast outside the limits of Variâv, but the women donned the armour of their husbands and relations and made a determined stand against the troops. When on the point of victory the helmet of one of the female warriors fell down, exposing her long flowing hair. Seeing that their opponents were but females, the Ratanpûr soldiers took heart, rallied, and made a desperate assault. The brave Parsi ladies preferring death to dishonour heroically leapt into the Tapti river, which runs through Variâv, and perished in the cold embrace of its waters. The memory of this sad event is kept green at Surat, Navsâri and in surrounding localities by the observance of religious ceremonies, on the 25th day of the first month (of the Shehenshâhis), in honour of those who fell on this occasion. The day is known as the Variâvâ Behedin's Parabh.

In the *Kissah-i-Sanjân*, which is the oldest book that the Parsis possess emanating from the pen of a Parsi of India and is almost the only source of our knowledge of the early history of the Parsis in India, it is related that some time after 500 years had elapsed in India, "Islam reached Châmpâner." Some years after his accession to the throne Sultan Mahmûd* determined upon making the conquest of Sanjân and commanded Alf Khân to attack that city. The Hindu Raja was terror-struck and appealed to the Parsis, laymen as well as priests, to gird up their loins in his service and take the lead in the impending battle. He exhorted them thus: "If you acknowledge the obligations you owe to my forbears who have patronised you and have always been good to you, do not forget the duty of gratitude." Fourteen hundred mail-clad Parsis, worthy descendants of the martial-spirited ancient Persians, ranged themselves with the Raja's forces in the battle-field. A furious engagement took place. Suddenly there was a rout in the Hindu ranks. Then a devout layman of the Good Religion spoke to his comrades: "I do not see, either in front or in

* Dr. Sir J. J. Modi agrees with Dr. John Wilson that this Shah Mahmûd was Mahmûd Begado, who reigned in Ahmedabad from 1459 to 1509.

rear, so much as one of our Hindu associates. They have stampeded and none but we of the Good Faith remains on the battle ground. Now is the hour of combat. Dear friends! it behoves us to march in line of battle like lions. If we all rush upon the enemy in a body, we shall surely pour out the blood of the foe with sword and arrow." The first layman to enter the field bore the name of Ardeshir, the same as that of the victorious founder of the Sāsānian empire. He stood up in the arena, clad in armour, javelin in hand, and a sword begirt. For three days and nights the Parsis battled with the Moslem enemy of their Hindu Raja and routed Alf Khān and his army.

Alf Khān returned with a large force to renew the fight. This time he was successful. Ardeshir pierced by an arrow fell and his men were thrown into disorder. On both sides many warriors were slain. The Raja himself was killed. In the end all the *Behedins* (men of the Good Faith) were dispersed.

This disastrous event occurred in A.D. 1490*. After the fall of Sanjān, those of the Parsis who escaped the general massacre fled to the mountains of Bāhrot, about eight miles east of Sanjān, carrying along with them the sacred Fire. After a sojourn of twelve years here, they went to Bānsdā, a town near Bulsār, still carrying their Fire. When the tidings reached that town every one came out with loving kindness and three hundred horsemen with several men of note went forward to escort them. When fourteen years had elapsed, the Fire was carried to the city of Navsāri on the suggestion of a leading man of that place, Chāngā Shāh, son of Āsā, who was a person of remarkable religious zeal and great benevolence.

Dastūr Shāpūrji Mānockji Sanjana has composed a Persian poem, in two parts, entitled "Kissah-i-Ātash Varharām ké dar Sheher-i-Navsāri nao sākhté" (*i.e.*, An account of the Fire-temple which was newly founded in the city of Navsāri). The first part is entitled the "Kissah-i-Zarthūstīān-i-Hindūstān" (*i.e.*, An account of the Zoroastrians of India), and the second bears the title "Biān-i-Ātash Behrām-i-Navsāri" (*i.e.*, An account of the Fire-

* Prof. S. H. Hodivala (H. S. P. S., 83) puts the event in the year 1465. But Sir J. J. Modi shows arguments, in an article published in J. K. O. I., No. 25 (1933), in support of his view that the event occurred in 1490.

temple of Navsâri"). In this Kissah 785 A.Y. (1416 A.D.) is given as the date when Chângâ Shâh brought the Fire to Navsâri.

After the sacred Fire was installed at Navsâri, Chângâ Shâh called together the three priests who had accompanied it from Sanjân and the priests of Navsâri, and in order to avoid disputes in the future got a compact made in writing that the three priests were to attend the sacred Fire only and all the religious ceremonies, both for the living and the dead, even in the families of the three priests themselves, were to be performed by the Navsâri priests. This arrangement continued peacefully for a number of years. Eventually, owing to internal dissensions, the sacred Irânshâh Fire was transferred from Navsâri to Bulsâr in 1741 and from Bulsâr to Udwadâ on 28th October 1742, and it has ever since rested there and is visited by numerous Parsi devotees from all parts. Twenty-three years afterwards the Zoroastrians of Navsâri, under the leadership of the good-natured Desâi Khorshed founded an Âtash-Behrâm in their town, which is the second great Fire-temple in India.

It was at Surat that the Parsis first gained some considerable importance and came in contact with Europeans. The Portuguese, the French, the Dutch, and the English alike found in them valuable auxiliaries.

Surat was the cradle of the British Empire in India, and it is a historical fact that the Parsis had a hand, however small it may be, in the foundation of British rule in Western India. On two occasions, one in the seventeenth and another in the eighteenth century, it was Parsis who were instrumental in procuring *firmâns* from the Mogul Court which enabled the British to establish their footing in Surat.

Rûstam Mânek (1635-1721), an ancestor of the opulent and well known "Sheth Khândân" Parsi family, was a broker of the United East India Company. He had acquired considerable reputation as a philanthropist and public spirited citizen. In 1660 he accompanied the European head of the Surat factory to Delhi to ask the Emperor Aurangzeb to remove the difficulties under which the Company suffered. In an account dated A.D. 1711 written in Persian verse by a Parsi priest named Jamshed Kekobâd, the

writer makes Rûstam address the Emperor as follows:—"This gentleman has come to India from the West to trade. The nobles of Your Majesty's exalted Court do not allow him to enter the city. This Englishman is very honourable and is anxious to be under the royal shadow. He prays that by the grace of Your Majesty he may be given a place and protection in Surat, so that he may begin his business of trade and have also his storehouse." According to the account, the Emperor replied, through his Vazir Âsâdkhân, that the English should be given places for houses and stores in the city of Surat, that they might build houses in it, that they should receive no harm and be subjected to no prohibitions, and that no taxes should be imposed on their trade. (S. P. G. P., 14.)

Again in the eighteenth century, Sorabji Kavasji, who was controller of Surat Revenue, an extensive Jâgirdar, and a leader of the Parsi community, enjoyed great influence at the Court of the Great Mogul. He was deputed to Delhi by the Chief in Council of Surat, on behalf of the English factory, to obtain *firmâns* from the Emperor. The historian H. G. Briggs writes, in his book "Cities of Gûjarâshtra" (p. 120), as follows:—"The name of this Magian nobleman occupies a distinguished page in the annals of the Anglo-Indian history as the party through whose assistance some valuable *firmâns* were procured from the Great Mogul for the English, and the means by which certain munificent gifts were made to the British Chief of Surat." It is mentioned in the Bombay Gazetteer, an official publication, that this Sorabji Kavasji was of great service to the English in 1760 when they obtained command of the Surat Castle and the post of Mogul Admiral, and that he returned to Surat bringing dresses of honour and a horse to the heads of the English factory at Surat. (See M. M. L. P., 84; T. I. of 27-10-1933, p. 14.)

There are no authentic records to show the exact date of the arrival of the Parsis in Bombay, which, now one of the finest and biggest cities in the British Empire, owes its rise and prosperity in a considerable measure to these industrious, enterprising and benevolently disposed people. So long as a century and half ago a scholarly and distinguished Governor of Bombay, Sir John Malcolm, wrote that there was no body of

natives in India so remarkable for their intelligence and enterprise as the Parsis, and that Bombay had owed its advancement in a great degree to this class.

Bombay was ceded to the British by the Crown of Portugal as part of the dowry of Infanta Catherine of Braganza on her marriage to King Charles II of England (1661). The king seems to have found this distant acquisition of his so unprofitable that he got rid of it by bestowing it, in 1668, upon the East India Company, "in free and common soccage, as of the Manor of East Greenwich, on payment of an annual rent of £10 in gold." In a letter dated Bombay 18th January 1671, Sir Streynsham Master, who was one of the four leading servants of the East India Company selected in 1668 to go to Bombay and receive over charge of the Island from the King's officers, writes:—"Here is alsoe some Parsees, but they are lately come since the English had the Island and are most of them Weavers, and have not yet any place to doe their devotion in or to Bury their Dead."

The general belief is that the first Parsi settlement in Bombay was a little before it was ceded to the British by the Crown of Portugal.

The Parsis availed themselves to the utmost of the era of peace, justice and security which followed the advent of British rule in India. Their latent capacity soon asserted itself. They came rapidly to the forefront and took a most prominent position in matters social, educational, commercial and industrial. By their enterprise and industry, combined with the truly Zoroastrian spirit of probity and fair dealing, they amassed large fortunes; and equally under the urge of their time-honoured Faith they gave away freely, making the Parsi name renowned throughout the world for unstinted munificence.



CHAPTER XVI.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MODERN PARSIS.

We will now give, as briefly as possible, some noteworthy instances of the achievements of the Parsis, after the advent of the British rule, which have brought them into such eminence in spite of their microscopical number, and in view whereof a prominent Bengali patriot, the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha, not long ago expressed himself thus :—"When I recall how the Parsee community numerically so small, is great beyond measure in social progress, political talents, constitutional agitation, commercial and industrial enterprise, and in large-hearted charity and philanthropy, and how much India owes in her march on the road to modern progress to her Parsee sons, I feel that one of the greatest and happiest days in the history of our country was that on which the Parsee refugees from Persia landed on the Indian shore."

One of the earliest Parsi settlers in Bombay, probably the very first, was Dorabji Nanabhai, the founder of the well-known Patel family, which has produced many men of fame. He came with his family from Sûvâli (near Surat) in A.D. 1640. He was appointed by the Portuguese as their agent to deal with the indigenous population, which duty he was required by the English to continue to perform after their entering upon possession. They also entrusted to him the collection of the body tax which they levied upon the inhabitants, who mostly belonged to the Koli or fisherman class. This business the skilful Parsi carried out so loyally and smoothly as to make him popular alike with the population and the authorities.

On Dorabji's death (1669) his son Rûstam was confirmed by the English in all the offices which his father held. This Rûstam, the namesake of the renowned ancient national paladin, has made his name written in red letters in the annals of Bombay.

In the year 1692 there was a severe outbreak of plague in Bombay, when most of the Europeans and the garrison were laid up with fever and plague. Taking advantage of this unfortunate circumstance, Yâkût Khân, the Sidi Chief of Janjîrâ, who was an

independent ruler and commanded a large fleet, invaded Bombay. He descended on the island and seized the Dongri Fort. The Englishmen were so distressed with illness that they were unable to drive away the invaders. But the Patel Rústam, true to the traditions of his race, determined to show his loyalty to the Government whom he was serving. He raised a force of Kolis from the native population and boldly fought the invaders and defeated them. He then sent messengers to the Chief of the English factory at Surat to acquaint him with these happenings. That official soon after arrived in Bombay and took charge of the government from Rústam, who for some days had been the virtual governor of the Island.*

On the 13th November 1902, Mr. Godinho, a Portuguese gentleman, read before the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, a paper entitled "Portuguese documents of the 17th and 18th centuries relating to Parsees". These documents show that the Parsis had served under the Portuguese as soldiers in the years 1738 and 1739, and raised a special company of their own as volunteers, two of which volunteers were made ensign and captain, (M. G. R. B., 18.)

During the times when Napoleon Bonaparte was dreaming of the conquest of the East, the formation of a Native Militia in Bombay was in great forwardness. By February 1799 four complete companies for the infantry and two for the artillery were formed of the Native Portuguese inhabitants. The Parsis had formed six strong companies officered by the most respectable of their race, ready to be employed in any situation that circumstances might render expedient. In 1805 the Lieut.-General

* A friend, who is considerably conversant with the past history of the Town and Island of Bombay, informs the author as follows :—

"It is true that the Parsee Prakash mentions this incident on the authority of an article in the Deccan Herald of 1863 and on that of Dossabhoy Karaka, but I have minutely read almost all Government Consultations of the period and they are all silent on this incident. As a Parsee I should be proud to realise that one of my community was instrumental in saving Bombay from the depredations of the Siddee invader, but History points out otherwise, and besides there was no Siddee invasion after 1690, which is an established fact—they were all before that year—and so the story mentioned by the Poona journal and Dossabhoy is a mere myth. Moreover they don't quote their authority."

Commanding the Forces suggested the arming of the Parsis, "very stout men", living in the Fort, with pikes "as their religious habits preclude them from using fire-arms".

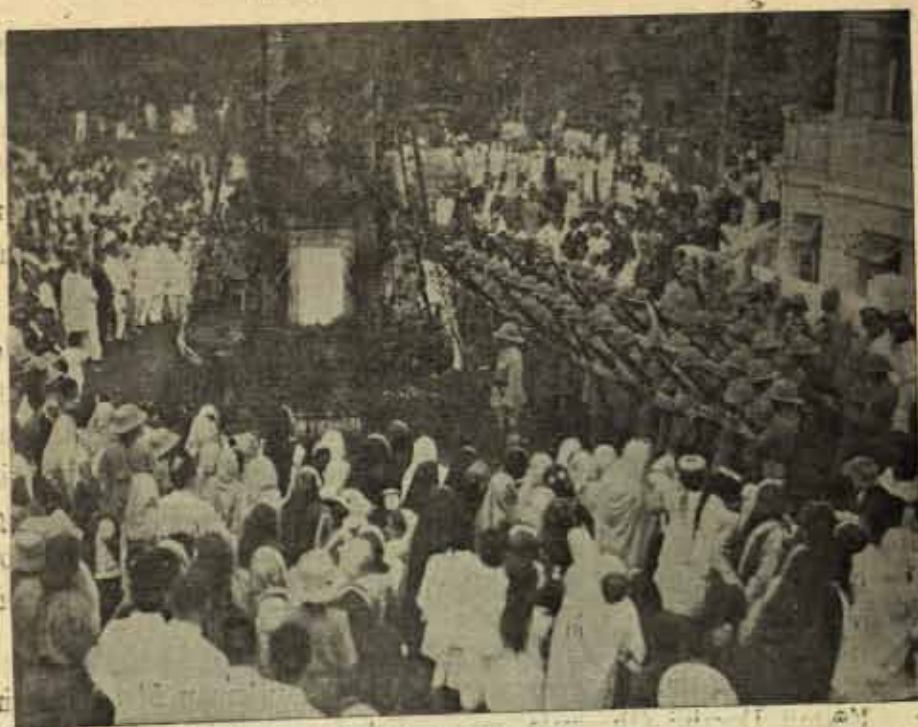
During the Sepoy Mutiny at Cawnpore an intrepid young Parsi, by name Adarji, was in the midst of the fight and the first to scale the walls and implant and unfurl the Union Jack on the Fort, for which brave deed he was decorated with a gold medal, presented with a revolver and a sword of honour, and awarded a special pension.

On 29th May 1860 Mr. Pestonjee Sorabjee received from the Government of India a patent of the title of *Khâni va Bahâduri* (i.e., a lord and brave man), a medal, and a handsome gratuity as a reward for his indefatigable exertions in the conveyance of mails during the perilous time of the Sepoy Mutiny. His charity and generosity were proverbial.

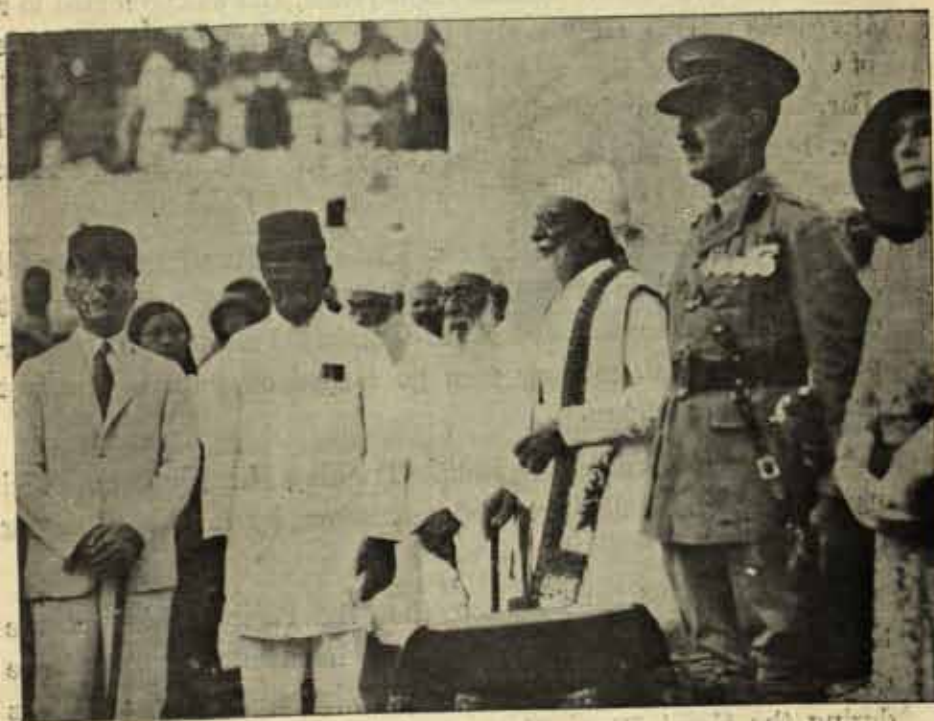
In I. L. Q. of October 1932, mention is made in the Editorial Notes (p. 3) of a Parsi youth from the Punjab, a mere lad, who, when the Kajars were still ruling in Persia, was seized with fervent love for the ancient motherland, went over there, and shook Persia's youth from their long stupor of apathy and inaction. He called them out into the drilling fields of the land and galvanised them into action and enthusiasm, never found in Iran in latter years. Multitudes of Persia's youth had hailed and followed him then; and were it not for his forced ejection from the land, he might have succeeded in completing the marvel.

On the occurrence of the Great World War a number of Parsis* availed themselves of the opportunity to exhibit their loyalty and attachment to the British Government. In all the many theatres of that War there were Parsis to be found. Many of them were mentioned in despatches and many received various war distinctions and decorations, both British and allied, for gallant and devoted service. A number made the supreme sacrifice, in commemoration of whom a memorial column has been raised in a prominent position in Bombay, where every year on the Armistice

* Among these was a son of the author, who was then a college student not yet out of his teens.



Parsi War Memorial Column, Bombay.



Shams-ul-Ulema Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjara offering prayers at the Memorial Column in the sacred memory of the Parsi heroes who died during the Great War.

Day an assemblage is held under the presidentship of the General Officer Comanding Bombay District, or, in his absence, of a representative of his, wreaths are placed at the foot of the memorial, speeches are made, and the Parsi Company of the Indian Auxiliary Force sounds the Last Post. Among those who lay these wreaths, besides the Parsis, are the British Army and some of the foreign Consuls in Bombay.

One of the Parsis who fought for the British in the World War had the privilege of being allowed to join a British regiment. This was Mr. Ratanji A. Neemuchwalla, of the Poona Volunteer Rifles, who was enlisted in the 5th Royal Dublin Fusiliers. He is a crack marksman and distinguished himself at the Bisley meeting in 1914. For an Indian he has received the unique honour of being an Honorary Life-member of the very exclusive London and Middlesex Rifle Association.

During the Boer War a young Parsi gentleman, Mr. Jehangir Framji Dorabji Ghaswala, was enlisted as a private in the 2nd Battalion of the South African Light Horse, and was promoted to a Corporal's place. He was shot through both his knees in the battle of Colenso (15th December 1899). Mr. Rustam Jivanji Modi, Bar-at-Law, a son of the late veteran savant Sir J. J. Modi, and Mr. Dorabji Sorabji K. Adenvala, were the first and only Parsi members of the Hon'ble Artillery Company of London.

A Parsi aristocrat of Poona, Khān Bahādūr Sardar Dorabji Padamji, a grandson of Pestonji Sorabji mentioned before, was at one time the champion shot of the Bombay Presidency. In competition even with military men he carried off some of the first prizes in rifle matches.

On the Government of India's Training Ship Dufferin, Parsi naval cadets have distinguished themselves by their aptitude for the naval line.

It is a fact worthy of note that the Parsi Division of the St. John Ambulance Brigade Overseas handled more than three quarters of a million British and Indian sick and wounded soldiers during the Great War. During public stress and anxiety, during civic disturbances, epidemics, strikes, etc., this Division has been

rendering most laudable services without the least distinction of caste, creed or colour for the last 29 years.



Parsi Naval Cadets

The Bombay Dockyard is a monument to the industry, enterprise, and integrity of a Parsi family, the Wadiās. The Parsis were the pioneer ship-builders in British India. Surat was during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the most important sea-port of India. It was the chief station of the English for building ships in India, and upto two centuries ago there were no docks in existence in Bombay.

Lavji Nasarvanji, the founder of the illustrious Wadia family, and the first of a long line of famous naval architects,

was born at Surat in the year 1710. He took employment in the East India Company's dockyard there. In 1735 a Parsi, Dhanjibhai by name, was master-builder at Surat. In that year a vessel, "The Queen", was built in the Surat Dock for the Company under the foremanship of young Lavji. Mr. Dudley, then master-attendant at Bombay, was despatched from Bombay to inspect it. He was so attracted by the ability and intelligence of Lavji that he persuaded him to proceed with some artificers to Bombay, where the government were desirous of establishing a ship-building yard. With the permission of Dhanjibhai, Lavji proceeded to Bombay and selected a site for the docks.

Lavji brought up two of his sons, Manakji and Bamanji, to his own craft. They entered the dockyard working as common carpenters on the magnificent wages of Rs. 12 a month, but in due course they acquired, under their father's instructions, such proficiency in naval architecture that, by their united exertions, the reputation of the Bombay Dockyard became universally known in India. In 1772, that is two years before his death, Lavji was presented by order of the Court of Directors with a silver foot-rule with the inscription "A memorial from the East India Company of the long and faithful services of Lavji, their master-builder at Bombay, Anno 1772."

On their father's death, Manakji was appointed master-builder and Bamanji assistant master-builder. These two brothers built 29 ships, besides repairing many vessels of the British squadron. They received more than once special thanks from the Court of Directors, and, in 1783, were presented with gold medals by Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes with suitable inscription and given a *jâghir* in perpetuity, in the district of Parel, which is now a part of Bombay city.

Bamanji's son Jamshedji built, in 1802, the *Cornwallis*, a frigate of fifty guns, for the East India Company, and his success determined the British Government to order the construction of ships for the Royal Navy at Bombay. This Jamshedji was the first of the Parsi master-builders to be entrusted by the Lords of the Admiralty with the building of men-of-war in India. He designed and built 16 men-of-war and 40 large ships. The

authorities in England gave a high opinion of the vessels built by him. Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew wrote:—"The *Salsette* sails as well as any of our frigates, stands up better, and had any ship but her been frozen up in the Baltic as she was for nine weeks, she would not have stood the buffeting of the ice one day, whereas, she came off unhurt. It was wonderful the shocks she stood during heavy gales." As to the man-of-war *Minden* built by the same master-builder, Captain Low, who commanded it, informed him that the opinion formed of her in England was highly favourable. He further wrote, "Being much on board, I had opportunities of hearing the opinions of most people belonging to the King's yard at Portsmouth: they all, common shipwrights as well as their officers, expressed approbation. I have heard many of them declare that no ship so highly finished or composed throughout of material so good had been launched from any of His Majesty's dockyards, or any yard in England, during the last fifty years.....We have found her in all circumstances answer extremely well—in my opinion better than any ship in which I have sailed hitherto."

Jamshedji had the satisfaction of having his good work appreciated by the Court of Directors in the substantial shape of the grant of a *jâghir* yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 6,000. (K. H. P., Vol. I, 60 fl.)

The list of ships built by the Wâdiâs between 1735 and 1863 comprises 170 war vessels, etc., for the East India Company, 34 warships for the Royal Navy, 87 merchant vessels for private firms, and 3 vessels for the Queen of Muscat.

The 15th of July 1783 is one of the most important dates in the history of the Parsis of India. On that day was born in H. H. the Gâikwâd's city of Navsâri, in Gujarât, Jamsetjee Jejeebhai, who was destined to make the Parsi name illustrious far and wide by his most munificent and catholic charities and benefactions out of a vast wealth acquired by enterprising and successful merchandise. It speaks highly of his sagacity and judgment that he made the stream of benevolence flow in channels then unknown. He richly merited the dignity of knighthood which was conferred upon him by Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria in 1842. He was the first Parsi and the first Indian to be awarded this high

distinction. When H. E. the Governor of Bombay Sir George Anderson, publicly presented the patent of knighthood to this first Indian knight, he said, "You, by your deeds for the good of mankind, by your acts of princely munificence to alleviate the pains of suffering humanity, have attained this honour, and have become enrolled amongst the illustrious of the land."

In 1857 Sir Jamsetjee became the recipient of a signal and uncommon honour, namely, the Freedom of the City of London, which was bestowed for the first time on a native of India. This honour was accorded to him as a testimonial of the high estimation entertained of him by the Corporation of the City of London, and from respect for his justly renowned character as a princely benefactor of his country and mankind—a noble example of blameless private life and public worth as a citizen of Bombay, and of spotless commercial integrity as a most eminent British subject and merchant in India.

This distinguished philanthropist was also the first native of India upon whom was bestowed the hereditary degree, dignity and title of a Baronet.

He passed away on 15th April 1859, "the most eminent British subject of India, the best beloved citizen of the world."

On his death his eldest son Kharshedji succeeded to the Baronetcy. To his enlightened liberality the Deccan College at Poona, which after a long and glorious career, has recently been closed by the Government of Bombay as a measure of economy, owed its existence.

Rústamji, the second son of the first Baronet, was also of a most charitable disposition. His benefactions amounted to the magnificent sum of 40 lakhs of rupees. From the King of Portugal he received the title and dignity of a Count for his handsome benefactions in the Goa territories, together with the present of two pieces of cannon. The Freedom of the City of London was bestowed on Rústamji in 1864 in recognition of his munificent gifts to the institutions of London.

The second Parsi and second Indian on whom a Baronetcy was conferred was Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit (1823-1901).

He distinguished himself equally by his great business enterprises and by his large-hearted munificence. He took important part in developing the cotton-mill industry and so adding materially to the prosperity of Bombay. He annually spent a large amount on charity, and especially on schemes having for their object the advancement of the public good or the amelioration of the condition of his own community. Asylums for infirm animals, schools, *dharamshâlâs*, reservoirs, dispensaries, and numerous other institutions made heavy calls upon his liberality. The total amount of his benefactions amounted to nearly twenty lakhs of rupees. He had the distinction of receiving from the Shâh of Persia the presentation of a Royal Diploma, expressive of His Majesty's recognition of his great merits.

In the roll of Parsi merchant magnates and public benefactors the name of Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Kt., C.S.I. (born 24th May 1812, died 19th July 1878), "the Peabody of the East," holds a most distinguished place. With the most large-hearted liberality he spent his fortune in works of public utility and charity without respect of race or creed. His public benefactions exceeded fifteen lakhs of rupees and his private charities amounted to over four lakhs. Having intimately known him in his younger days, Sir Dinshah E. Wacha unhesitatingly declares (W. M. R. B., 778) that not a single Indian has hitherto approached Sir Cowasjee in respect of commercial ethics and integrity. On his death the Government announced by a public notification that by his death it had lost one of its most loyal subjects, India a most generous benefactor, and the town and island of Bombay one of its most upright and independent citizens. The traditions of the Readymoney family,* to which Sir Cowasjee belonged, have been most worthily upheld by his adopted son, Mr. Jehangir Jivanji Readymoney (afterwards Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bart.), and grandson Sir

* Mr. Hirji Jivanji Readymoney, the founder of this family, was the first Parsi to undertake a voyage to China. He died in 1794 aged 81.

The original cause of the family assuming the name of Readymoney was the promptitude of their payments in several pecuniary emergencies. They came to the aid of the East India Company, and the tradition is preserved that on one critical occasion probably during the Maratha Wars, they sent into the Company's coffers several cartloads of silver. (T. I. of 27-7-1934.)

Cowasjee Jehangir, K.C.I.E., now the second Baronet. In consequence of his many benefactions Sir Cowasjee's adopted son had a Knighthood conferred upon him in 1895 and the high honour of Baronetcy on 26th June 1908, since when he has adopted the name of Sir Cowasjee Jehangir. The amount of his benefactions prior to his being made a Baronet was Rs. 12 lakhs. He enjoyed his Baronetcy for the long period of 26 years. On his death, which occurred on 26th July 1934 at the advanced age of 81, the total amount of his public benefactions had mounted up to nearly 32 lakhs. With the help of Lady Jehangir, who comes of the famous Wadia family, he did a great deal to promote the social amenities of Bombay. His son has greatly distinguished himself by his eminent public services and his munificent disposition. He had the honour of being appointed a member of the Executive Council of H. E. the Governor of Bombay, which office he held with marked ability and success. He was made a K.C.I.E. in 1927, and in 1930 was a delegate to the Round Table Conference in London. The Readymoneys have always been great advocates of high education and have given princely donations for this purpose. One of the most important benefactions of Sir Cowasjee, the first Baronet, is the establishment of a Trust of fifteen lakhs of rupees for a specially organised Parsi Academy in the vicinity of the city of Poona.

Vast, indeed, have been the benefactions to education, without distinction of creed or caste, which Parsi philanthropists have made. The Engineering College at Poona owes its existence to the liberality of the first Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, and likewise the similar institution at Karachi owes its origin to another magnanimous Parsi, Mr. Nadarshaw Edalji Dinshaw. The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay, the Elphinstone College, Bombay, the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay, the Grant Medical College, Bombay, the Sir Cowasjee Jehangir University Hall, Bombay, the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Arts, Bombay, the Petit Laboratory, Bombay, the Deccan College, Poona, (now defunct), and the famous Tata Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, are among the notable educational

and scientific institutions that owe their existence to the munificence of noble-minded and far-seeing Parsi philanthropists.

Among the most eminent Parsi worthies of a past generation Mr. Framjee Cowasjee Banajee occupies a front place. He lived over 150 years ago. He is, in a sense, reputed to be the founder of the public life of Bombay, which to-day counts for so much in the political, economic and social activity of the country. He rose from small beginnings to high estate, from insignificance to great eminence, all through his own individual efforts. He was a noble example of what a true and manly character can do out of natural piety, high sense of duty, and sheer goodness of heart, united to a practical mind, sound good sense, and enterprising spirit and foresighted vision. His charities were wide and undistinguishing and embraced all those who suffered and all who were needful. His ever-busy head conceived many useful projects for the public benefit and his ready hand applied itself to carrying them out energetically. To every good work and movement of his time he readily gave his hearty support. At one time he was the owner of a fine fleet of six large well-equipped merchantmen. His brother Rustomjee, afterwards known by the loving and familiar name of Rustomjee Bâbû, was the founder of several factories in Calcutta and owned forty ships at a time, which were afterwards bought up by the East India Company for its wars against its enemies on the sea. Rustomjee was once looked upon as the greatest merchant-prince in the East. He was among the first who opened a steamer traffic in the rivers of Bengal and Upper India. It was Framjee who, in 1827, opened the first Anglo-Gujarâti school in the city and Presidency of Bombay, for the support of which he gave over ten thousand rupees. Amidst the other services he rendered to the Bombay public, Framjee was first and foremost in the help he gave and the exertions he made to bring into existence "The Bombay Times", now "The Times of India", which is one of the most influential and leading newspapers in the country. He suffered great reverses of fortune towards the close of his career. But he stood his troubles with trustful prayer and resignation. He peacefully passed away, on 12th February 1851, at the patriarchal age of 84.

It was through the foresight and enterprise of a Parsi banker and merchant, Jeejeebhoy Dadabhai (1786-1849) that steam navigation for commercial and passenger traffic was introduced on the western coast of India. He was one of the largest of the proprietors of the first steamer employed in this enterprise, *viz.*, the Sir James Rivett-Carnac. He had the distinction of being the first Indian elected to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. His youngest son Byramjee (1822-1890) was the moving spirit of the commercial life of the Bombay Presidency. He was instrumental in establishing the first local fire insurance company in Bombay in co-operation with Mr. J. A. Forbes. He was twice nominated by Government as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, in which capacity he showed himself a champion of the interests of the people. In 1876 Queen Victoria bestowed on him the Companionship of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. He was a great philanthropist and a number of public and charitable institutions received from him substantial benefactions. The most notable of his charities is the Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Parsee Charitable Institution for the free education of the children of poor Parsis, which was established under a Trust created by him a month before his death. His son Nanabhoi (1841-1914) distinguished himself as a member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay, and as a leading public man he exercised such great influence in public affairs that he came to be spoken of as The Uncrowned King of Bombay. Nanabhoi's son Rustamjee (1864-1922) was like his father, grandfather and great grandfather a leading member of the community and a large contributor to charities. He was appointed Sheriff of Bombay, but died while taking the oath of that high office. Rustamjee's son Byramjee (now Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy) has kept up the family traditions most worthily as a philanthropist and as an influential member of the Municipal Corporation. For his large and well directed benefactions and eminent public services he has received the honour of Knighthood.

Bombay owes in a great measure its prosperity and expansion to the textile industry. The pioneer of this industry was a Parsi, Cowasji Nanabhai Davar (1814-1873), who established the first

textile mill, known as the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company, in 1854. It was again a member of the same community, Shapurji Sorabji, who established in Bombay the first iron foundry and engineering works in India, and who was also the first to start a flour mill and to introduce machinery for opening and cleaning of wool.

One of the first and foremost to take the contract, in 1850, of laying railroads for the Great Indian Peninsula Railway was a Parsi, Jamshedji Dorabji, who carried out the work to the satisfaction of the railway authorities.

Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, in his informing article on the Historical Survey of Bombay Journalism in J. C. M. V. (pp. 272 ff.) mentions the year 1780 as an epoch-making date in the history of Bombay, for it was in that year that the first book printed in Bombay was published by a Parsi—"Calendar for the year of our Lord 1780, printed by Rustom Caresajee in the Buzar." Gûjarâti type was first moulded in Bombay by a Parsi, Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Chhapgar, a compositor of the Bombay Courier, an English newspaper, for the purpose of Gûjarâti advertisements that appeared in that paper.

The first Gûjarâti press was set up in the year 1812 by a Parsi Fardunji Marzbanji, to whose enterprize was also due the first newspaper in Gûjarâti, the Bombay Samâchâr, founded on 1st July 1822. His descendants own the Anglo-Gûjarâti newspaper, Jâm-é-Jamshéd, a paper which stands in the front rank of the Bombay dailies. The centenary jubilee of the latter paper was celebrated in 1932, when among the many messages of congratulation which the proprietors had the pleasure of receiving was one from Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy of India, in which His Excellency paid a handsome compliment to this Parsi journal and to the Parsi community. "Speaking from a personal experience of some years," wrote he, "I can say with all sincerity that the policy of the paper, while it has always been conducted in a spirit independent of outside influence, has endeavoured to guide public opinion on sound and constitutional lines. Its fortunes have been largely guided by the members of the small but influential Parsee community many of whom have given distinguished services to

India, taking a leading and active part in promoting the progress and prosperity of the country."

The first Gūjarāti magazine was also started by a Parsi, namely, Navroji Fardunji, a gentleman who made himself distinguished in the civic life of Bombay. He was popularly designated the Tribune of the People, in consequence of his unflinching integrity and intrepid advocacy of the rights of the public.

The pioneers of female education in India have been the Parsis. The proportion of educated ladies in this community is far in excess of that in any other Indian community. It will be a surprise to many that a Parsi maiden, Miss Āvābāi Mehta, not out of her teens, successively passed the examination for call to the English Bar in 1933. This young Portia hails from Colombo, Ceylon. The distinction of being the first Indian lady called to the English Bar (1923) goes to another Parsi Portia, Miss Mithān Ardeshir Tata (now Mrs. Lām), who has worked up a respectable practice in Bombay.

As other notable instances of Parsi ladies who have displayed the enterprise of entering into careers which in India had hitherto been the reserves of the sterner sex may be mentioned the cases of Miss Shirin D. Byramjee, Mrs. Tārāporwālā, Miss Gūl Coovarji Kerāwālā, and Mrs. Freney N. Jhābwālā. The first, after taking a complete course in Swedish Massage and other subjects in Paris, has commenced practice in Bombay since 1933. The second practises in Bombay as a photographer of no mean order. The third has passed the examination for the Government Diploma in Accountancy. The fourth is the second Indian lady to be a solicitor (1933) and the first to be both an advocate of the High Court (Original Side) and a solicitor.

The Parsi firm of Cama and Co. was the first Indian commercial house established in London. A partner in the firm was the late Dadabhai Naoroji, who won undying fame as a great Indian patriot. He was the first Indian to be appointed a College Professor in India, and he achieved the unique distinction of being the first Indian to be returned to the British



The late Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji

namely, Mr. (later Dr.) Dadabhai Naoroji, a Liberal, Sir Muncherji M. Bhavnagree, a Conservative, and Mr. Shapurji Dorabji Saklatvala, a Communist. Sir Muncherji's name will live in history as that of the only Indian to sit for ten years and for two successive Parliaments in the House of Commons.



The late Mr. Firoz Dorabji Saklatvala

House of Commons by an English constituency. He was returned by the electors of Central Finisbury as a Liberal Member at the General Election held in 1892. It is a noteworthy historical fact, redounding to the honour of the Parsis and furnishing an undeniable proof of their intellectuality, their grit, and their great worth, that the only Indians returned by English constituencies to this House have all been Parsis,

Mr. Shapurji Dorabji Saklatvala's brother, the late Mr. Firoz Dorabji Saklatvala, who as President of a big Oil Company in the United States of America was known as the Oil King has won the distinction of being appointed by the Government of His Imperial Majesty Reza Shâh Consul General for Persia in the States. Another brother, Dr. Behram Saklatvala, a well known metallurgist, is of the many scientists in Pittsburg, U.S.A., the only one to receive the Grasselli Medal of the Society of Chemical Industry of America, the highest award conferred in his field. The Vanadian

Company of America, which at the time was heavily in debt, appointed him as its metallurgist. He very soon discovered a new process of extracting vanadium and within four months the company, which had been in a tottering condition, was enabled, by his splendid discovery, to declare a dividend of 40 p.c. The Carnegie Magazine writes in praise of him that internationally known as a metallurgist, his name is to vanadium what Charles M. Hall's name is to aluminium, and through him the steel centre of the world has gained reflected glory. (H. G., September 1934, p. 22.)

There have been also other Parsis who have received the honour of being appointed Consuls and Vice-Consuls by foreign



Sir Hormusji Cawasji Dinshaw, Kt., M.V.O., O.B.E.

powers. At present Sir Hormusji Cavasji Dinshaw, Kt., M.V.O., O.B.E., is Consul at Aden for Portugal and Austria. He, and before him, his uncle Mr. Dorabji Dinshaw, held also the Consulship of Spain at that Port. Several years ago Mr. Burjorji Sorabji Kharas acted as Consul for the United States of America at Aden for a period of six years. Sir Hormusji has had conferred on him the Portuguese title of Knight Commander of the Royal Military Order of Our Lady of Conception of Villa Vicosa. Another Parsi gentleman, Major S. A. Paymaster, A.L.R.O., is Consul at Bombay for two States, Roumania and Uruguay.

Among the public men of the last generation no three men have done as much for the peaceful political evolution of the country as the Parsi triumvirate, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji (whom we have already referred to above), Sir Pherozechah M. Mehta and Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha. The writer of the sketch of Sir Pherozechah M. Mehta's life in N. F. P. makes some pertinent observations under the heading "Parsis and Indian Politics." He writes, "It is remarkable that some of the most prominent early workers in the field of our national regeneration came from a small community of foreigners but belonging to an imperial race who founded, as refugees from the persecutors of Islam, a little settlement in the western coast of India a thousand and two hundred years ago. Framji Cawasji, Dadabhai Naoroji, Naoroji Furdoonji, S. S. Bengali, Pherozechah Mehta, Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, J. N. Tata—what community so restricted in numbers has produced such a remarkable group of patriotic and devout benefactors of the human race, all of them working in a strange land, and among strange surroundings? As a commercial community in league with alien exploiters the Parsees have much to gain, and, if their 'natural' leaders had so minded, might have secured for themselves preferential treatment from the ruling classes; but the doctrine of exclusiveness and isolation has always been hateful to the best and most thoughtful of them."

Dadabhai Naoroji was the father of the Indian National Congress. He has left his mark in India as the one who infused the craving for freedom amongst the intelligentsia of this country, believ-

ing as he did that the salvation of the country lay in obtaining Swarāj, in other words, Self-Government for India, within the British Empire, so that the sons of this once great and famous country may again work for her prosperity. The reception which was accorded to him in Bombay, when he came to India after his entering the House of Commons beats all record. Mr. A. C. Webb writes in T. I. of 26th January 1931, "The Royal progresses, the coming and going of Viceroys from Lord Curzon, and Governors from Lord Northcote, have each provided picturesque pageants, but perhaps none witnessed such enthusiasm as the home-coming of the veteran Dadabhai Naoroji."

Dadabhai Naoroji is lovingly and reverently spoken of to this day throughout the length and breadth of the country as "Hind-nā-Dādā" ("The Grand Old Man of India").

It is a most noteworthy fact in the history of India that it is three Parsis who have earned from the people in appreciation of their eminent public services such proud laudatory appellations as "The Grand Old Man of India", "The Uncrowned King of Bombay" and "The Tribune of the People".

Mr. Behramji M. Malabari, one of the most illustrious of the modern Parsis, the inspirer of many a beneficent institution, was a splendid example of what a man gifted with a good heart and sympathetic nature could do even though born under an humble roof. Starting life as a pupil teacher in a Parsi school on the princely salary of rupees twenty a month, he died one of the most distinguished, one of the most influential, and one of the most respected sons of India. He scored his first success as a poet in his own mother tongue, Gujarāṭi. The Rev. Dr. John Wilson introduced him to Mr. Martin Wood, the editor of the Times of India, and this event set him on a career of journalism, in which he soon shone as a brilliant star. For well nigh forty years he was the premier journalist of India. His poetical instinct, and his command over a fine and humorous style, led him to court the English muse, and his English poems won a generous appreciation. Under his editorship the Indian Spectator became within a couple of years the best paper in India.

It was due to his selfless and untiring exertions and agitation

both in India and England that the famous Age of Consent Bill of 1891 was passed by the Legislature during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne, which raised the marriageable age of Indian girls from ten to twelve.

Two of the legacies of immeasurable importance to modern India bequeathed by this Parsi philanthropist are the *Sevā Sadan* Society and the Consumptives' Homes at Dharampur, "which are at once a symbol and a monument—the symbol of a spirit troubled by pains not its own and a monument of a life of unending charity."*

The *Sevā Sadan* has for its principal object the uplift of India by social, educational and medical service through Indian sisters both regular and lay and is almost the first and unique institution of its kind in India. It maintains Homes for the Homeless, Industrial Homes, Shelter for the Distressed, Dispensaries for women and children, *Āshrams* for Hindu, Moslem and Parsi sisters, Free Educational Classes, Libraries and Reading Rooms, and Work Classes and Home Classes for helpless orphans and invalids.

The Consumptives' Homes (known as the King Edward Sanatorium) at Dharampur, amidst the pine forests of the Himalayas, have been a blessing to a considerable number of patients. Several Maharajas of Indian States and other donors have supplied the funds.

Mr. Malabari was an earnest and prayerful Zoroastrian. He sought no high offices and hankered not after honours. He refused the Shrievalty of Bombay more than once and declined the *Kaiser-i-Hind* offered by Lord Curzon and K.C.S.I. offered by Lord Minto. Several Indian States offered him their Prime Ministerships, but he would not have them. At his death, which took place in Simla, Their Majesties the King and Queen sent a message of sympathy regretting the death of "our old friend".

In India probably no other single firm has broken virgin soil with such daring and originality and become associated with enterprises as the renowned Parsi House of the *Tatas*, which came into

* N. F. P., 450. The author is indebted to this book for the particulars about Mr. Malabari given here.

being towards the middle of the last century, when the Tatas, who came of a long family of priests, forsook the sacerdotal profession and entered the world of business with phenomenal success. Nusserwānji, the father of Jamshedji and the grandfather of the late Sir Dorabji and Sir Ratan Tata, who was the real founder of the House, came from Navsāri to Bombay practically without a penny in his pocket, but with brains and ambition.* But the success and prosperity of the House in every department of industry are due to the genius and industry of Jamshedji. He it was who, besides carrying on trade with China and managing several textile concerns, founded the great iron and steel industry of India, which provides employment to thousands of men and whose output was a great help to the British in the World War. It was he who conceived the idea of supplying electricity to Bombay through his hydro-electric power scheme. The magnificent Taj Mahal Hotel at the Apollo Bunder, Bombay, the Institute of Science at Bangalore, the introduction of sericulture, and the growth of long-staple cotton in India are among the results of his foresight and energy. In 1930 the House of Tatas had under its control a combined capital of £50,000,000, and provided employment to 250,000 people, for whom it has instituted Welfare Work schemes such as few industrial houses have in any part of the world.† It may be mentioned, in passing, that the late enlightened and magnanimous head of this eminent House, Sir Dorabji, has made a Trust deed of movable and immovable property amounting to over thirty million rupees for purposes of catholic charity, following the splendid example set by another Parsi multi-millionaire, Mr. Navroji Manekji Wadia, C.I.E., who made a donation of his entire fortune in trust for purposes of catholic philanthropy, the like of which was never before known in all India. Sir Ratan Tata also has made a trust of a considerable portion of his fortune for philanthropic purposes.

Among the present Bombay commercial magnates and men of sound business acumen mention must be made of Sir Cusroo N. Wadia, Kt., C.I.E., Sir Ness N. Wadia, K.B.E., C.I.E., M.I.M., F.C.P.S. (Hon.), Sir Dhunjibhoy Bamanji, Kt., the Hon. Sir

* See "The London Times India Number" 12-2-1930; and the T. I. of 29-11-1930.

† *Id.*

Phiroze C. Sethna, Kt., O.B.E., Sir Hormusji M. Mehta, Kt., and Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwalla, Kt.

The brothers Sir Cusroo and Sir Ness Wadia have done yeoman's service for the promotion of the textile industry in Bombay. The former was elected Chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association in 1918 and the latter in 1911 and again in 1925. They have given freely for the relief of human sufferings and the amelioration of the condition of the poor and the distressed. They donated the princely sum of 22 lakhs for a Children's Hospital in Bombay, and have spent millions in erecting substantial and commodious buildings, on the latest sanitary principles, for the housing, at very moderate rents, of the middle and lower middle classes of the Parsi community.

Among the most successful business men of Bombay Sir Dhunjibhoy Bamanji, Kt., easily takes a prominent place. He believes in hard work. By his business enterprise he has amassed an immense fortune, of which he makes a very generous use. To Eugene Sandow, the famous pioneer of physical culture, who by means of special physical treatment made him a Strong Man, in fact one of the strongest in the Parsi community, he gave a fabulous reward.

The Hon. Sir Phiroze C. Sethna's participation in the public life of Bombay commenced in 1907 when he first became a member of the City Municipality. He was elected Chairman of the Municipal Standing Committee in 1911 and four years later became President of the Municipality. He occupies a prominent position in the financial and commercial life of Bombay. His interests are wide and varied. He was for a number of years connected with the Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada as its General Manager for India, Burma and Ceylon, and the great success of that Company in these countries is principally due to his personal influence and tactful management. He is a director of a large number of joint stock concerns, besides being the Chairman of the largest Indian Bank, the Central Bank of India. He was nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council in 1916, and since the inauguration of the Montford Constitution has been an elected member of the Council of State. It was as a member of the Central Legislature that he was appointed to the Indian Sandhurst Committee. He was one of the six delegates sent by

the Government of India to South Africa to discuss questions relating to the position of Indians settled in the Union. As one of the Indian representatives at the Round Table Conference he did most creditable work. He has also received the high honour of being elected a member of that most important Parsi Board of Trustees, known as the Bombay Parsi Panchayat, which controls charity funds of tens of millions of Rupees.

Sir H. M. Mehta has wide and varied commercial interests. He owns a number of mills and several other important industrial and commercial concerns. He served for two years in succession on the Fourth Committee of the League of Nations which was appointed in connection with its finances and budget. His work on this Committee was of the greatest help to the League. His election as General Rapporteur of the Committee indicates how greatly the work of this Parsi business man was appreciated. In 1934 the Governor General in Council appointed him as a director on the Central Board of the Reserve Bank of India to represent general interests.

Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwalla has achieved a great name by his large commercial undertakings and his large-hearted benevolences, which have procured him the high distinction of Knighthood.

In finance and banking no name stands higher in India than that of Sir Sorabji N. Pochkhanavala, the founder and Managing Director of the Central Bank of India, nor that in Public Accountancy than that of Sir Shapurji B. Bilimoria. The honour of Knighthood conferred on them indicates the distinction they have achieved in their respective lines and their notable services to the country.

Sir Sorabji N. Pochkhanavala has earned high reputation as a most successful Bank Manager. In 1921 the Government of India availed itself of his services by appointing him as a member of the Government Securities Rehabilitation Committee. In 1934 he earned the distinction of being appointed Chairman of the Ceylon Banking Inquiry Commission by the Government of Ceylon.

Sir Shapurji B. Bilimoria made his mark as a careful and

conscientious worker in complicated and important matters which were entrusted to him by the High Court in connection with banking and financial concerns. Later on he was also appointed Official Liquidator of several of the banking and financing institutions during the critical period of 1913 and of the hostile firms on the outbreak of war in 1914-15. He got the M.B.E. in 1919 and also received the Certificate of Merit from H. E. the Viceroy for his work in connection with the War Loan of 1918. Ten years later he got his Knighthood. He is an honorary auditor of several charitable institutions and organizations and a trustee of several Parsi Charity funds. He is also an elected member of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat. He has been appointed Sheriff of Bombay for 1935.

It is not only in the fields of commerce and industry that the Parsis have established enviable records and done lasting service to the country. In the whole of India there are no keener sportsmen and more sociable people than these descendants of the ancient Iranian race.

They have made a great name in such sports as cricket, racket and water-polo. They were the first Indians to take out cricket teams to England and challenge the English teams in their home. It is not so long since a Parsi, Mr. Jamshedji Marker (born 1873), defeated in England his English and American competitors and won championship in racket playing from Brown in London in 1903, which championship he retained upto 1911, when he was defeated by Williams. There are no more skilled and enthusiastic professors of physical culture in the country than the two Parsis Mr. Dinsha Dosabhai Mistry and Mr. Tehmuras Sarkari. Few can beat the record of Parsis in tiger hunting. The late Hormusji Edalji Kotval and Khan Bahadur Darasha Naoroji Mody have scored their centuries in this exciting sport. The latter's mother bagged a tiger at the advanced age of 60, and his wife has a couple of these kings of the forest to her credit. Mr. Darasha S. Contractor accounted for six tigers and ten panthers before he was 23 years old, and the author's son Mr. Nadar Jehangir Sanjana bagged one tiger and four panthers at that age.

In rifle-shooting, wrestling, weight-lifting, globe-trotting, swim-

ming, aviation, and other feats of strength and endurance the Parsi record is an enviable one.

In 1930, Mr. Aspy Mehervan,* a lad not out of his teens, demonstrated what fine aviators Parsis could be, by winning the prize of £500 which H. H. the Aga Khan had offered to the first Indian who did the journey by a solo flight between England and India within four weeks. Aspy accomplished the flight in 17 days. The first Indian to receive air pilot's A certificate is Mr. J. R. D. Tata, and the honour of being the first Indian lady air pilot has gone to a Parsi lady, Mrs. (now Lady Serenbai Dinsha) Petit, both members of leading Parsi families.

The brothers Messrs. Dadiba† and Framroze Golwala, proprietors of the Victoria Swimming Bath, Bombay, are well known among the best swimmers in India. A son of the latter gentleman, Khurshed, is the first Indian to acquire swimming certificates from London, Berlin, Budapest, Vienna and Rome, and is the happy husband of a wife who is the first Indian lady to pass with honours the examination for the bronze medallion of the Royal Life Saving Society, London, and the first Indian lady member of that Society and of the Royal Life Guard Corps.

Among amateur Parsi athletes Khan Bahadur Captain Sorab Rustamji Mody of Bombay, a timber merchant by profession, holds a most prominent place. He is an all round athlete and a keen sportsman. As an Amateur Strong Man of India he has won fame both in India and in Europe. He is an officer in the Indian Auxiliary Force, Bombay Battalion, receiving the King's Commission in 1922. He is an enthusiast in humanitarian work and is a Vice-President of the Health and Strength League of India and League District Officer, the Vice-President for Bombay District of the League of Mercy of England, and a Fellow and Local Secretary of the Health First Association of England. In weight lifting his record is enviable.

Mr. Erach Bhiwandiwalla, F.R.S.A., a young artist, has attracted considerable notice and has been called the "Orpen" of India.

* This young aeronaut having shown the greatest flying ability among the cadets of the senior team at the Royal Air Force at Cramwell was chosen as the best all-round pilot, and awarded, in July 1933, the R. M. Groves Memorial Prize, the coveted distinction of all cadet officers of the Force.

† Died 20-11-34.

Mr. Fali C. Bilimoria, quite a young man, is the feather-weight boxing champion in India, and has the distinction of being appointed an instructor in the Norfolk Regiment at Simla, being the first Indian to be so appointed.

A Bombay Parsi, Mr. Maneckjee Cursetjee, was the first Indian to be admitted as a member of a European Freemasonic Lodge; and it was he who, by force of his character and popularity with his European friends in Bombay, got the bar removed which European prejudice had set up against the admittance of Indians into the Masonic craft. Who can say how far this single Parsi service has been instrumental in cultivating frank and friendly intercourse and mutual goodwill between Indians and Europeans?

For several decades the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society had restricted its membership to Europeans. It was not until the same great Parsi pioneer reformer, Mr. Maneckjee Cursetjee, had been elected a member of the parent Society in London and his friends claimed as a right for him to be admitted a member of the Branch Society, that the door of that Society was opened to Indians.

In the glorious list of Parsi record makers the late Sir Jehangir Kothari takes a prominent rank as an intrepid traveller and voyager. This cultured and opulent Parsi Knight of Karachi had made ten tours of the world. He had lived among cannibals and cut through frozen seas. One of his most exciting journeys was up the Amazon, the longest river in the world, a trip undertaken in a frail craft of 100 tons which took him forty days. His most thrilling journey and one in which he was in danger of losing his life was in a train held up by Chinese bandits when he was travelling in North China.

Among the instances of unique honours which Parsis have obtained by virtue of their personality and character stands out prominently that of Mr. Navroji Dadabhai Allbless, who was four times President of the Hampton District Council and has represented that district on the Middlesex County Council for the period of upwards of a quarter of a century. In 1931 he had the distinction of being elected as an Alderman. A Bombay Zoroastrian Parsi an English Alderman!

Among the very few Indians who have received the honour of being made His Majesty's Privy



Councillors there has been no more shining name than that of the late Right Hon'ble Sir Dinshah Far-
doonji Mulla, Kt., C.I.E., M.A.,
LL.D., Hony. Bencher of Lincoln's
Inn.

In what has hereinbefore been all too briefly sketched there will be found ample evidence that the Parsis in spite of their enormous handicap in consequence of their insignificant number amidst the teeming peoples of India, have kept up their noble traditions and worthily won their position in the very forefront, and

have never flinched from carrying out, even at the sacrifice of their lives, the promise their ancestors gave at the time of their landing at Sanjān, which was that they would be friends to all India.

The religion of the conquerors and rulers of Media, Lydia, Babylon, Syria, Asia Minor, Arabia, Egypt, and of parts of India, Greece and Russia, which at one time had every prospect of becoming the world's religion, is now professed by a little over a hundred thousand souls; and Max Müller (M. C. G. W., Vol. IV, 262) has calculated that the number of Zoroastrians has decreased from four to one hundred thousand during the last two centuries and that another century will probably exhaust what is still left of the worshippers of Ahūrā Mazdā.

But who can say that the religion of these handful worshippers of Ahūrā Mazdā might not once more be the guiding star of millions. God works by ways inscrutable and inconceivable. History works in a spiral. Ascendancy and fall, fall and ascendancy, are but stages in the progress of the world.

The famous Bengali poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore (Intro. I. D. S. Z., 10) pronounces that "Zarathuštra's voice is still a living voice, not a mere matter of academic interest

for historical scholars who deal with the dead facts of the past. It is not a voice which is only to guide a small community of men in the daily details of their life. For have we not seen that Zarathuštra was the first of all teachers who, in his religious teachings, sent his words to all human races across the distance of space and time? * * * He declared that the sun of truth is for all, that its light is to unite the far and the near". That stout admirer of Zoroaster S. Laing (L. M. Z., Ch. XI) declares that Christianity, as it has become more reasonable, more charitable, more pure and more elevated, has approximated more and more to Zoroastrianism, and for practical purposes more Christians are, to a great extent, without knowing it, worshippers of Ormuzd, with Christ for their Ormuzd. Again he says that it is evident that this sublime religion is one to which, by whatever name we call it, the best modern thought is fast approximating.

We have noticed before that there are at this date a small number of Americans in the United States who have actually adopted Zoroastrianism in its entirety, even to the wearing of the sacred *sûdra* and *kûsti*, and that this number is confidently expected to rise surely and steadily. We have also noticed that there are, besides, considerable numbers of Europeans and Americans who call themselves Mazdaznâns and follow as their creed the salient principles of Zoroastrianism. What value these latter, the Mazdaznâns of the West, attach to the *sûdra*, will be abundantly clear from the following citation from the Br. M. M. of May 1934, pp. 375-6:—

"The White Shirts—This is the Day, shirts of a Colour signify much! There are Black Shirts, Brown, Blue, Green, Silver and Heaven knows how many other coloured Shirt Brigades. They are supposed to stand for political or national principles. The Red Shirt of Garibaldi upset and reunited Old Italy. But Mazdaznân Holy White Shirt or Sûdreh, precedes them all by thousands of years. It stands to-day, as always, for Universal Peace, Love and Perfection. Many of our people already wear it, not only as a symbol, but as part of their clothing (as the world does in plagiarized manner), and on every festive and suitable occasion. At Harrogate Ganbar [seasonal communal festive gathering] it was to

the fore among some of our noble Associates, as well as on the platform. Let our men follow the ancient custom, and also the women, at our Gatherings, Dances, etc.^{11a}

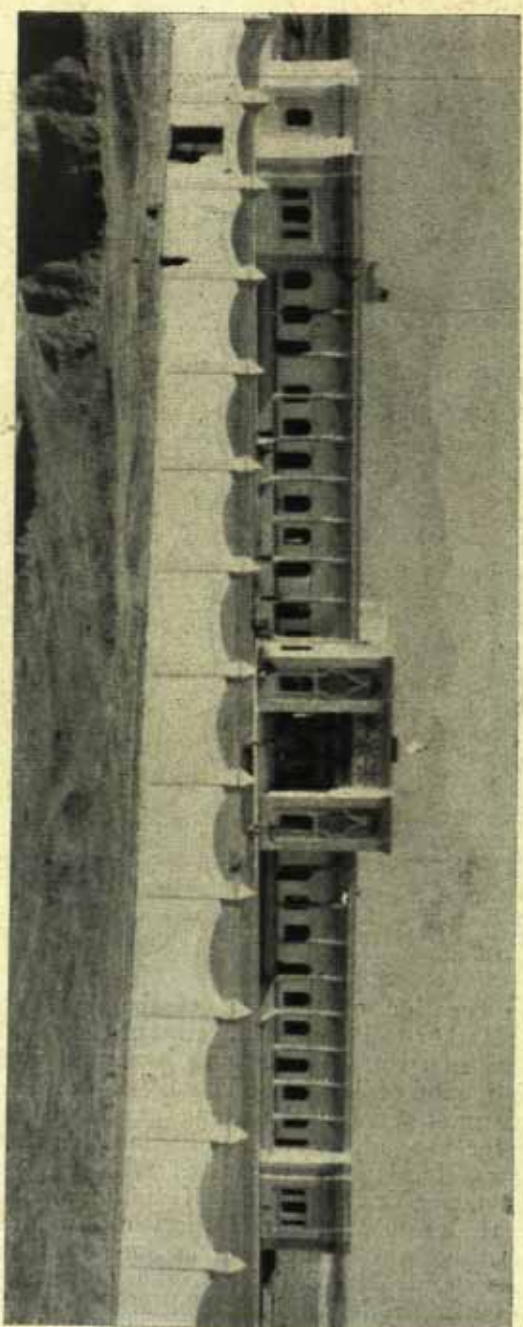


Mr. Sracsha A. Kaul

* Since the earlier chapters were printed the author has received a communication from Mr. Sracsha A. Kaul from which he learns that that gentleman was born in Berlin on 7th February 1885, his original name is Charles A. Kaul, and he came to America when he was over 18 years of age. During the last 25 years he has studied and practised the Zoroastrian religion. He and those who have adopted this religion through him say their prayers and invocations in English, except the Yatha Ahu Vairyo and the Ashem Vohu, which they chant in the original Avestan language. In their colony at Boulevard they have built a Zarathushtrian Library in which they hold their services and meetings and hope to build in the near future a Mazdâ temple and a tower of silence.



On the occasion of the visit of the Parsi philanthropist Mr. Pestanji D. Marker to Persia at the time of the celebration of the poet Firdausi's millenary in 1934, he was honoured by H.I.M. Rezâ Shâh with the distinction of "Nishân-ê-Elami" of the First Order in recognition of his most generous donations for establishing an Orphanage at Yezd and for the advancement of education in the country. The picture shows Mr. Marker decorated with the Star of the Order. Next to him stands Mrs. Hamabai J. K. Mehta, a well known benevolent Parsi lady, the granddaughter of Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, the first Baronet, who also visited Persia during the Firdausi millenary. On her left stands H. E. Nouri, the Governor of Yezd, and by his side stands Mr. Jehangir K. Mehta.



The New Premises of Pestani Marker Zoroastrian Boys Orphanage and School in Yazd.

It is a most happy circumstance, pregnant with the most promising issues, that the illustrious throne once graced by Cyrus and Darius is now occupied by the patriotic Islamic monarch His Imperial Majesty Rezâ Shâh Pahlavi, who is inspired with the determination "to reunite the scattered generations of the Persians—Moslems and Zoroastrians—separated in the past by an unhappy coincidence of circumstances."

The Kûrds, who number over two million and a half, claim to be descended directly from the ancient Persians and take pride in recognising themselves as genuine Iranians. A Kûrd litterateur in a very suggestive writing acclaims himself as a Zardoshti and Din-behî (of the Excellent Faith). Prince Sureya Bedr Khân, a renowned leader of the Kûrdish Independence League, mentions in one of his journals that many Kûrds, notably the Yezidis, have clung to their ancient faith. The late Prince Amâdudda Davla, who belonged to the royal family of the Kajjars and whose administration of the province of Yezd is still remembered by the people with gratitude, used to identify himself as Ahûrâ-parast and Mazdayasni (Worshipper of Ahûrâ Mazdâ and of the Mazdayasni Faith).

Under the enlightened and magnanimous rule of H. I. M. Rezâ Shâh, the Zoroastrians, once so down-trodden, are treated in all respects on an equal level with his Moslem subjects. Some of his closest friends and advisers are Zoroastrians. Iran is now becoming thoroughly Iranised. The Semitic influences are being wiped out as far as possible. Even the calendar has been changed. By a law passed by the Persian Parliament in the year 1925, the Zoroastrian names of the months have been adopted and the year begins with the month of Farvardin, the first month of the Zoroastrian calendar.

Not only in Persia, but in other Islamic countries also, Moslems are beginning to look upon the Zoroastrians and their Holy Prophet and his writings from a remarkably changed angle of vision, as more and more light is being shed upon their past history and the teachings embodied in their scriptures.

It is an Islamic poet of to-day, Âgâ Pour-e-Dâvoud, who sings as under in a Persian poem bearing the suggestive title

"Amashâspandân!"—

Alas, alas, for the days that are gone!
 Alas, for the ancient faith of Iran! Alas!
 If through the revengeful heavens we stand disgraced,
 If misfortune has blown into our eyes the dust of darkness,
 Yet, we shall be hopeful, yet we shall strive,
 For misery abides not with one for all eternity.
 Just as happiness has passed away, misfortune will end too,
 For time brings forth visions of varying colours.
 Reciting the *Patet* of repentance, we shall turn our face to
 the Creator;
 We shall instal once again the principles of righteousness
 and purity;
 We shall listen again to the advice of the Amashâspands
 And this land of ours will again be in joy and happiness.
 O Ahûrâ, O Merciful and Wise Creator!
 O Thou Who hadst sent to us Thy great Zoroaster!

O Lord, turn not Thy eyes away from our beloved land;
 Grant Thy grace to Iran, weak and decrepit as it is.

In the *Rastâkhiz* journal of Egypt, an Iranian Moslem sings in the following strain:—"I will go and kiss the gate of the Temple of the Magi so that the rust of affliction may be cleared from my heart. From the day that the Fire of the Fire-temples was put out, hardship has overwhelmed the Iranians. Let us re-ignite the Fire of Zoroaster, he who slew the Demon of Evil and Ignorance." Mr. S. M. Taher, M.A., in his "T. P. P. B.", quotes, at p. 107, the opinion of a great Muslim divine of the present age, Khwâja Kamâlûddin, that Zoroaster was the true Prophet of God. Another recent Islamic writer, in his book "*Âyeen-é-Zarthosht*", says, with special reference to the Prophet's Hymns, the *Gâthâs*, that these Songs are so enthralling that man is never satiated with their perusal. He exclaims, "Praise unto this Holy Prophet and venerable Messenger of God who has said but what is proper." In his esteem of the founder of Zoroastrianism Mirza Zainûl Abedinkhân is so carried away that he sings: "Great is the greatness of Persia that on her soil was born such a pure-souled

Prophet. All praise to his father and mother who gave birth to such a holy personage to guide man to virtue's path. I can affirm with certitude that the festival of his birthday is better and higher far than every other festival." Another Moslem poet, Husen Dānesh, in a pamphlet entitled "Researches about Zoroaster", published in Constantinople on the Parsi New Year's Day, Y. Z. year 1288 (A.D. 1918), gives utterance to his heartfelt appreciation of the rule of the Zoroastrian monarchs in the following words:—

"On this auspicious New Year's Day when come to me the memories of King Jamshid and King Darius, I lay for me a fresh foundation on the pages of Zoroastrian history. Knowest thou why after thousands of years the modern Persian is seeking Zoroastrian medicine for the cure of his spiritual ailments? This is the reason, that when Persia's star was in the ascendent, shining with resplendent light, and her rule risen (in fame) to the firmament, the rule was the rule of the Zoroastrains."

What Zoroastrian can esteem Zoroaster more than does the young bright Moslem poet Spentā in the following lines? :—

If none goeth to the rescue of Iran,
Seek succour from the Fravashi of holy Zarathûshtra.
From old Iran Ahûrā Mazdā's favour will not part,
For Zarathûshtra's Fravashi is guardian over the land.

The scholar-poet Āgā Pour-e-Dāvoud sings—

Till the name of Truth and Right shall last,
The Mazdayasnān Religion will endure.

To this we all say Amen! We say Amen, also, to the following utterance of Dr. Charles Gore (Gifford Lecturer for the season 1929-30) in his lectures on the Philosophy of the Good Life:—
"For present-day Parseeism an outside observer would say that nothing is more to be desired than a movement 'Back to Zoroaster'."

CHAPTER XVII*.

BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF SOME IMPORTANT RITES AND CUSTOMS OF THE PARSIS.

The Parsis are divided into two schisms, the Shehenshâhi ("Imperial") or Rasmi (*i.e.*, "Followers of the custom") and the Kadim or Kadmi (*i.e.*, "Followers of the ancient reckoning"). The schism originated out of a difference of opinion concerning the exact date of computation of the Yezdegardi era. Contemporary accounts show that the agitation which brought about the schism did not arise till A.D. 1736, when a Zoroastrian layman named Jamshid arrived from Persia and brought to the notice of the Surat Parsis that their reckoning was one month behind that of the Persian Zoroastrians. The dispute lasted for several years till at last on 6th June 1745 the community definitely split itself into the two schisms mentioned. The Shehenshâhis kept to the Indian reckoning and the Kadmis adopted the Persian reckoning. The latter are accordingly one month in advance of the former.

The year is reckoned on the basis of 365 days. Each month consists of 30 days, and at the end of 360 days, five days, called the *Gâthâs*, are added. But since the seasons of nature recur in the complete year of 365.2422 days, it is evidently necessary that the arrear of the remaining six hours must be intercalated at some suitable time. The Parsis, both Shehenshâhis and Kadmis, hold that in the time of the Zoroastrian kings in Persia every 120th year was made a year of thirteen months. This addition of a month is called *kabisâ* or intercalation. The Shehenshâhis declare that they follow the year as settled at the last *kabisâ* performed in the hills of Kohistân by the first batch of Zoroastrians that fled there from Arab persecution and hence are one month behind the Kadmis who have not taken note of that *kabisâ*. The Kadmis hold that the *kabisâ* used to be

* For the particulars given in this chapter the author is mostly indebted to Karaka's "History of the Parsis", Murzban's English Ed. of Menant's "Les Parsis", Seervai and Patel's "Gujarat Parsis", Bharucha's "Brief Sketch of Zoroastrian Rites and Customs" and Dastur Dr. Jamsajji M. Jamsajji Asana's "Short treatise on the Navjote Ceremony".

performed for and only affected the revenue year of Persia and had nothing to do with the year as reckoned for the purposes of religious rites and ceremonies.

The evident disadvantage of intercalating one month of 30 days after 120 years is this that in this long period of 120 years the fixed seasonal and other festivals and occasions cannot be observed at their appropriate or even approximate fixed seasonal times.*

Since some years past there has been a new school of thought, led by an association called the Zarthoshti Fasli Sāl Mandal, or the Zoroastrian Seasonal Year Society, according to which the Parsis' calendar which has been in vogue since their advent in India is defective, and according to investigations based on a scientific calculation their New Year should commence on 21st March, the day on which the sun enters the sign of Aries. The year so commencing, known as the Fasli (or Seasonal) year, has been adopted by this Society since 1906 A.D. The number of Parsi families who have adopted this mode of calculation is slowly but steadily increasing. In the year 1933 a Fire-temple was specially erected, by the generosity of Mr. Mervanji Muncherji Cama, where the rites and ceremonies are performed on the basis of the Fasli year. The late scholar and philanthropist Mr. Kharshedji Rustamji Cama was the first to preach this reform in the calendar in a public speech delivered by him in Bombay on 18th March 1882 under the auspices of the association known as Rāhnūmāi Māzdayasnān.

In the early days of the split of the Parsis into Shehenshāhis and Kadmis, there was a considerable display of bitterness and ill feeling. But that is all past, and now most amicable relations prevail. There is no bar to Shehenshāhis, Kadmis, and Faslis interdining and intermarrying, and in all communal matters they all co-operate as one body.

* The Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet of Bombay appointed, in 1927, a committee to investigate and report on the desirability or otherwise of reforming the Parsi calendar. The President of this committee has pronounced his definite opinion, based on a large amount of evidence collected by the committee, that the year observed in Persia from the time of the institution of the present calendar under the Achaemenide sovereigns upto now has been of 365 days only, and that there is no reason, either religious, scientific or mundane for changing the Parsi calendar at present in use. The report of the committee is being printed. (See T. I. of 21-3-1934.)

We have noticed that King Jamshid of the Peshdadian dynasty established four classes of his people, namely, (1) *Ra-thestârân*, the Fighters, (2) *Âthravanân*, the Priesthood, (3) *Vâstryân*, Agriculturists, and (4) *Hûtaokshân*, Artificers, and enjoined that all individuals should follow the profession of their own class. These professional distinctions no longer exist. The priesthood is practically a hereditary class, but the son of a priest need not necessarily adopt the sacerdotal profession. He is free to adopt any profession for which he has a predilection. The son of a priest who has not become a *Herbud* is called *Ostâ*, and the

daughter is called *Ostî*. An *Ostâ* who has committed to memory the whole Avesta, except the Vendidad, and has no bodily ailment or deformity incapacitating him from participating in the performance of religious ceremonies is initiated into the craft by two *Mobeds*. The initiate and the ceremony of initiation are both known as *Nâvar*. In order to attain this rank the candidate has to go through two periods of isolation with *Baresh-nûm*^{*}, six days of isolation at his own house, and the final initiatory ceremony, which lasts for four days in the



Nâvar.

* The *Bareshnûm* ceremony is intended for the purification of man's body and soul. *Bareshnûm* is the accusative of *Barashnû*, the top or head, and means cleaning the body from head to foot.

fire-temple. On the morning of the day on which the candidate has to go to the fire-temple for the initiatory ceremony, the parents invite friends and a number of priests to witness the final ceremony of declaring him a Nāvar. One of the officiating priests brings the candidate before the collected assembly, clothed only with the *sūdreh*, trousers and turban so as to enable the assembly to observe if he has any physical deformity that should prevent him from being a good priest, sound in body and sound in mind. Standing in front of the head priest or a senior member of the priesthood, the initiating priest asks, "Gentlemen of the *anjûman* (assembly), doth it please you that this candidate be initiated?" After half a minute's interval, the head priest nods his head in the affirmative. The candidate is then led away for the performance of the requisite ceremony. The visitors are presented with flowers on which rosewater is sprinkled, and they retire. The candidate is then engaged with the initiating priest at the *Yazashno-gâh* (the place for performing the Yasna ceremony) in reciting the Yasna. During the day he performs the *âfringân* and *bâj* ceremonies. He is required to repeat these ceremonies for four consecutive days and then he becomes entitled to the title or prefix of Herbud or Ervad (Av. *Aethrapaiti*, i.e., the master of art in teaching and sacrifices). For the higher degree of Marâteb the Nāvar has to study the Vendidad in supplement to what he has already learnt. He has to undergo one *Bareshnâm* ceremony of ten days and then has to perform the Yasna ceremony during the morning in conjunction with a qualified priest. On the same or following day he performs the ceremony of Sarosh Yezd, and at midnight he recites the Vendidad. This completes the Marâteb ceremony, and the candidate has now become fully qualified to perform and recite any of the Zoroastrian rituals and prayers.

The philanthropist Mr. Mervanji Mancherji Cama has most generously established a splendid college, called the Merwanji Framji Cama Athornân Institute, in the town of Andheri, at a short distance from Bombay, where, in palatial premises specially built for the purpose, the sons of *athornâns* (the priestly class) are lodged and boarded and given a course of instruction, free of all cost. Here they study not only all the Zoroastrian rites and

rituals, but are also taught several ancient and modern languages, history, and other subjects, so as to fully equip them for their spiritual functions. In the words of the Trust Deed pertaining to this Institute, the object is to create an enlightened, benevolent and useful order of priests.

The highest dignity in the sacerdotal class is that of *Dastūr* or High-Priest. The recipient of this high dignity has not to pass



Dasturji Sahēb Sardar Khan Bahadur Nausherwan Kaikobad, High Priest
of the Parsis of the Deccan and Mālwa.

through any ceremonies, but it is conferred upon the son, brother, or any other near relation of a deceased *Dastūr* at the latter's *Ūthamnā* or third day ceremony by the assembled congregation, a shawl, the insignia of his high office, being then presented to him and placed over his shoulders.

The formal admission of a Zoroastrian child into the religion is carried out by means of a ceremony called the *Navjote*, when he or she is invested with the *sūdreh* and *kūsti*. It is enjoined



The Navjote ceremony of a Parsi girl. The Officiating Priest is Dasturji Sahab R. E. Sarjana, High Priest of the Parsis, Bombay.

that this should be done when the child is between the age of seven years and three months and fourteen years and three months. An explanation of these sacred and indispensable vestments, the *sûdreh* and *kûsti*, has been given before. The Navjote ceremony is performed by a Mobed in the presence of a congregation of priests and laymen. The child, who has learnt certain prayers by heart and been taught some of the fundamental principles of Zoroastrianism, having previously purified itself by means of a ceremonial ablution, called *nahân*, sits on a low stool facing the east before the officiating priest, who makes it hold the *sûdreh* in its right hand and recite the *Patet* (or Expiatory Prayer). The officiating priest himself and also the other priests of the congregation recite the same prayer at the same time before a fire which is kept there burning in a silver or brass vase. The prayer over, the child is made to stand upon the stool, and the priest removing the sheet of white cloth which has been wound round the child's body, asks it to hold the *sûdreh* in both its hands and places his own hands upon them. Then he causes it to recite the *Kalam-i-Din* or the Confession of Faith, and reciting the *Ahûna Vairya* passes first its right hand through the right hand sleeve of the *sûdreh*, then the left hand through the other sleeve, and then puts the *sûdreh* on its body. Afterwards the priest stands at the back of the child and both face the east, if it is morning, and the west, if it is afternoon. The priest then recites the introductory part of the Hormazd Yasht and the *Nirang-i-Kûsti* (or the prayer which is recited while tying the *kûsti*), and while doing so he holds the *kûsti* in his hands and winds it three times round the child's waist with two knots in the front and two behind. The priest and the child then take their seats. The priest, reciting the *Hoshbâm*, a prayer in praise of purity, truth, honesty and other virtues, applies a little *kûnkûn* or a kind of red powder on the forehead of the child, puts a garland of flowers round its neck and places in its hands betel leaf, betel nut, dry dates, cocoanut, and some silver or gold coins. Rising up again, he pronounces certain benedictions, showering slowly over the child's head dry pieces of cocoanut, rice, almonds, and grains of pomegranate. The female relatives then come up and dress the child in fine garments and give it their blessings. They and several of the

assembled relatives and friends of the family then present gifts to the child and its parents. A banquet follows, after which the guests disperse.

It has been mentioned before that Zoroastrianism favours marriages. Among the ancient Persians marriages took place after the couple had reached the full age of puberty, and the same is generally the practice now among the Parsis.

Two priests are present for the performance of the marriage ceremony. At the commencement of the ceremony the couple are seated on chairs facing each other. A white *purdâ* (curtain)* is held between them, and under this they are made to hold each other's right hand in their grasp. Another piece of cloth is passed round the chairs of both so as to encircle them, and the ends of it are tied together by a double knot. This is the "tying of the marriage knot". Then the senior officiating priest fastens their right hands with raw cotton thread. This is called *hâthavarô* or hand-fastening. After this, raw twist is passed round the couple seven times. On completing the seventh round, the twist is tied seven times over the joined hands of the couple, as well as round the marriage knot described above.† During all this process the sacred formula of Yathâ-Ahû-Vairyo is recited. The sacred fire is then brought before the couple in a censer, and incense put on it, after which the *purdâ* is suddenly dropped down, and the bride and the bridegroom, who have been provided with a few grains of rice in their left hands, hasten to throw them at each other. The one who is successful in throwing the rice first is said to win, and it is supposed that he or she who throws the rice first will be foremost in loving and respecting the other. As soon as the rice is thrown, the ladies surrounding the couple clap their hands in joy, and the clapping is taken up by the general assemblage. The couple are then made to sit side by side,

* The putting up of a *purdâ* between the bride and the bridegroom and dropping it after the fastening of the hands signifies that the separation that hitherto existed between them no longer exists now and that they are now united into the bond of matrimony.

† The object of using raw cotton thread and of its being wound round the pair seven times indicates union. The raw thread itself can be easily broken, but when several threads are twined into one, they cannot be easily broken. So the tie of unity into which the couple is now bound may not easily be broken. (See J. J. 28-5-1932, p. 14.)

and two male friends take their stand near the couple, one by the side of the bride and the other by the side of the bridegroom. They are the two formal witnesses to the marriage. The two priests, one standing in front of the bride and the other in front of the bridegroom, then commence the recital of the benediction (*pasvandnâmesh* or *âshirwâd*) in the later Pâzend. In the course of this recital they take the declaration of consent to the marriage from the marrying couple three times and also that of their respective witnesses the same number of times. The priests pronounce blessings and address certain admonitions, all the time keeping showering a few grains of rice on the couple, rice being the symbol of plenty and prosperity. A Sanskrit version of the Pâzend blessings and admonitions is also recited by the priests, a custom which was introduced in deference to the desire expressed by the Raja of Sanjân when the original emigrants landed on his shores after their exodus from their fatherland. This custom, however, is now sometimes dropped.

On the conclusion of the ceremony the bride and bridegroom, or, if they are minors, their fathers or guardians, together with the two witnesses and the two officiating priests, sign a marriage certificate, which is afterwards registered at the office of the Registrar of Parsi Marriages. A rich banquet follows the conclusion of the ceremony, at which a number of toasts are taken, the first invariably being *Yazdâni Yâd*, i.e., the remembrance of God.

As on the occasion of the Navjote, so also at weddings it is the custom for relatives and friends to present gifts.

There is absolutely no bar to the remarriage of a Zoroastrian widow or widower.

A charming little ceremony which Parsi ladies perform on certain auspicious occasions is the *Vadhâvi-levâni*. It is performed, for instance, at the entrance of the marriage hall or *pendal* when the bridegroom comes for being married to the bride, and at the door of the husband's house, when the newly married wife comes to her future home. It is also performed when welcoming a highly honoured guest.

As to the manner in which this ceremony is performed and what it signifies I cannot do better than give the following quotation from chapter XXXIV of Robert Hudson's book "Our Sailor King", wherein he gives a description of the reception of Their Royal Highnesses George and Mary, Prince and Princess of Wales, (now Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary), at Bombay* on their visit in the year 1905:—

"The reception of Their Royal Highnesses at Bombay was one of the most splendid ever accorded to them. For weeks the inhabitants, Hindu, Parsee and British, had been making preparation. * * *

"There was one function, however, which deserves at least passing mention, as it threw some little light upon the status, stage of culture, and attitude towards Western ideas of the women of Western India. This was the Ladies' Reception of the Princess in the Town Hall. There were present representative groups of Parsee, Hindu and Mahommedan ladies, each of whom was eager to give a characteristic welcome to the gracious lady from the West. First came the presentations to the Princess, after which the peculiar ceremonies arranged beforehand were begun. The first of these was the 'Vadhavilevani' of the Parsee ladies. As the Princess stood smilingly acquiescent, a cocoanut and an egg were passed seven times round her head, typifying the seven circles of the world in which work the spirits of evil. After having thus, as it were, collected the malice of the evil spirits, both egg and nut were broken, and with them the plots against the happiness of the Princess. Just as the breaking of the nut and the egg provided food, so would the breaking of the plots of the evil spirits turn to greater joy and prosperity for Her Royal Highness.

"A dish of water was then passed carefully round her head in the same way, and afterwards emptied. After that there could never again be in her life any want or lack, but satisfying abundance of all that spells satisfaction and comfort.

* "The Municipal address of welcome was read," writes Mr. Hudson, "characteristically and appropriately by a Parsee merchant—for Bombay is the headquarters of these commercial princes of India."

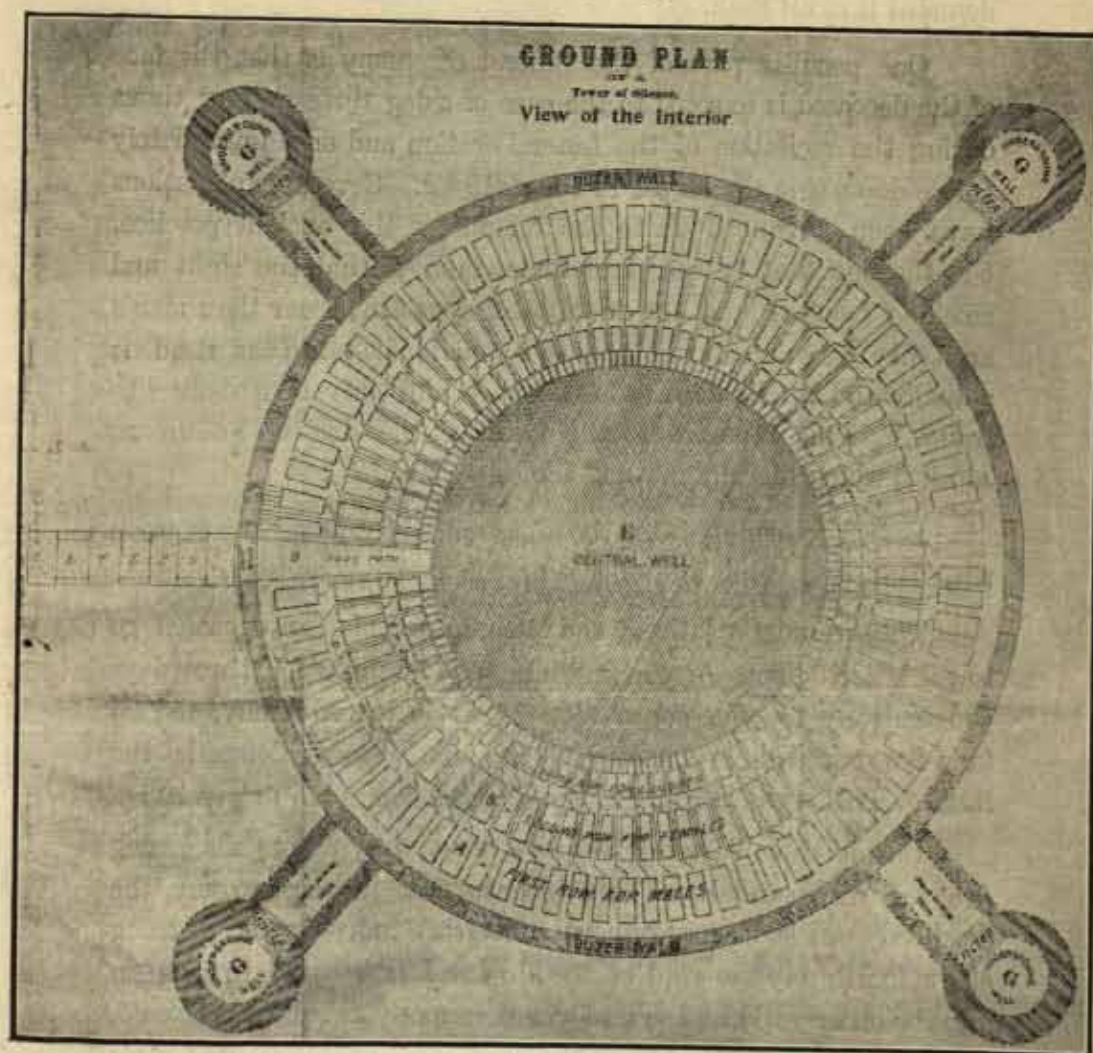
"In order that she might have not only enough for herself, but sufficient for charitable distribution, a handful of rice was thrown over her head. Then the chief officiating lady cracked off from the head of the future Queen of England, by cracking her own knuckles against her own temples, every possible misfortune."

The Parsis neither bury nor burn their dead, nor do they consign them to water, it being a primary principle of their religion never to defile the elements. Their mode of disposal of the dead is to expose them to the desiccating heat of the sun in roofless structures called *dokhmās*, which are known to Europeans as Towers of Silence,—there to be devoured by vultures and other ravenous birds of the air.* These structures are built of the hardest building materials and are as a rule erected in solitary places and as far as possible on hill tops.

When life is extinct, the body is washed and wrapped in clean white cotton clothes and placed on an oblong piece or pieces of hard polished stone, which are laid on the ground floor. If death occurs at night, the body is kept in the house and is removed to the *dokhmā* next morning, but if in the day and there be time, it is removed before sunset. Until the last funeral ceremony is performed, a priest continues saying prayers before the corpse, burning sandalwood over a fire in a censer all the time. When the time for the removal of the corpse approaches, the *nasēsālārs* (corpse-bearers), who are dressed in clean white cotton garments, come and place it upon an impermeable iron bier, called *gehān*. Two priests then stand facing the corpse and recite the seven *Hās* (or chapters) of the *Ahūnavaiti Gāthā*, holding a white band of cloth between them. This is called holding the *pairwand* and signifies co-operation. Just before the corpse is taken out of the house, the relatives and friends who have assembled there follow one after the other to make their last obeisances to the dead, and all remain standing in solemn silence while the corpse is being removed out of the house on its way to the *dokhmā*. The corpse-bearers carry the bier, which is covered

* The Greek cynic philosopher Diogenes is said to have advised his pupils to deal with his remains according to the Zoroastrian mode of the disposal of the dead.

with a clean white sheet, on their shoulders to the *dokhmâ*. Several priests and male relatives and friends of the deceased follow in a funeral procession in pairs, keeping at a distance of at least thirty paces from the corpse-bearers, each pair holding a *paiwand*. This is said to be going on *pâidast*.



As soon as the corpse is removed from the house, *gaomez* (cow's urine) is sprinkled as a disinfectant over the slab or slabs of stone on which it had lain, as well as on the path by which it was taken out of the house.

Arrived at the *dokhmâ*, the bier is laid down on the ground outside, and a corpse-bearer uncovers the face of the deceased for a few moments for the processionists to take a last look and

pay their last respects, from a distance of at least three paces. The corpse-bearers then take the body into the *dokhmâ*. Each body, man, woman and child, is placed in separate carved out stone receptacles of the required dimensions, called *pâvis*. The vultures soon swoop down and do not rise again till they have denuded it of all flesh.

One peculiar part of the funeral ceremony is that the face of the deceased is exposed to the gaze of a dog three or four times during the recitation of the funeral oration and once immediately before depositing the corpse in the *dokhmâ*. Several explanations have been advanced as to the reason for this ancient practice, but the one that is easiest to understand is that the sight and smelling faculties and the instinct of dogs are keener than men's and they can detect whether the individual taken as dead is actually and wholly dead or is still alive and only in a death-like trance.* This exposure to the gaze of the dog is known as *sagdid*, which literally means 'the sight of a dog'.

Before returning from the *dokhmâ*, the processionists wash their faces and hands and offer a prayer to the Almighty.

The friends, relatives and neighbours of the deceased go to the latter's house in the morning and evening for three days consecutively to offer consolation to the bereaved family, and sit for a few minutes on chairs and benches placed alongside the house. This is called going to the *otlâ* (lit. verandah or porch).

During three days a priest prays constantly before a burning fire fed with sandalwood and incense near the spot where the dead body was laid before removal to the *dokhmâ*. On the morning of the fourth day the soul of the deceased is believed to pass on into the other world, and so a religious ceremony, called the *ûthamnâ*, is performed at the house of the deceased or at a fire-temple on the afternoon of the third day as well as just before the dawn of the fourth day in the presence of a congregation. At these *ûthamnâs* a priest declares the charities which the deceased might have made by will, and also those which relatives and friends might contribute in the *naiyat* or memory of the deceased.

* It is an admitted fact that some dogs possess the power of second sight. (See Mr. J. D. Jenkins' letter in *The Times of India* of 2-2-1934.)

In the case of opulent families the charities so declared amount to thousands and hundreds of thousands of rupees.

As regards the purpose and usefulness of these rituals, it must be clearly understood that the rituals in themselves will neither lessen the number of sins nor increase the number of good actions of the soul. "That account," Mr. Masāni explains in his "Zoroastrianism, Ancient and Modern" (pp. 139 *et seq.*), "is closed with the cessation of the last breath in the physical world, but there is one point here which ought to be carefully borne in mind. The Avesta word *Kérēta* or the Pahlavi *Kērdār* is very important in understanding the actual efficacy of Zoroastrian rituals. The *Kérēta* or *Kērdār* implies literally 'what is done', and therefore it signifies a graphical collection of the lasting vibrations of the thoughts, words and deeds committed by the soul during its physical existence. This collection of vibrations remains, like a thought photo-sphere immersed into the aura of the man, and it is impressed also in the unseen world on the particular stage to which the soul is accelerated in its progress in accordance with the proportion of the good or bad nature of its life actions. * * * If it is a bad *Kērdār* it becomes a great deal of annoyance, disease, unease and punishment for the soul; if a good one, it becomes a source of happiness, ease and delight and reward to the soul. Hence the force sent through the medium of Zoroastrian rituals either increases the peace and ecstasy of the soul of good *Kērdār* or mitigates the unrest felt by a soul of bad *Kērdār*."

As Sir J. J. Modi observes (M. R. C. P., 86) the Zoroastrian funeral ceremonies are intended to produce in the minds of the survivors a great solicitude for the health of the living, respect for the dead, feelings of gratitude and love towards the deceased, and ideas of morality and virtue, inculcated by the thought that death levels everybody, and that one should always be prepared for death which may overtake him at any moment.

The Parsis consider their mode of disposal of the dead the best from a sanitary point of view.

In the year 1875 H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, afterwards H. M. King Edward VII, during his visit to India, visited the Towers of Silence situate on Malabar Hill, Bombay. The Prince

and his party were received at the steps by Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhai, who led them up to the gateway of the compound. Here they were met by Mr. Nasarvanji Beràmji, a Secretary of the Parsi Panchâyet, who led them further up into the compound by the main road, pointing out to His Royal Highness four of the towers from a distance. Arriving at the fifth and largest tower, the royal party halted near a table on which was placed a model of a tower of silence. By means of this model Mr. Nasarvanji explained to the Prince the internal construction and arrangements of a tower, pointing out the several oblong stone receptacles for depositing the dead bodies, as well as the footpaths by which, without touching the remains of dead bodies previously exposed, the corpse-bearers reached each receptacle. He then explained how each body was consumed or dismembered, at the same time describing the tenets and principles of the Zoroastrian religion in connection with the disposal of the dead. In the model was shown a pit, as to the special use of which the Prince made particular inquiry. It was explained that the bones collected from the receptacles were thrown into that pit, where they were reduced to atoms by atmospheric influences. It was further stated that after the bones were reduced to atoms, there remained in the pit nothing but lime and phosphorus, which were in no degree offensive or injurious to health. His Royal Highness was well impressed and expressed his approbation of the sanitary precautions adopted in this method for the disposal of the dead.

Mr. Monier Williams, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, paid two visits to the Bombay Towers of Silence in Bombay in the year 1876. In communicating his views to the Parsi Panchâyet, he wrote that his second visit had confirmed him in his opinion that the Parsi method of disposing of dead bodies was as perfect as anything could be in a sanitary point of view, that there was no spot in Bombay where the breezes appeared so healthful as in the beautiful gardens which surrounded the towers, and that nothing during all his travels throughout India, from Kâshmir to Cape Comorin, had instructed him more than his two visits to the Parsi Towers of Silence.

We will content ourselves with quoting the views of another

savant, the Rev. Dr. J. H. Moulton, who after visiting these towers, in 1916, recorded his opinion that in a country where vultures were available, to use their swift and thorough work to return to the elements the noisome corpse that once had been the home of a living man seemed sanitary and economical, and no whit more repulsive than the ghastly dissolution that went on beneath the earth.

The last ten days of the Parsi year are specially dedicated to the commemoration of the Fravashis of the dead. The ceremonies then performed are known as the Fravardigān or *Muktâd*.^{*} According to the 13th section of the Fravardin Yasht, the souls of the departed desire to be remembered during these days by those whom they lived with and left behind in this world. During the ten days one of the rooms of the house is thoroughly cleaned, white-washed and set apart. Here every morning fresh flowers and fruit are placed in trays upon stands and prayers are offered during the day. Many families observe the *Muktâd* holidays for eighteen days, the day preceding and seven days following being added to the regular ten days.

The practice of performing ceremonies and reciting prayers for the dead is insisted upon among the Parsis. The Pahlavi books mention that the souls of the dead are gratified at seeing that their dear ones on earth have not forgotten them, and that their memory is preserved in the minds of their relations. As Mr. D. F. Karākā observes (K. H. P., Vol. I, 213), the ceremonies are a matter of consolation to the living also, inasmuch as they constantly recall to them those to whom they were joined by worldly ties of love and affection, and that these ceremonies also have the effect of bringing before us our transient life, and the unseen world to which we are all hastening, and where many of those near and dear to us and for whom we pray have gone before.

— FINIS —

^{*} It is stated in the Dinkard (D. D. S., Vol. X, 29) that during the Fravardigān and also other periods of the year, the souls of the pious are capable of coming into this world.

SUPPLEMENT



This picture is of Major Burjor Rustamji Karanjia, the Parsi youth referred to in the third paragraph on p. 578. After all the chapters of this book were in print the author has seen a lithographed Persian book, entitled *Sarbâz-e-Pârsi* ("A Parsi Warrior"), written by a Kurdish author, Aga Khalil Vazirpur Behdin of Kermanshah, and published in Bombay in 1931, which gives a very readable account of this young man's wonderful career in Iran. The days of chivalry are indeed not gone. The chivalrous career of this Parsi warrior deserves a permanent record in the chronicles of Parsi gallantry.

At the time of the Great World War, when Iran was seething with intrigues and treachery, Karanjia, who had received military training as a member of the Baluchistan Volunteer Corps, was seized with a burning desire to go to the old fatherland when it needed true patriots most. He proceeded there in the middle of May 1913, when he was a mere lad of 22, and becoming a naturalised subject of Iran enlisted in the Mogul army. His extraordinary personality and

natural abilities soon made him a man of mark. His great gallantry in the action of Kâzarûn (against Nassur-ûd-Divân, the Kâan of Kâzarûn) was rewarded by his being raised to the rank of Captain.

Two years later he was made a Major (A.D. 1916). For a temporary period he also held the chief command of the forces in Fars.

Major Karanjia has achieved the wonderful record of being the first Parsi from India, and, to the best of our knowledge, the first Zoroastrian, in the long space of thirteen hundred years, to head Mogul troops and lead them into actions, and this at a time when a Kajar king, the late Ahmedshah, was on the throne and the Zoroastrians in Iran were looked down upon and treated with contempt and distrust. This young man has all the qualities that go to make a successful leader of troops, genius, grit, fortitude, organizing and directing ability of a high order, an inspiring personality, and a great regard for his men.

Once when a terrible fire occurred in a Shiraz arsenal and eleven compartments were blown up, Karanjia, regardless of his own life, rushed amidst exploding shrapnels and shells to the rescue of the unfortunate inmates and brought out one officer and several men to safety, while thirty men were blown to cinders.

There was very little true patriotism in the land and Karanjia had to work amid an atmosphere of corruption and treachery. Some of the big State officials, disregardful of the true interests of the country and bent only on making a golden harvest for themselves, were in the secret payment of the enemies of Iran, who designed nothing better than the disruption of the country with a view to the self-appropriation of its fair domains. These traitors sent secret tempting offers to Karanjia in order to win him over to their side. But fired as he was with genuine patriotic fervour he despised these offers and devoted himself all the more to the frustration of their treacherous designs. He succeeded in infusing into the Iranian youths his great selfless love for the old land and his overabundant enthusiasm to see Iran integral and independent, and multitudes of them followed at his call. When nothing could shake his loyalty the traitors set about to accomplish his ruin. They managed to have him sent with a force of only thirty men to fight and get back from the tribesmen all the arms and ammunition which they had taken away from certain State troops of Shiraz, whom they had overpowered and disarmed. Not losing heart Karanjia went boldly forth and parleying with the tribesmen appealed to their sense of patriotism and called upon them to restore to the State troops all their arms and ammunition which could more properly be used to save the ancient land of Jamshid and Dârâ from falling

into the grasping hands of foreigners. This patriotic appeal went to the hearts of the Iranian tribesmen and Karanjia came back with the arms and ammunition fully restored without a single shot being fired on either side. The traitors were sick to see the brave Parsi youth return alive and successful. At last the Farmān-Farmā (Viceroy), who was the uncle of the ruling Kajar king, compelled him to return to India with a Persian passport (October 1917).

Major Karanjia is a D.D.S. (Am.) and has a large practice in Bombay. But his heart is not here: his heart is in the old country. The call of Iran is so strong that sacrificing his very lucrative practice he is about to return there, with all his old enthusiasm, to render to the country such services as he can whilst a national and truly patriotic king, H. I. M. Reza Shah Pahlavi, is occupying the throne.



Major Karanjia, as Officer Commanding Fars, with
his Staff Officers.

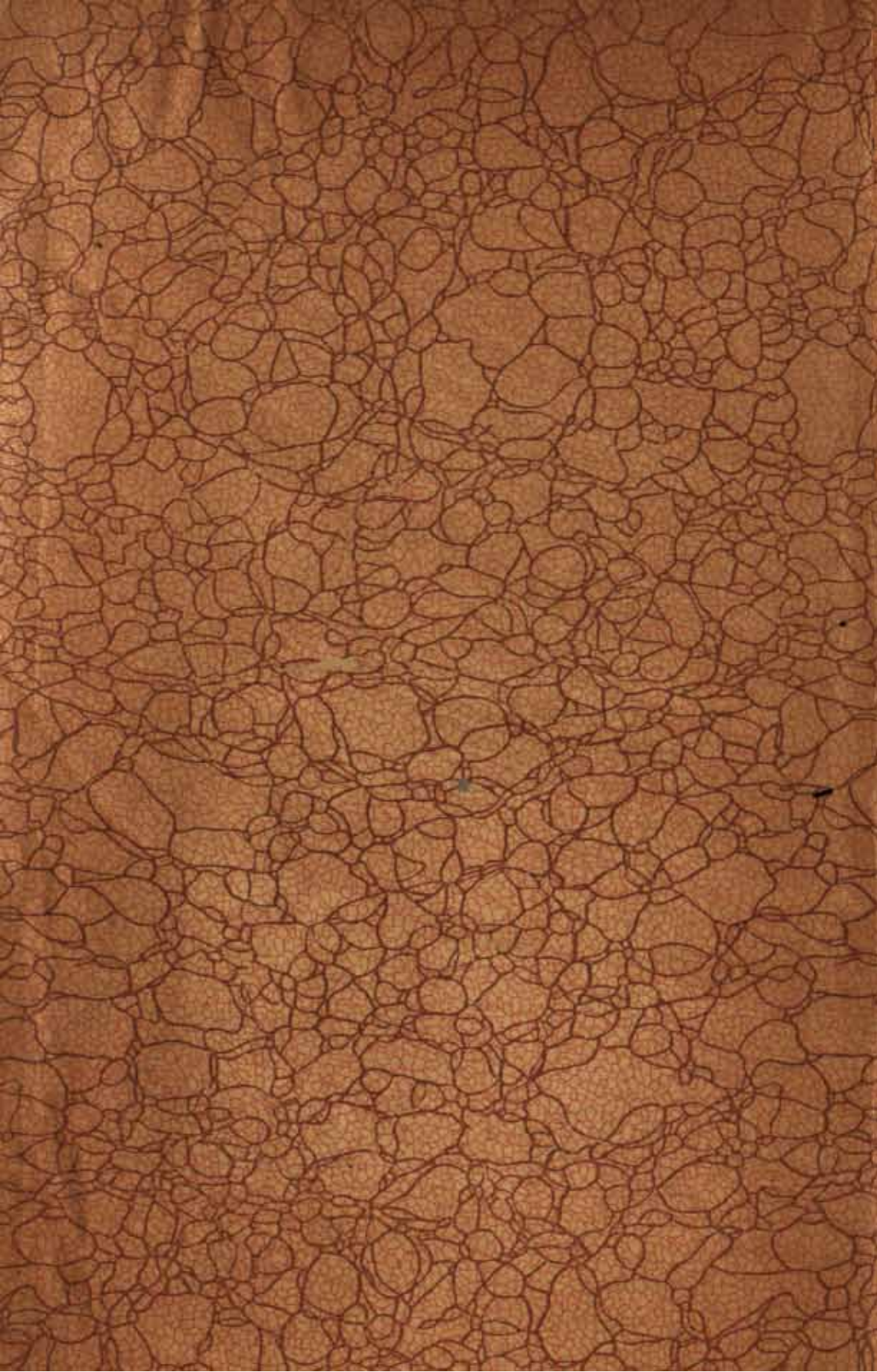


Major Karanja's Infantry, with Mountain Battery in action, at the manoeuvring camp near Saadi (Shiraz).

N.C. ^{cat} 5/18/17







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